

Integrated Peasant Economy
in a Comparative Perspective

Alps, Scandinavia and Beyond

Edited by Aleksander Panjek, Jesper Larsson and Luca Mocarelli

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Content

- Jesper Larsson and Luca Mocarelli*
7 Foreword
- Aleksander Panjek*
11 The Integrated Peasant Economy as a Concept in Progress
- Ines Beguš*
51 Peasant Income Integration in Early Modern Slovenia:
A Historiographical Review
- Matjaž Bizjak*
83 Integrated Peasant Economy in Medieval Slovenia:
A Preliminary Study
- Alessio Fornasin, Claudio Lorenzini*
95 Integrated Peasant Economy in Friuli (16th–18th Centuries)
- Jesper Larsson*
117 The Importance of Commons in an Integrated Peasant Economy
in Early Modern Northern Scandinavia
- Eva-Lotta Päiviö*
137 Livelihood Diversification in Early Modern Sami Households
in Northern Sweden
- Alessandra Bulgarelli Lukacs*
161 The Equilibrium of the Mountain Economy in the Apennines:
The Regional Case of Abruzzo in the Kingdom of Naples
(16th–19th Centuries)

- Renato Sansa*
 191 Woodlands as a Source of Income Integration in Peasant Economies: the Pontifical State (18th–19th Centuries)
- Aleksej Kalc*
 205 Peasant Population and Income Integration: The Case of the Trieste Port-Town Hinterland (Karst, 16th–20th Centuries)
- Aleksander Panjek*
 229 Intangible and Material Evidence on the Slovenian Peasant Economy: Custom and Land Market in the Karst Highland (17th–18th Centuries)
- Petra Kavrečič*
 259 Tourism as a Source of Non-Agricultural Rural Income: The Case of The Karst (16th–19th Centuries)
- Satoshi Murayama, Hiroko Nakamura, Noboru Higashi, Takaaki Aoki*
 283 Disaster Management and Integrated Economy in Early Modern Japan: Amakusa in the 19th Century
- Anna Westin, Maths Isacson, Tommy Lennartsson*
 309 Land and Labour as Resources of an Integrated Peasant Economy in a Swedish Mining District During the 1860s Great Famine
- Katja Hrobat Virloget*
 333 Peasant “Economic Industriousness” in Slovenian Ethnology (19th–20th Centuries)
- Žarko Lazarević*
 351 Peasant Economy in Interwar Slovenia – Policies of Income Diversification
- Luca Mocarelli, Paolo Tedeschi*
 375 Household Income Strategies in the Lombard Valleys: Persistence and Loss of a Traditional Economic Equilibrium in an Alpine Area (end of 18th–early 20th Centuries)
- Mats Morell*
 395 Pluriactivity, Proto-industrialisation or Integrated Peasant Economy? Scandinavia in the 18th–20th Centuries
- Štefan Bojnec*
 415 Pluriactivity, Part-time Farming, Farm Diversification, Integrated and Inclusive Rural Household Development in Contemporary Economics
- 437 Index

Foreword

Jesper Larsson and Luca Mocarelli

In our quest to understand ordinary people's lives we need tools to disentangle peasant economy. With the introduction of the concept Integrated Peasant Economy (IPE), we have a tool that can enhance our understanding of how peasants who mixed different income sources organised their activity, and were able to manage a complex household economy. The term "integrated economy" was used by Gauro Coppola to describe the economy in the Italian Alps and has been developed into a useful concept for analysing peasant economy by Aleksander Panjek, who coined it Integrated Peasant Economy.

The core of IPE is the fact that most peasants did not rely only on agriculture for their subsistence. The household economy was an integrated economy that combined agriculture with market-oriented activities. Household economy came together by incomes from all three economic sectors: agriculture (primary), manufacturing (secondary), and service (tertiary). While peasants have always had a mix of incomes from different activities, the Early Modern peasants came to benefit from an increased market activity and became important players in an economy outside agriculture. Life as a peasant was characterised by having an integrated economy and this became an attribute for peasants up to the 20th century. Particularly peasants from upland areas came to develop an economy with multiple income sources, in part due to the limitations of agriculture production and their need to obtain money in order to purchase the grain they

lacked. Additional income sources spurred farm division since it was possible to manage the household economy even on a farm with a small amount of arable land. Hence, many upland areas saw a large increase in population, not reflected in increased agricultural production.

It is not a new insight that peasants combined different income sources, but earlier concepts used to analyse their activities have had shortcomings. For example, in the proto-industrialisation concept rural activities are limited to activities that preceded industrialisation by linking rural pre-industrial developments to the industrialisation process. Proto-industry takes into account only manufacturing activities, omitting activities that did not lead into industrialisation. In this book, Mats Morell points out that proto-industry has an evolutionary touch and pre-industrial rural societies have been analysed on the merits of what they turned into and not on their own merits. Many regions that developed proto-industrial activities never industrialised and hence these regions are left out of the analysis. Integrated peasant economy lacks this evolutionary bias and includes all market activities the peasants were involved in. Thus, making it possible to build coherent knowledge about peasant's activities since IPE includes activities that led to industrialisation as well as activities that did not.

The proto-industrialisation concept to analyse peasant economy had a top-down approach where merchant capitalists used peasants for craft production, thereby they became part of a market oriented production. In contrast, IPE emphasises a bottom-up process, where peasants had agency and took decisions about their own economy and how to expand it outside agriculture. These decisions had to be based on local and regional variables, such as natural setting and the attribute of the community. Hence, peasants developed locally their own mix of activities that made up their total household economy and could result in large differences in economic activities between geographical areas quite close to each other. Even within small distances local specialisation took different trajectories and contributed to vibrant regional markets connected to national and international markets. However, there are at least two features that unifies these societies; their need for cash to buy grain and other consumption and that peasants had a huge amount of time available outside agriculture. To understand how an integrated peasant economy developed, one has to investigate the local circumstances. A first step in our quest to understanding the peasant's integrated economy is to do case studies. Together these case studies build a foundation for comparative analysis. In this book, most examples

are from upland and mountain areas in the Alps and Scandinavia, but also from Japan, making comparison possible.

The Integrated Peasant Economy concept has similarities to Elinor Ostrom's theories about self-governing and self-organisation. As mentioned, it emphasises the peasants as active players in determining their production, but it also points to the fact that a lot of pre-industrial production required collective action. Peasants cooperated and worked in teams to perform work. In her work, Ostrom emphasised the importance of embracing complexity to understand self-governing and collective action, similarly the concept of Integrated Peasant Economy increases our understanding of what a peasant was by focusing on the complexity of the household economy. It helps us to reveal the web of different activities and relationships peasants had. To understand what a peasant was, one has to understand the complexity of their economy, the web of networks they were part of.

The Integrated Peasant Economy concept has mostly focused on the supply side, what peasants produced. But the supply side also has a demand side. The Early Modern peasant did not only increase production, they also became more involved in consumption. Peasants produced for towns and merchants, but also for other peasants. They bought goods from towns and traders, and in many places, there was also a flourishing trade between peasants. Integrated Peasant Economy helps us to connect the demand and supply side of the peasant economy by linking it to contemporary research about an Early Modern "industrious revolution," a concept launched by Jan de Vries. By focusing on the complexity of peasant's economy, and that they could have stakes in all three economic sectors, it is possible to analyse how the transformation of peasant's work affected the time they spent on production and their involvement in market activities.

By investigating to what extent many peasant households were involved in activities outside agriculture Integrated Peasant Economy might help us to better understand labour division within households. The household has always been kept together by social and kinship ties, but it was also a production unit, and highlighting the complexity of this unit helps us to investigate how it was possible to manage the different sectors. However, it is important to remember that a lot of the household work performed was not part of IPE, such as domestic work mostly performed by women.

The IPE can help us to better understand other aspects of the peasant's world as well; how peasants created contacts outside their local community, how specialisation in production developed, the interaction between

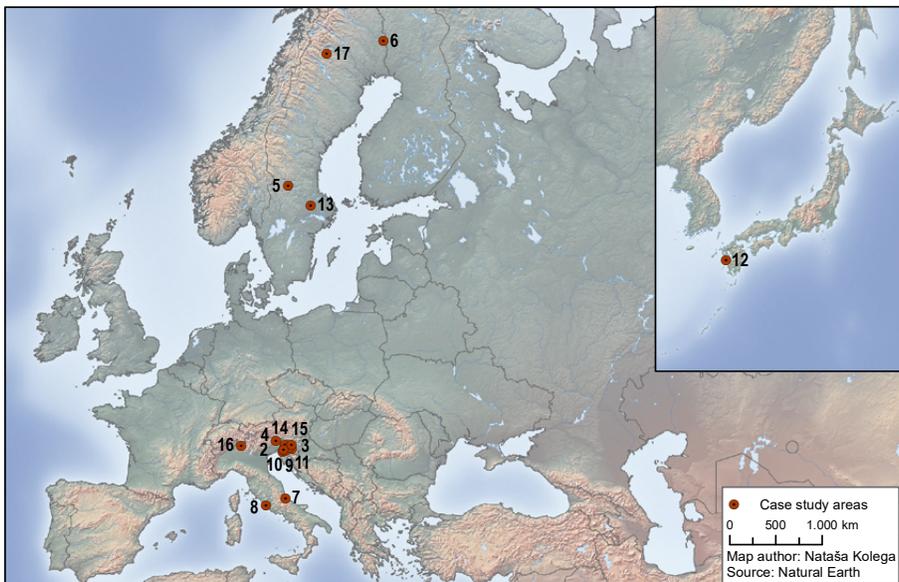
the state and peasants, etc. What the concept Integrated Peasant Economy brings us is a modern concept to analyse the complex web of activities that made up the peasant economy. IPE is a tool that is aligned with other contemporary concepts in history and that makes it possible to analyse the complexity of a peasant's life building on their agency.

I

The Integrated Peasant Economy as a Concept in Progress

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Map 1.1: Case study locations

Introduction

By addressing problems in the thematic area stretching between peasant subsistence and economic development, our questions are deeply rooted in the economic, agrarian, social, and rural historiography. Within rural history research there has been a shift towards the dynamic aspects in peasant economy and society, combined with a growing relevance of comparative approaches. On the other hand there is a remarkable tradition in addressing the questions regarding the self-sustainability of peasants, the small dimension of holdings, peasant market relations and income integration. In many European regions the holdings were not sufficient enough to provide the necessary means of subsistence to peasant households. This is well known in upland areas in particular, although not limited to them, where the population engaged in a wide range of activities in order to gain more income. The basic assumption here is that different income sources were part of a comprehensive economic strategy, in which peasants counted on and exploited the opportunities of access to alternative activities, and that the peasant economy based on income integration is to be regarded as a whole, as a system.

A basic effort we made was to render agency to the peasant, to recognise the peasants a role of active actors in rural history, and perhaps not only rural. The main goal was to develop and test a conceptualisation of peasant economy that would allow a step forward from terminology and models with a more or less restricted applicability, enabling at the same time a better comparability among regions and cases as well as through time. The starting point was represented by the acknowledgement, indeed well present in scholarship but more rarely brought to its interpretative consequences, that in several areas peasant populations did not live simply on subsistence agriculture but showed rather diversified and complex income patterns. The proposed term to define this is integrated peasant economy, a concept emerged from the conjunction between Slovenian and Italian historiographies, which was then confronted with the Swedish scholarly experience. But the very beginning had indeed been in Slovenia, as I am going to present in the first part, followed by a first definition of the integrated peasant economy, which will then be put in comparison with some other interpretations, models, and terms. In the last part the actual state of the integrated peasant economy concept will be sketched, as it developed through

the confrontation and comparison among the authors and their case studies presented in this volume.¹

1. Long-run characters and trends in the peasant economy in Slovenia

One of the most prominent features in the economic history of the Slovenian countryside is the widespread phenomenon of “peasant trade” and, more generally, the integration of agricultural income sources with non-agricultural ones, and of on-farm activities with off-farm ones. We may observe a great diffusion and a large variety of activities in which peasants were involved, even compared with much larger Alpine and western European areas (Table 1.4). In the Early Modern Slovenian provinces peasant farms were mostly small, due to the process of fragmentation and creation of new units. Given also the unfavourable conditions for agriculture on the Alpine, Subalpine and karstic terrain that cover a great part of the central and western Slovenian area, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of the peasant population could not make their living from agriculture alone. In fact, both contemporary sources and historiographical literature show that the Slovenian peasant population intensively recurred to non-agricultural activities and sources of income. Already J. W. Valvasor in his monumental description of the Duchy of Carniola (1689) mentioned the peasants’ need to obtain incomes from outside their farms as one of the striking economic and social characteristics of the region. According to Ferdo Gestrin (1991), as early as 1552 the provincial estates of the Duchy claimed that in Carniola and the Karst (central and south-western Slovenia) in particular the peasants could not remain on their farms if they were not active in trade and transport activities. In proving the importance that non-agricultural income had for the peasant population, it is also relevant

1 This book is a result of the research carried out in the frame of the project *Integrated peasant economy in Slovenia in a comparative perspective (16th–19th centuries)*, financed by the Research Agency of Slovenia – ARRS (2014–2017), at the Faculty for Humanities of the University of Primorska, partners the Institute for Contemporary History in Ljubljana (Žarko Lazarević) and the Milko Kos Historical Institute of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Matjaž Bizjak), foreign partners the International Association for Alpine History, Alessio Fornasin (Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Udine), Jesper Larsson (Department of Economics, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences), Luigi Lorenzetti (Laboratory of Alps History LabiSAIp, USI – Italian Swiss University), and Luca Mocarrelli (Department of Economics, Management and Statistics, University of Milano Bicocca).

to recall his observation that demands and complaints regarding trade and transport were a constant in all the major peasant uprisings in the Slovenian lands (Gestrin 1973a; also Grafenauer 1973, 27–9). This feature is acknowledged also in a recent general history of Slovenia: “The specificity of the peasants in the Slovene area was more in the fact that they – as carriers and cart drivers, but also as middlemen-traders and craftsmen – combined their work on the farms with non-agricultural economy” (Štih and Simoniti 2010, 154).

There are numerous cases and descriptions regarding different typologies of non-agricultural activities, although for the Early Modern period the historiography concentrated in particular on the so called “peasant trade” (*kmečka trgovina*).² Jože Šorn pointed out that “such trading was a general European phenomenon, but within the Alpine Habsburg lands it was the peasant trading in Carniola to be famous for its width and depth.” He added that the intensity of peasant trading was stronger in the western half of Slovenian regions due to the opportunities offered by the proximity of Adriatic port towns (Šorn 1984, 40, 43). The outstanding peasants’ role in transport has been put in relation to the prevailing Early-Modern communication methods in the area. Sergij Vilfan pointed out how a great deal of the trade within and throughout the Slovenian lands ran along the north-east – south-west axis (from the central-eastern European inland to the Adriatic coast and Italian regions), while the waterways headed in somehow the opposite direction (from Slovenia the rivers flow towards the Black Sea, that is to the south-east). For this reason the cheapest means of transport was not available and transport had to be carried out on horseback, and the consequent “relatively high share of transport costs did not favour the involvement of merchants with goods of low specific value” (grain, salt, etc.). This is how “economic opportunities were given for the peasants to engage” in transport and trade, “since they could work with a relatively low investment of money, while a great deal of the final price was represented by costs of transport, that is exactly by their own input” in the whole process. “That’s why they could be satisfied with a lower profit” from the sale of goods (Vilfan 1978, 79).

A periodisation and typological definition of the different activities comprised under the term “peasant trade” was proposed by Gestrin for the centuries between the late Middle and the Early Modern Ages. He distin-

2 For a wider selection of examples see the contributions of Ines Beguš and Katja Hrobat Virloget to this book.

guished two phases, connecting each of them to the developments in the manorial economy, the first one coinciding with the dissolution of the medieval demesne economy between the 13th and 14th centuries (referring to it as “the first commercialisation level of the manor”), while he found that the second, stronger development phase of “peasant trade” corresponded with the feudal landlords’ rent crisis between the 15th and 16th centuries (“the second commercialisation level of the manor”). In this second phase he pointed out a specificity of the Slovenian regions, consisting in landlords perceiving rents composed of a good share of money, as an alternative way to increase their land rent income in the Early Modern period. In fact the nobility of Carniola backed the peasants when their trade was challenged, since “peasant trade” was where the peasants obtained the money to pay the dues to their landlords. Peasants were further directed to the market by the raising of state taxes, in order to be able to pay them (Gestrin 1973a, 45–6; 1973b, 74–5, 1991, 224–6, 235; see also Panjek 2011) (for the typologies, see Table 1.1).

We owe another periodisation and systemisation of the relations between the agrarian and the non-agrarian peasant income, in this case extended to secondary sector activities, to Bogo Grafenauer (1970, 627–8). He identified the “basic foundation of peasant trade” in the exchange in kind of inland grain for sea-salt on the Adriatic coast dating back to the 13th century. Later on, “peasant trade” included a large range of goods, therefore arising protests from urban merchants through the Early Modern centuries. Later still, in the 18th century, “along with the development of sea-ports, peasant trade grew into cart transport” (*prevozništvo*). “The second connection” of the peasant economy “with the non-agrarian activities was the horseback transport [*tovorništvo*] of goods for the ironworks.” The third one was, in his view, the inclusion of the “village population” in proto-industrial production networks “organized by big tradesmen” (*založništvo*, domestic or putting-out system, *Kauf* or *Verlagssystem*).

The interpretation saying that “only such an economic development of the village from the 15th century onwards explains the population structure as well as the formation of tiny rural holdings” (Grafenauer 1970, 627–8), is in line with our integrated peasant economy concept, in the part it stresses the role of peasant initiative in influencing the market oriented activities: the increasing social stratification in the villages and the growing number of small holdings was more of a consequence of the existing market-derived income opportunities (peasants could afford to live on small holdings be-

cause of other income sources) than the other way around (peasants had to engage in other activities because their farms were too small).

We may understand the protests of urban merchants and the repeated prohibition acts as confirmation of the existence and perhaps even of the liveliness of peasant trade in the long run. While dating back to the late Middle Ages, such protests brought about a series of legal prohibitions of peasant trade in Carniola throughout the Early Modern period (1552, 1568, 1602, 1661, 1691, 1725), but all of them were soon followed by relaxations. The last of the latter in 1737 regulated the merchandise admitted for peasant trade, limiting it to “anything the peasant produced by himself” and listing as much as forty possible articles of this kind! Proceeding into the 18th century, mercantilist and physiocratic measures of the modernising Habsburg state helped inaugurate a phase of economic growth that brought new and wider opportunities for the peasants’ market-related activities (Šorn 1984, 40–3).

In fact, as already mentioned, the market-oriented peasants’ agency in Slovenian lands was not limited to transport related activities in the tertiary sector, but they were active in the industrial field as well. Although this was the case in the 16th and 17th centuries, too, a phase of more significant growth in peasant industrial production was detected in the second half of the 18th century, just like in peasant trade. For the latter period, Šorn cautiously estimated that 29% of the traded industrial production in the duchy of Carniola originated from peasants. This figure does not comprise the peasant’s self-consumed production, which is positive for our research on market oriented activities. On the other hand it does not take into account the large quicksilver mine in Idrija,³ whose production if included would have resulted in a lower share of “peasant production” (Table 1.3). It may also be recalled that many of the mine-workers in Idrija derived from peasant households and combined their work in the mine with the cultivation of small plots of land (Valentinitzsch 1981). Šorn’s stressing the fact that his figures are an estimate based on his own in-depth research experience, “because despite the examined archival documentation we have not yet detected material data that would help rounding the picture up to probability,” by making such a statement in a work full of figures and specifically

3 The reason is that it represented an administrative island directly ruled by the financial chamber of the state. In spite of being correct in a strict historical sense, such choice appears less reasonable when our goal is to understand the regional economy as a whole, not least because the Idrija mine had an impact on economic opportunities also outside its administrative territory.

dedicated to the “beginnings of industry,” is tell-tale about how hard the job of quantifying phenomena in Slovenian rural history is (Table 1.3). The reason is only partly to seek in the ability and approach of historians, since the sources play a relevant role: even in collecting data and categorising industry and crafts, in the second half of the 18th century the authors of state surveys managed to apply differing criteria in different regions, thus producing not really comparable figures for Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica county, and Trieste (Šorn 1984, 74–5).

Table 1.1: Types, characters, and chronology of peasant trade in Slovenian scholarship, based on F. Gestrin, B. Grafenauer, and J. Šorn

I. Expansive phase: mid-13 th –mid-14 th century	II. Expansive phase: mid-15 th –end-16 th century	III. Expansive phase: mid–late 18 th century
1. With own products	4. With goods of professional (urban) merchants	7. Cart-transport
2. On behalf of tradesmen	5. With goods of other peasants	
3. For <i>corvées</i> service	6. Smuggling	
<i>Short distance, on borough and town markets.</i>	<i>Longer distance, interregional and international (also by sea); to local ironworks.</i>	<i>Export through sea-ports; economic policy measures.</i>

Note: The types and characters of peasant trade in each phase are present in the later phases, too. Source: See text.

Table 1.2: Yearly volume of peasant trade in Slovenian lands between the early 14th and the early 17th centuries, as estimated by F. Gestrin

Period	Yearly peasant trade	Population	Estimated area
Early 14 th century	110,000 <i>tovor</i> (18,500 <i>tons</i>)	90,000 peasant households	
Late 15 th century	400,000 <i>tovor</i> (67,200 <i>tons</i>)	120,000 peasant households	24,000 km ²
16 th and early 17 th centuries	550,000 <i>tovor</i> (92,400 <i>tons</i>)	800,000 people in total	

Source and conversion: See text and footnotes 4 and 5.

Table 1.3: Shares of industrial production for the market in Carniola 1760–1775, as estimated by J. Šorn (without the Idrija quicksilver mine and plant)

Form of production	Share of gross domestic product (%)
Peasant production (partly included in proto-industrial networks)	29
Craft (including rural craftsmen and proto-industrial networks)	25
Centralised plants in light industry	25
Centralised plants in heavy industry (mines and iron works)	21
Total	100

Source: Šorn 1984, 62–3.

So we proceed by estimations. We owe to Gestrin, again, a “first attempt” of “quantifying peasant trade in the late Middle Ages and the 16th century” or, more precisely, “an attempt to present a method for the calculation, or better for an approximate estimation of the volume of peasant trade.” He proposed that in the 16th and “partly” in the first half of the 17th centuries peasant trade in Slovenian lands reached “up to” 550,000 *tovor* per year, “and more” (Gestrin 1978, 169, 177). To get an idea, that would mean nearly 100,000 tons (Table 1.2),⁴ on an area of about 24,000 km² (Early Modern Slovenian “ethnic territory”) with an estimated population of up to 800,000.⁵ Gestrin asserted, “without exaggeration and with all certainty,” that such quantity exceeded the volume traded by professional urban merchants in the 16th century, but also that peasant trade and transport strongly influenced the whole economic and social dynamics in Slovenia. “They brought to the peasant a not really small source of incomes, having a positive effect on the development of the market economy and on the enlargement of the market on the Slovenian territory, as well as raising its economic strength” (Gestrin 1991, 288). In other words we may say that in his opinion peasant trade and transport had positive macroeconomic effects, especially in the 16th century (Table 1.2). We have already seen how in the secondary sector too, peasant industrial production may be expressed in macroeconomic terms, at least towards the end of the 18th century (Ta-

4 For the conversion of the *tovor* (German *Saum*) we use here the weight of 1 Vienna *Saum* = 168 kg (Panjek 2002, 16).

5 Such estimation (Gestrin 1991, 13) is confirmed by a more recent calculation, in which on 20,000 km² (today’s Slovenia) a population of 662,000 was estimated – if referred to 20,000 km² Gestrin’s figure would in fact be nearly the same, that is up to 675,000 people (Makarovič 2003, 390–1).

ble 13). Considering that about 30% of the industrial production derived from peasants and about 50% of the traded goods were handled by peasants (since they traded volumes comparable to urban merchants), we might conclude that market oriented peasant activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors in Early Modern Slovenia reached macroeconomic dimensions and impact.

What we have in between, that is from the beginning of the 17th to the mid-18th century, as far as economic movements in general and the peasant economy dynamics in particular are concerned, represents probably the main knowledge gap in Slovenian modern economic history (Gestrin 1982, 207). There is, anyway, a general interpretative convergence among Slovenian and Austrian scholars, that can be summed up as follows: on the so called “Ljubljana road” (*Laibacher Strasse*), connecting the Hungarian Pannonian plain with the Adriatic sea and northern Italy through the Slovenian lands of Habsburg Austria, after the 16th century expansive phase signs of a commercial slowdown may be registered between the end of that century and the beginning of the 17th.⁶ Such periodisation of economic dynamics fairly coincides with the turning point from growth to “crisis” (or at least “stagnation”) in the Italian economic area, which was an expression of the general shift in economic centrality from the Mediterranean to north-western Europe and involved the neighbouring Venetian Republic as well (Romano 1992; Malanima 1998; Tenenti 1961). At the local level, during the 17th century seemingly contradictory evidence may be detected, since in western Slovenian lands bordering the Republic of Venice, the persistence of lively peasant traffic may be observed along with an increased pressure on natural resources (peasant reclamations of commons and woods, examples of intensive exploitation of grasslands and woodlands) that might resemble an opposite, ‘back to agriculture’ trend.⁷ As we have mentioned, a steadier economic growth is registered again only in the 18th century.

Based on the regression of industrial activities, Žarko Lazarević recently wrote of two periods of discontinuity in which a “deindustrialisation” and “reagrarisation” process took place in the Slovenian lands, that is in the 17th and then again in the 19th century. Perhaps even more relevant is his stressing the fact that being a small economy, with a consequently insufficient domestic demand to support an internally driven development, the

6 Pickl 1971; 1977; and 1983; Valentinitich 1973; 1975; and 1989; Hassinger 1987; Gestrin 1991 and in different earlier works; a synthesis in Panjek 2002, 139–43.

7 Panjek 2002; 2015b, 85–117; and 2015c, 59–106.; see also Panjek and Beguš 2014.

secondary and tertiary sectors in Slovenia stood “in tight correlation with the extent of external demand and other exogenous factors” – and in the Early Modern period the driving foreign market was represented by Italian states (Lazarević 2015, 12–36), whose economic movement in that period has already been roughly sketched. By connecting this observation with the above mentioned macroeconomic effects of peasant activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors, we might then speak of an ‘export-led peasant economy’ in pre-industrial Slovenia.

2. The first definition of the integrated peasant economy

As we have seen, the words used in Slovenian historiography to write about the peasant activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors are “peasant trade,” “peasant production,” “non-agrarian activities,” and “commercialisation,” to which “complementary activities” (meaning complementary to agriculture) has to be added. Apart from “commercialisation,” used by Gerstin in particular (but not referring to peasants only), it’s possible to notice that this way the peasant economy is not regarded as a whole, nor as a specific object of research.⁸

Precisely this is one of the main efforts we have attempted in this book, that is to put the peasant economy at the centre of attention and investigate its inherent economic rationality, and to do so by trying to assume a point of view from its inside, to look at things from the perspective of the peasant households, communities, and peasant economy as a whole. This is, of course, far from being the first attempt in this direction in international historical scholarship, but still it has some originality in it – it strives to take in to consideration the three economic sectors altogether and consider them as equal ingredients of a whole, while questioning the prevailing assumption that the peasant household economy aimed at subsistence and survival only, as well as that the recourse to activities different from on-farm agriculture was out of need only.

For a first check of the extent to which the peasant economy in Slovenia integrated different income sources, I drafted a scheme including the activities that brought an increase and differentiation in income, in comparison to the sole ‘basic’ agricultural production meant for self-consumption (Panjek 2015a). The purpose of this scheme was to enable a first comparison of the Slovenian situation in the pre-industrial period with the wider Alpine and western European reality. In order to do so, I summed up

8 Grafenauer 1970 is one of the exceptions.

the activities referred to by Gauro Coppola when discussing the “integrated economy” of the population in the Italian (southern) Alps, with those mentioned by Jan de Vries in addressing rural “industriousness” in western Europe (Coppola 1991; de Vries 2008, 71–121, 169). The activities are grouped by economic sector, and the resulting list is checked based on historical evidence from western Slovenia (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4: Economic activities providing income to peasants: Western Europe, Italian Alps and (Early Modern) western Slovenia compared

Sector	Activity	Western Slovenia
	Agricultural specialisation	rare
PRIMARY	Intensification of cultivation (no fallow, mixed-cropping, ...)	✓
	Wage day-labour in agriculture	✓
	Extension/intensification of breeding	✓
	Intensification of forest exploitation (through primary sector activities, but also secondary and tertiary)	✓
	Extension of cultivated land (reclamation of commons and woods)	✓
SECONDARY	Transformation of primary resources/products (e.g. wine, cheese, meat products; charcoal, lime)	✓
	Rural crafts	✓
	Domestic, putting-out system (proto-industry)	✓
	“Centred” industries (manufactures, mining, ...)	✓
	Migrant/mobile craftsmen (e.g. bricklayers, ...)	?
TERTIARY	Wage labour in the industrial sector	✓
	Services in the field of long and medium distance trade	✓
	Transport of other people’s products and goods on short to medium distance	✓
	Trafficking with own products and goods on short to medium distance	✓
	Peddling	✓
	Smuggling	✓

Source: Panjek 2015a.

Already with a first look at Table 1.4 it is possible to acknowledge that most of the activities mentioned at a western European and southern Alpine level, were present in the western Slovenian area as well (which be-

longs to the southern Alpine and Pre-alpine area, too). This does not imply stating that all of the mentioned activities were evenly spread throughout the western Slovenian lands, since local peculiarities, specificities and also specialisations existed. Their presence, combination and role could moreover vary in time, at the local level as well in the whole area, not least as a response to the wider economic conjuncture or change. The single typologies should also be referred to different social strata within the rural population. Nevertheless it is reasonable to affirm that in the western Slovenian area, being a much smaller region compared to the Southern Alps and Western Europe, a vast majority of different extra-agrarian activities was present among the peasant population. This means that their diversity, diffusion and density were comparatively very high.

What prompted the Slovenian peasants toward what appears to have been a general orientation towards the market? Their involvement in a mixture of industrial, commercial and transport activities was undoubtedly a necessity: for the majority of peasants the acquisition of extra-agricultural income represented a strategy whereby they could both achieve a level of subsistence and be able to pay their feudal, provincial, ecclesiastical and state rents and dues. But the fact that it was a necessity does not yet necessarily mean it was a passively-accepted solution, nor that it simply represented a way out of need.

At this point we must consider the fact that a large part of the peasant holdings was small. The peasant society in pre-industrial Slovenia was quite stratified and, most of all, at latest since the 16th century there was a growing part of the peasant households which did not dispose of much land, so that in the Early Modern centuries a growing majority of the holdings was not large enough to grant the households a living from their own land only. In fact, we may observe an increase in the foundation of agriculturally self-insufficient households, both as cottagers with little or no land as well as through the progressive fragmentation of the older and larger farm units.

Is it reasonable to think that through several centuries the peasants drove the system towards their own economic ruin without taking any measure, such as adjusting the age of marriage and the inheritance pattern? Or we might more reasonably suppose that, on the contrary, the multiplication of households beyond the level of subsistence provided by land indicates that the rural population counted on and exploited the possibility of access to alternative activities? This means that the economic rationality

behind the fragmentation of farm units laid in the expectation and opportunities offered by market oriented activities. In this respect, the existence of (although small) local towns, boroughs (*Märkte*) and industrial centres, the proximity of the (comparatively strong economies and wide markets) of northern Italian states and first of all the Republic of Venice, as well as the existence of consolidated long-distance commercial flows connecting them with central-eastern European regions precisely through the Slovenian territory, represented a sort of promise of employment for the peasant population.

This means that at a system level, non-agricultural and, more in general, market related income sources represented an element in a more complex and comprehensive economic strategy. Peasants counted on and actively, systematically used the possibility of access to other activities. This possibility was evidently one of the aspects taken into consideration in household planning: had it not been so, we would not have encountered so many agriculturally self-insufficient units. A variety of non-agricultural income sources allowed the rural society to structurally overcome environmental, technological, and other possible constraints – and this supports the interpretation that non-agricultural and market oriented activities were not necessarily in a subordinated role in relation to self-consumption agriculture. Is it then (economically) correct to speak of “additional” activities in such circumstances? Is it acceptable to think of such “additional” activities simply as a measure to overcome momentary or conjunctural insufficiencies of agricultural subsistence? My answer is negative. That is why I find it reasonable to make a fundamental shift in the perspective, from the interpretation that market oriented and non-agricultural activities were undertaken because holdings were too small and agricultural income consequently insufficient, to the acknowledgment that holdings were small because peasants had different income sources.

The relevance of the question is not least given by the fact that similar circumstances were not exclusive of pre-industrial rural Slovenia. In many regions of Europe the holdings were not sufficient to provide the necessary means of subsistence to the peasant households. This is a well-known and widespread characteristic in many upland areas in particular, where the population engaged in different activities apart from agriculture and animal husbandry in order to gain more income.

In fact, the system we have so far observed is very much in line with the “overall characteristics of the Early Modern Alpine economy” that

Gauro Coppola named “integrated economy” – although only in the title of an (enlightening though synthetic) article in which he put it in relation with the “scarcity of resources” – such “integrated economy” ensured “economic equilibrium” also when facing “transformations” (Coppola 1991, 203). His basic premise is that considering the character and conditions in agriculture, “at a macro level, related to the total number of the population,” the Alpine area suffered from a “chronic alimentary deficit, especially of grain.” Coppola suggests that if such a “system stands,” “it means that the income integrations from other activities and sectors are of much greater importance than the cultivation of the fields alone.” In the Alpine economy there was a “complex balance,” in which the density of single activities could vary in space and time. “The organic complementarity of the production sectors, the safeguard and the integration of the resources, the processes of substitution of the more fragile and weakened portions of the whole” have, as a result, “a system that is able to ensure proportionate processes of income formation” and make “adjustments to the changes in market conditions.” In the Alpine and Subalpine economy “the forms of integration acquire primary support functions, granting the solidity of the context” (Coppola 1991, 213–4, 221–2). Apart from the transparent similarities with the Slovenian case, an important accent in Coppola’s reading is that the Alpine “integrated economy” maintained a higher level of population by keeping a balance between many different income sources, a balance that was flexible enough not only to adjust to changes in market conditions, but even to wider changes in the ratio between population number and available (natural and market) sources of income. Activities could be adopted or abandoned, increased or decreased, and their relative importance in the peasant household’s income structure could change in time (and space, of course). But in any case did “the income integrations from other activities and sectors” maintain their fundamental role.

Integrated peasant economy is the concept being proposed here for such a reality. It is an economy in which peasant populations and households made their living by combining self-consumption agriculture with market oriented activities. In fact, even agricultural activities may have been (at least partly) market oriented. The second characteristic is that agriculture did not necessarily represent its basis, nor were the market oriented activities simply supplementary. This means that agricultural production aimed at self-consumption was not necessarily the basis of the peasant household economy, and that market activities represented a basi-

cally equal income source. Of fundamental importance is the third character distinguishing the integrated peasant economy, that represents also the reason why we named this system integrated – the fact that it integrated activities and income sources from all three economic sectors together, the primary, secondary and tertiary. This means we are not simply coping with peasants who consumed their own produce and additionally did some industry in winter months (although they fit in the concept, too), or engaged in some additional activity in bad harvest years, but with peasant households that systematically used the plough (or shovel only), engaged in crafts and hit the roads, their income sources ranging from working as day labourers in agriculture to illegal trafficking, passing through industrial and transport activities. Lastly, something that is perhaps more of a consequence than a character, but it nevertheless constitutes a distinctive characteristic of the integrated peasant economy: it enabled rural societies to overcome natural and technical limits, and to significantly raise the carrying-capacity of the environment they lived in, since it allowed sustaining a population beyond the level that would have been possible based solely on agricultural land and the self-consumption of its produce. We may well add a feature stressed by Coppola, that is the flexibility of the system, meaning that single activities could be adopted, increased, decreased or abandoned, while their role in the peasant household's income structure could change through time and space. On this basis, a first list of features characterising the integrated peasant economy was sketched (Panjek 2015, 203–4):

1. Peasants combine agriculture and market oriented activities to make their living.
2. Market oriented activities represent an equal income source compared to subsistence agriculture.
3. The adopted activities and income sources belong to the three economic sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary).
4. The system is dynamic and flexible, adapts to changes in the availability of income sources and the market conditions, in the population and in family structure.
5. The carrying capacity of the environment is increased beyond the level of the population possibly based on agricultural land alone.

3. Facing the peasant family economy, proto-industry, pluriactivity, industriousness, and the survival commercial economy

At this point we may compare this first definition with some other models and interpretations of the peasant economy. In the economic historical research there is a remarkable tradition in addressing the theme of self-sustainability of peasants. In his questioning the relationship between self-consumption and market Maurice Aymard distinguished three different interpretations: the recourse to the market to the minimum possible extent in Chayanov, the direct response of farms to market demands in Labrousse, and the impasse of growth as a consequence of the reaching of the maximum possible ratio between population and production as a result of technical inertia in Le Roy Ladurie (Aymard 1983). If compared to Chayanov, Labrousse and Le Roy Ladurie, the solution adopted by the peasant population in Slovenia, but also in the Italian Alps as we have just seen from Coppola, appears to be still a different one: the systematic recourse to various, multi-sectoral activities external to the farms in a flexible combination and a tight connection to the market. Chayanov's "family economy" model was also put at the base of another comprehensive theory, strongly involving peasant non-agrarian activity – that is "proto-industry" (Medick 1981, 41–4). These are good enough reasons to go briefly back to these classics.

Comparing Chayanov's writing with its interpretations it's possible to notice a tendency to simplify and reduce his peasant economy to a closed economy with very limited market relations. It is certainly true that he wrote about the peasant "natural economy" within the feudal system and dedicated significantly more space to the inherent logics of the peasant family economy within agricultural production only. Nevertheless the overall impression may be that his work is more actual than it might seem, its somehow simplified reception resembling that of Braudel's statements about the Alps (Mathieu 2016). Although this may of course not be the place for a wider discussion, it still makes sense to mention some of the most apparent divergences and similarities between his Russian case and the integrated peasant economy. As first I would point out that one of the basic Chayanov's assumptions, that the peasant families did not make use of paid labour, does not fit the realities we are discussing, since the work as wage day-labourers on larger peasant farms was relatively widespread, representing one of the many possible income sources for small peasants,

while peasants owning larger holdings apart from using daily wage labour could employ more stable farmhands and maids too. On the other hand we must recognise that the market is well present in Chayanov's peasant economy. Let's quote just a couple of examples. In the "Theory of non-capitalist economic systems," "the peasant or artisan running his own business without paid labour receives as a result of a year's work an amount of produce which, after being exchanged on the market, forms the gross product of his economic unit" (Chayanov 1966, 5). In "The basic principles of peasant farm organisation," when discussing early 20th century Russian cases he becomes even clearer by writing about the "summed family income and not [... only] that part which its agricultural incomes constitute."

The family throws its unutilised labour into crafts, trades, and other extra-agricultural livelihoods. The whole of its summed agricultural, crafts, and trades income is counterposed to its demands, and the drudgery of acquiring it leads to an equilibrium with the degree of satisfaction of these personal demands. [...] Thus, the peasant family hastens to meet a shortfall in agriculture incomes by income from crafts and trades. [...] Because the family's agricultural undertaking and crafts and trades activity are connected by a single system of the basic equilibrium of economic factors, they cannot be reviewed independently of one another. This compels us to change somewhat the morphological scheme of the peasant farm [...] by including the process of work in crafts and trades (Chayanov 1966, 101–2).

Table 1.5: Percentage of the working time spent in agriculture, crafts, and trades by farm-size in the Vologda uezd (northern Russia, early 20th century)

Sown area in each field per farm (<i>desyatinas</i> = 1.1 ha)	Percentage of working year spent on:	
	Agriculture	Crafts and trades
0.0-0.0	10.3	41.9
0.1-1.0	21.7	22.8
1.1-2.0	23.0	21.9
2.1-3.0	26.9	19.8
3.1-6.0	28.1	13.7
6.1-10.0	41.6	11.1

Source: Chayanov 1966, 101 and 272.

In one case he was even able to quantify the time dedicated to agriculture, crafts and trade by peasant families, noting how to the latter activities more time was dedicated by peasants with a smaller amount of land (Table 1.5).

Clear and important similarities with the integrated peasant economy may be identified both in the asserted existence of income integration from activities belonging to all three economic sectors (primary, secondary, and tertiary), as well as in the need to understand such income sources as part of a “single system” to be considered as a whole and not separately. Based on this we may notice how the basic features of the integrated peasant economy are applicable to the Russian case too, at least at the beginning of the 20th century. At the same time a major difference may be spotted in Chayanov’s opinion that the peasant family recurring to non-agricultural income sources when facing “a shortfall in agriculture incomes” and by using its “unutilised labour” for crafts and trades. On the contrary, in the integrated peasant economy we consider such income sources as structural and fundamental. Another possible difference may be noted in the fact that Chayanov argues how the peasant family was not interested in pursuing income growth when “family’s demands” were “more completely” satisfied (Chayanov 1966, 8). In fact, in Slovenia as well as in other cases presented in this volume, we may spot cases of peasant households increasing their wellbeing and even wealth in connection with multi-sectoral activities external to the farms and in relation to the market – that is through the integrated peasant economy.

It is now possible to make a brief comparative comment on proto-industrialisation, as well. Perhaps we may first notice how, in spite of strongly based on Chayanov’s model of peasant family economy, in this case only secondary sector activities were taken into consideration, while Chayanov recognised the presence of all three sectors in peasant economy. The concept of proto-industry itself does not appear suitable to comprise the whole range of extra-agrarian income sources among the peasants in the southern Alpine area (Slovenia, Italy), for different reasons. First of all, as we have seen, we are not dealing with activities that belong to the industrial (secondary) sector alone. Moreover, we are not talking about activities filling seasonal times of relative under-employment of the work force in the traditional agricultural system – this might, of course, have been the case too, but mainly we have peasant households who engage in other activities because that was their way to make a living, given that they did not possess

enough land to cover all of their needs, and that makes quite a difference. Finally, we are not discussing a form of organisation of production that would have (necessarily) led the way to industrialisation or modern economic development – although we'll come back to this question. This said, the work in proto-industrial forms of production organisation (domestic and putting-out system, *Kauf-* and *Verlagssystem*) itself is not in contradiction with the integrated peasant economy and is included among the possible income sources within the system (see Table 1.4).

Another step in time will help us come to an even closer understanding of the integrated economy concept. A widely used term to describe peasant income integration patterns is “pluriactivity,” and in Italian scholarship – yet again – we may find in depth and convincing discussions of this theme, as well as by French scholars. The term dates back to the 80s of the 20th century. It originated in French historiography with its use by Philippe Lacombe in 1981 (Villani 1989, 13) and at the end of that decade Jean-Luc Mayaud would already affirm that “by now there is no more need to demonstrate the existence of pluriactivity in the agricultural families of the past centuries” (Mayaud 1989, 23).

Pasquale Villani's and Luciano Cafagna's criticism towards “proto-industrialisation” and their stressing the differences brought by research on pluriactivity instead, closely resemble what we mentioned above, as well as the very perspective of the integrated peasant economy in placing the peasant economy at the centre of observation.

The point of view [of proto-industry] remained essentially that of the formation of an industrial basis. The problems of rural society were addressed, when they were, only incidentally [...]. In any case it limited to considering only the relationship toward secondary activities. Pluriactivity, instead, starts exactly from the analysis of rural society and widens to considering the whole spectre of jobs and professions that in a varied way and at different occasions and times were and are practiced by the inhabitants of rural areas (Villani 1989, 14).

The viewpoint of research on pluriactivity wants to be wider than that of research on proto-industrialisation. Its goal is not to identify the factors of development/decline of industrialisation, but the understanding of the ways of survival and of the opportunities of inclusion of agrarian family units facing social change. The results of such research may well give a 'return' as far as a better knowledge

of the whole industrialisation process is concerned, but they are not directly and purposely connected with such knowledge (Cafagna 1989, 79).

There is another fundamental similarity between the concepts of integrated peasant economy and pluriactivity, although perhaps more so in the way it was understood by Italian scholars contrary to the French colleagues: “The very definition of pluriactivity in the rigorous French acceptance of a *second, necessarily extra-agricultural activity* appeared in some cases insufficient to account for the ‘multi-professionality’ or the precariousness of labour among the inhabitants of Italian rural areas.” In discussing the Italian reality in the 18th and 19th centuries, Cafagna was particularly firm in sustaining that peasant “integration choices” encompassed also primary sector activities, like those related to silk production, and that they had to be considered as cases of pluriactivity, too: in doing so he included short term sharecropping tenancies as fitting into the system. In his opinion discussing this would be “pedantic,” since they “surely are an ‘addition’ of activity and income” (Cafagna 1989, 80–1). This opinion is shared by Giovanni Federico as well, who – while addressing different Italian regions in different periods of the 20th century – proposed “four elements of consideration” on pluriactivity, which closely recall some of the features of, and theses on the integrated peasant economy, as follows (here we quote three of them only).

- a) *The work outside the farm is not necessarily a residual activity for the idle times of agriculture. It’s possible, instead, that at a certain moment it turns out to be more remunerative [...].*
- b) *The family’s working power is in principle undividable based on the kind of occupation. That’s why – contrary to the definition of pluriactivity by Hubscher⁹ – it includes agricultural work (both from pure wage and from owned capital). [...]*
- c) *The existence of “exceeding” manpower in respect of the “necessities” of the farm, often called upon (especially in an overpopulated land like Italy) as a cause of pluriactivity, depends in the first place on the choices regarding cultivation and technics (the “survival tactic” of the family). They were not given ‘a priori’: it was possible to change them in order to adjust labour demand and offer – if considered as appropriate. [Very short, short or medium-long term] changes were possible. The persistence of a disproportion in*

9 Ronald Hubscher elaborated the ‘French’ definition of pluriactivity, Villani 1989.

the long run is therefore as well the result of economic choices determined from market conditions and from the availability of alternative employment opportunities (Federico 1989, 90–1).

Similarities with the integrated peasant economy may be spotted, at least partially, also in Federico’s distinction of possible income sources. He could also propose a quantification of their contribution to the whole family income in 20th century Italy (different regions and periods, before WWI, interwar period, and after WWII, Table 1.6). The result of his econometric analysis led to the conclusion that “the recourse to external sources was greater, the smaller, the more specialised and less profitable the farm was, and the higher the demographic load on land was” (Federico 1989, 98).

Table 1.6: “Forms of pluriactivity” and their contribution to the total family income (181 cases, 20th-century Italy)

Income sources	Average percentage of the total family income
Agricultural work with the use of farm capital (like animals)	7.20
Gathering, hunting, fishing	1.35
Tertiary activities: transport	6.80
Tertiary activities: crafts (shoe-making, barbering, bricklaying etc.)	19.95
Emigration: temporary and definitive	25.08
Manufacturing activities: ‘modern’ (factory, mainly women)	39.46
Manufacturing activities: ‘proto-industrial’ (textile)	8.74
Manufacturing activities: diverse (charcoal production, mill management, rural crafts, road-keeping)	21.54

Source: Federico 1989, 94–6.

Anyway, the main assonances with the integrated peasant economy are to be identified in his stressing how peasant income integration was not necessarily and simply a way to exploit seasonal under-employment in agriculture, as well as in his underlining the fact that peasants made active economic choices that attained also the population-resources ratio. This means that a holding too small to give work to all the hands and feed all the mouths may well be understood as the consequence of a choice made based on existing income opportunities. The theme of peasant agency (making choices and acting them out) is closely related to the question of wheth-

er the peasant economy in general, and the integrated peasant economy in particular was directed only towards reaching subsistence and granting survival to the household, or perhaps it allowed something more, too, as in the integrated peasant economy hypothesis. We may find a confirmation of the latter in Cafagna's opinion that the "subjective aims, the inspirational strategies" of pluriactivity may be twofold: given by "defensive necessities" (in relation to the survival possibilities or to the living standard of the family) or by "aspirations of change/improvement." The peasant decision may well take place in a "strategic perspective of acquiring property [...], a pluriactivity choice for 'independence,' as Hubscher would say" (Cafagna 1989, 79, 81).

French historians dedicated their attention to the issue of the social and economic goals of the pluriactive peasant. Ronald Hubscher expressed the opinion that besides admitting the existence of a "penury or subsistence pluriactivity" (*pluriactivité de pénurie ou de subsistance*), "it is necessary to question other destinations of capital [earned through pluriactivity], which point to concerns of social mobility" (Hubscher 1988, 9). This opinion resisted further research tests in France, considering that also Jean-Luc Mayaud a decade later stated that "peasant pluriactivity is not only a pluriactivity out of necessity." From the point of view of "the poorest wanting to rise, the recourse to pluriactivity appears a possible, if not a necessary route to the maintenance and improvement of the small peasant farms" (Mayaud 1999, 233–5).

Without masking the reality of pluriactivity as a 'solution for marginalised farmers', one should not neglect that it is an 'art de vivre' and discloses itself as structurally linked to the peasant farm. Revealed in the long term, pluriactivity finds its place both during the idle periods of agricultural work and within the family's division of tasks, fixed or variable, temporary or permanent. It is extremely flexible and adaptable in both the short and the long term. Various typologies have thus been drawn up, taking into account the more or less strong constraints of agricultural activity, of the rhythms of work in the various crafts, in proto-industry or industry, but also of the opportunities offered by surrounding society. No limit has the list of examples of pluriactivity, in the last century, which don't spare any rural area [of France]" (Mayaud 1999, 236–7).

The similarity with the integrated peasant economy is impressive, although it's important to notice at this point how French historians in particular write about pluriactivity in the 19th and 20th centuries. Gilbert Garrier and Yves Rinaudo distinguished between "closed forms of pluriactivity," practiced within the narrow space of a single hamlet or village and "contributing to the collective autarchy of the community," and "open forms of pluriactivity" with a projection outside of the village, its products entering a commercial circuit and virtually always being subject to a cash payment" (Garrier, Goujon, Rinaudo 1988, 234). While "closed pluriactivity" covers all the professions necessary to the life in the village community, the "open pluriactivity is extroverted," it has an "openly commercial vocation" and a necessarily "extra-village dimension," "it participates fully to a market economy," "requires a certain specialisation" and is "linked to forms of proto-industrialisation, it evolves with time and modernises if necessary" (Rinaudo 1987, 284). The integrated peasant economy is undoubtedly an open and extroverted economy, although it does not exclude from its possible components also forms of activity within the community and income sources originated in the same village (making the mention distinction much less relevant). In fact, one more parallel with the integrated peasant economy is represented by the connection of the peasant economy to the wider economy and external world that it implies: "Through pluriactivity rural areas open themselves to the market, they undergo national if not international economic impulses which the countless peasant weavers, metallurgists or miners cannot escape" (Hubscher 1988, 9).

After reviewing the main and relatively numerous convergences between integrated peasant economy and pluriactivity, some of the major points of divergence shall also not be passed over in silence. We may well start from the internal debate between Italian and French scholars on the very meaning of pluriactivity. While French scholars meant that "it's possible to speak of pluriactivity only when a *first* occupation or activity in agriculture would be joined by another one in the *secondary or tertiary sector*," Italian historians found that employments in the same agricultural sector, mostly seasonal, should be considered as part of the picture, along with wine or oil manufacturing, to give some examples, and that therefore a firm distinction between agricultural and extra-agricultural activities in defining pluriactivity appeared "too rigid."¹⁰ In fact, in the definition proposal by Garrier and colleagues not only any agricultural activity carried out within

10 Villani 1989, 16–7; crucial words are stressed in italics by Villani himself.

the farm, even if it was market oriented, but also those “exercised out of the holdings and, most often, out of the region” are excluded from the concept (Garrier, Goujon, and Rinaudo 1988, 233). Such a “rigid” example of understanding pluriactivity, excluding agricultural income sources, is most explicit in Yves Rinaudo.

The small peasant who engages as agricultural labourer by his more fortunate neighbour or goes to work for the season to a greater distance will not be considered. For sure he accumulates several types of income (as owner, as labourer...). But all of them are of agricultural origin and above all he remains technically, socially and culturally within the agricultural world. In reality he offers an example of internal adjustment of this world and not a modality of its adaptation to the encompassing society (Rinaudo 1987, 284).

At this point it goes nearly without saying that such a position is not only discordant with the “Italian” understanding of pluriactivity, but even more so with the integrated peasant economy concept, which includes also the options of income integration in the primary sector, not least because we regard the peasant economy as a whole. It’s consequently not surprising that Rinaudo and colleagues have a narrower range of fields in which pluriactive peasants could be active, but even considering this their “first orientation grid by sectors and products” is quite parsimonious, since it lists only “textiles, iron and metals, timber, extractive activities (marl, quarries, mines etc...), transport activities, other” (Garrier, Goujon, and Rinaudo 1988, 233–4). In the integrated peasant economy we also do not look at non-agricultural activities simply as a second activity, as it prevails in the original French definition of pluriactivity, and allow for more complex combinations of a number of different marketed income sources. So far we have also not classified the possible combinations into (sub) categories, or followed the example of speaking of more “pluriactivities” (Garrier and Hubscher 1988; Cafagna 1989).

As Renato Sansa has suggested, the integrated peasant economy might overcome the divergences between the Italian and the French conception of pluriactivity.¹¹ I think one of the advantages of the integrated peasant economy is precisely its capability to encompass the whole economy of a peasant household, including its different possible income sources and activity changes. Distinguishing among different possible combinations or pairs

11 See the contribution by Renato Sansa in this volume.

of activities may in fact be a way to lose out of sight the fundamental acknowledgement that income integration in peasant economy constitutes one system only, despite its (different) forms of appearance. Nevertheless the distinction between activity combinations as “forms of pluriactivity” represents one of the possible paths to a comparative approach, as Luigi Lorenzetti has recently shown in the example of two Alpine valleys in Italy and Switzerland between the last decades of the 19th and first of the 20th centuries (Lorenzetti 2012–13).

This brings us to an interesting divergence between the two concepts, related to the somehow different time-frame in which they are applied. While ‘Italian school’ pluriactivity research focuses mainly on the 18th and 19th century, with possible projections into the 20th, ‘French school’ pluriactivity is more focused on the latter two centuries, with Yves Rinaudo even deeming that, “omnipresent, peasants’ ‘pluri-activity’ functioned as a formula for adaptation to the modern world (from 1830 to 1950).” Indeed also a different scenario was possible: peasants remaining attached to old and declining activities would decrease in number, while others would find in new activities “the means to last without changing.” (Rinaudo 1987, 296–7). Continuing on the same interpretative line, Mayaux identifies in pluriactivity the reason why small peasant farms in France endured the 19th century, notwithstanding the expectation that they should have been condemned to join the proletariat and give way to big capitalistic farms. That’s also the reason why he claims that “the acknowledgement of pluriactivity by rural historians is one of the important acquisitions in recent historiography,” making it possible to speak of an “agro-industrial” space and economy (Mayaud 1999, 232).

Recognising the versatility of the small-scale rural farm, one can understand its resistance, its maintenance, its reproduction and, overall, its triumph. Being pluri-active, it is confronted with the risks of the market in which it is inserted. More exposed than the alimentary tenure, it is nevertheless better equipped to face the surrounding economy. It draws its strength from a high level of flexibility and strong reconversion capacities: depending on market opportunities, ‘extra work’ can temporarily become the main activity or disappear in anticipation of better times (Mayaud 1999, 242).

Although this interpretation is perfectly in line with the integrated peasant economy concept, as we have seen and still will notice, at the same

time there is a difference to be pointed at. In fact, the integrated peasant economy was designed to fit the pre-industrial period and it proved to be applicable since the late Middle-Ages and through the Early Modern centuries, while within our research the period of modern economic development and industrialisation was seen as a challenge to the system, too. The difference is that French historians consider pluriactivity a way to adapt to conditions brought on by modernity, while we see the integrated peasant economy as pre-existent and the 19th (and 20th) centuries as one of the ages in which it existed and persisted, proving itself as an adequate conceptual tool for analysing not only pre-industrial societies, but rural areas with modernising and industrialising economies as well. Let's just incidentally notice how the aforementioned discussions among French and Italian pluriactivity researchers implicitly shows how income integration practices were present among peasants in a much wider area than the southern Alpine and mountain areas of Slovenia and Italy, which we have so far mainly addressed.

Recent rural historiography stresses how the Early-Modern and modern European peasant population showed a remarkable degree of economic activity and initiative, defining it as “agency,” for example in a southern German case (Sreenivasan 2004), and “industriousness” in north-western Europe (de Vries 2008). This means the peasant households represented not only observers who would passively adapt to external conditions and pressures, but were an active player in the wider sphere of production and consumption. With the organisation of work and relationships within the family they helped shape the social and economic processes and changes in which they were involved not only as producers but also as consumers. Because of the rather high variety of activities in which the Slovenian, Italian, and other European peasants engaged in, we may perhaps say that in doing so they as well showed a remarkable degree of economic “agency” and even “industriousness.” Although “industriousness” implies a growing orientation towards consumer goods, by sustaining this I do not necessarily mean that in the Early Modern Slovenian or southern Alpine rural society in general (including Italy) there was a significant orientation towards acquiring consumer goods or satisfying modern consumer needs,¹² but more simply that this term may be applied to such economies too. What I think may be noticed in a wider rural economic landscape than western Europe alone,

12 Although such cases are documented, like in 18th century Tuscany, Malanima 1990, 135–63. For a recent critical comment on the industrious revolution and the “industriousness discourse” in historical scholarship, see Litvine 2014.

where the concept of “industriousness” was conceived, is that “households shifted from market contact (sale of goods to supplement household production) to market orientation (sale of goods and labour as the basis of the household economy)” (de Vries 2008, 82). The latter was, for example, the case of an increasing portion of the Slovenian and Italian Alpine and Sub-alpine peasant population throughout the Early Modern centuries, but the same applies to different cases presented in this volume too, ranging from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia.

On the other hand, even in north-western Europe, the ‘home of industriousness,’ we may find regions in which survival has been interpreted as “the most important goal” of peasant economy, although it combined agriculture with market-oriented activities, excluding the possibility that peasants would have been able to represent a source of demand for commodity goods which could sustain economic development. This is the case of Erik Thoen’s “commercial-survival economy,” a term coined to define the peasant economy in inland Flanders. The analogy between the “commercial-survival economy,” the integrated peasant economy (and pluriactivity too) is substantial, starting from the basic fact that they are all intended to define an economy combining agriculture with market oriented inter-sectoral activities. What follows are the “features of the commercial-survival economy” in Flanders from the Middle-Ages to the 19th century (Thoen 2001, 111–2).

1. *The majority of holdings were very small family holdings, many of them smaller than the minimum required for subsistence [...] The long term trend [...] was for these subsistence holdings to become smaller.*
2. *Slowly changing property structures did not profoundly alter the system [...] lease holding (in the form of short-term leases of plots of land) became more significant than customary holding which was in decline.*
3. *Survival was the most important goal; large-scale commercial plans, investment and social mobility were, broadly speaking, impossible.*
4. *Typical labour structures:*
 - *Considerable labour input, considerable unemployment during much of the year, low labour productivity.*
 - *A survival strategy based on additional income distinct from the peasant holding [...] mostly in the form of] work for part of the year*

on larger farms [...] and on additional income from non-agricultural activities such as cottage industry.

5. *Physical production structures: high intensification rate; mixed-farming system and the production of fodder crops; although self-sufficiency was the most important goal of the peasants [...] survival was only possible through (limited) production for the market in the shape of industrial crops and even a variety of food-stuffs.*
6. *Limited production for the market resulted in a limited, but increasing, dependence on the market [...]that] encouraged peasants to use more intensive production methods.*

Specific similarities and differences may of course be found depending on the region one would chose for comparison with the Flemish case, but our main interest here is the concept of “survival-commercial economy” itself. Analogous to the integrated peasant economy is the admission of market oriented agricultural production activities and wage labour on large farms (primary sector, agriculture related activities) as fitting sources of income, as well as the detection of a critical moment for the “balance” of the system, as Italian scholars often express,¹³ towards the middle of the 19th century. Both the commercial-survival economy and the integrated peasant economy are also deeply rooted in small-holding systems, although during our research we have encountered different cases in which larger peasant holdings were home to relevant income integration practices, also relying on their larger capital (e.g. animals to use or hire etc.). Shared is the intense work invested in (often patches of) land. Another common feature, that at the same time distinguishes them both from most part of pluriactivity research, is the long-run perspective stretching from the Middle-Ages to the 19th century at least, but we have seen how inter-sectoral income integration practices are detectable among European peasants in the 20th century as well. As differences we may note that the commercially oriented activities in the commercial-survival economy are mostly bounded to local urban market circuits and that no mentionable role is played by tertiary sector activities. On the other hand questions arise regarding the causal relationship between the (increasingly) small dimension of holdings and the availability of other income sources, the effect of short-term leases on the possibilities of income integration, as well as the role played by the increasing burdens and taxes on the fact that “these commercial peasants were in-

13 Coppola 1991, but also Bulgarelli Lukacs, Mocarrelli and Tedeschi in this volume.

creasingly pushed to the market to sell their products as well as to buy additional products for survival” (Thoen 2001, 127, 131, 135, 137, 145). But probably the most apparent divergence is that the commercial-survival economy is intended as aiming at survival only, “social promotion in this kind of rural society is a myth” (Thoen 2001, 145), while the integrated peasant economy allows the peasants the chance to increase their economic prosperity, improve their living standards and even the possibility of social promotion, although this was not necessarily the case.

One of the fundamental questions regarding peasant economy, addressed by classical as well as contemporary scholarship, is indeed its economic and social goal, so to say. Did the pre-industrial or Early Modern European peasants strive for subsistence and survival only, or perhaps for well-being, accumulation, increasing consumption, and profit too? And what was the role they played and the influence they had on economic growth and development, if any?¹⁴ Let us express these same questions more closely from our perspective: Did the integrated peasant economy result in wealth or poverty? Or perhaps it resulted in social sustainability, which is in guaranteeing a sustainable living standard to the majority of the local peasant population (that could be just another name for the “economic equilibrium” used by Italian scholars)? And, at last, how did the integrated peasant economy affect (modern) economic growth and development? We’re leaving these questions open at the moment but I wish to underline that we do not need the answers to be univocal in order to make the integrated peasant economy concept work. Our case studies may anyway be helpful in searching for answers.

4. The integrated peasant economy upgraded

The concept of integrated peasant economy with its features and list of activity fields has been put to the test by checking its applicability on a larger sample of areas and realities within and outside the more circumscribed area where it originated. Besides earlier presentations,¹⁵ comparisons and

14 A recent overview in Schuurman 2014.

15 International scientific conference *Economic and Social History from Retrospective to Perspective*, Milko Kos Historical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, 16 November 2012 (Darja Mihelič org.); Workshop on factor markets and their impact on social and economic processes in Europe between 1300 and 1800, *Participation in rural land & credit markets and inequality, a self-sustaining process?* Ghent University, 25–26 April 2013 (Michael Limberger org.); Rural History 2013 – International Conference European Rural History Organiza-

discussions held at scientific meetings in Boario (Italy), Kyoto (Japan), Girona (Spain), Koper (Slovenia), and Uppsala (Sweden)¹⁶ made it possible to more precisely profile the concept and its features by proposing or drawing attention to additional aspects and activities, both of general and specific nature. But they also made it possible for us to gather a substantial and consistent set of case studies ranging from the Mediterranean mountains like the Apennines in central-southern Italy, through the southern Alpine area between northern Italy and Slovenia, to Scandinavia until the very north of Sweden, comprising one extra-European case from Japan.

Besides expressing my sincere gratitude to all the colleagues that participated in this shared scholarly adventure and intellectual exercise, since without them this work would not have been possible, and in particular to Jesper Larsson for kindly opening us the door to Sweden and Luca Mocarelli to Japan, as well as for their support in general, and not least to the International Association for Alpine History, there are two broader observations I wish to underline at this point. Firstly this collective work in my opinion confirms that there are sound reasons to carry out comparative studies between two European regions, too often left at the margins of historical scholarship, like the Alps and Scandinavia, which show many more traits in common than the fact of not being at the centre of attention. The second is that the integrated peasant economy proved to be applicable to

tion (EURHO), University of Bern, 19–22 August 2013, Panel 8.2: *Social and economic convergences and divergences in the rural world: the Alpine space (16th–19th Century)* (Luigi Lorenzetti, Luca Mocarelli org.), and Panel 9.1: *Land- and credit-market participation and inequality – a self-sustaining process?* (Michael Limberger org.).

- 16 Forum Alpinum 2014, *Alpine resources: Use, valorisation and management from local to macro-regional scale*, International Scientific Committee on Research in the Alps, 17–19 September 2014, Darfo Boario Terme (Brescia), Workshop 2.2: *Natural asset in the Alps. Social and environmental sustainability of community in the past* (Luigi Lorenzetti org.); 17th World Economic History Congress, Kyoto, 3–7 August 2015, Session S20026: *A World Apart? The Eurasian Mountains and Modern Economic Growth* (Jon Mathieu, Luca Mocarelli, Satoshi Murayama org.); Rural History 2015 – International Conference European Rural History Organization (EURHO), University of Girona, 7–10 September 2015, Panel 22: *Integrated peasant economy: the uplands of Europe compared* (Aleksander Panjek and IPE international project group org.); International workshop *Integrating income sources in peasant economies: Evidence and research questions from Slovenia, Italy and Japan*, University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities, Koper, 26 February 2016; International workshop *Integrating income sources in peasant economies: Scandinavia and the Alps compared*, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Uppsala, 1st June 2016 (Jesper Larsson, Aleksander Panjek, Mats Morell org.).

really different parts of Europe and historical periods, including two very diverse cases that sincerely would not be foreseen, like the economy of the non-sedentary Sami population in northern Scandinavia and the peasant economy in southern Japan.

With no pretence of exhausting the many topics of interest contained in the single contributions to this book, there are some specific aspects that deserve being at least briefly mentioned in this introductory chapter, because of their close relation to the evolution of the integrated peasant economy concept. The time-frame in which it is possible to identify or at least suppose the existence of peasant market oriented activities and income integration practices stretches from “at least” the 12th century in Slovenia, as Matjaž Bizjak shows, to well into the 20th century in the contributions by Mats Morell on Scandinavia and Žarko Lazarević on Slovenia, where the support for income integration activities among peasants was even an economic policy measure between the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries.¹⁷ Even nowadays similar patterns may be detected (Bojnec). The most “favourable environment for the integrated peasant economy,” as Alessio Fornasin puts it, seem to be the mountains, but our perspective might be partial since most of the case studies we collected here are from upland regions, while the existence of income integration practices is detectable in the lowlands, too.

As far as the dimension of farms accommodating income integration practices is concerned, we may perhaps notice a prevalence of small holdings, although Anna Westin and colleagues clearly show how larger farms were active in more sectors, too, being at the same time more resilient to crises. Moreover, the interpretation that farm division into smaller units may be seen as a consequence of more and diverse income opportunities is confirmed by Jesper Larsson’s Swedish case, where “the household’s dependence on arable land decreased and it became easier to divide the farms without losing economic viability.” That the integrated peasant economy is, in fact, a question of opportunity and not only of need is very clearly demonstrated by the example brought by Aleksej Kalc, where income integration is not consequent to demographic growth or overpopulation, but rather the other way around. In the villages near Trieste the population growth was a response to the rising work opportunities offered by the quickly developing town: people immigrated to the villages to exploit the

17 These and the following mentions and quotations of authors refer to their respective chapters in this book.

new possibilities (besides the natural demographic growth following the same logic). The aspect of opportunities is connected with the question of whether peasant income integration should be seen only as a means of survival or perhaps something more, too. Both Mats Morell and Žarko Lazarević, but also other authors in their case studies, confirm the latter. In pre-industrial Scandinavia, as well as in more recent times, farm households “have normally combined various types of income sources with agriculture proper in order to make ends meet or to increase wealth,” while in Slovenia they did so “not only from necessity but also from the desire to improve the stability and quality of their families’ living standard.” Renato Sansa even shows us peasants in central Italy openly accused of being profit-oriented.

The flexibility of the integrated peasant economy is widely confirmed through our case studies, as well as the wide range of activities from which peasants gained their income. Among those that were not yet included in our list (Table 1.4), I’d highlight the “works of trust” mentioned by Anna Westin and colleagues in their Swedish case, that are detectable by Slovenian peasants as well, the same is valid for fishery, with examples both from Scandinavia (Morell, Westin et al., Päiviö) and Japan (Murayama et. al.), while Petra Kavrečič has a case in which peasants are active even in early and then modern tourism related activities. These three areas of activity have therefore been included in our upgraded integrated peasant economy checklist (Table 1.7). The list has also proved to be an effective tool for a comparative approach, since Alessio Fornasin used it as a check-list to identify the areas of Friuli and the period in history in which the integrated peasant economy was detectable.

One of our open questions was related to the observation scale of the integrated peasant economy, which is whether it should be searched for and identified at the household, village or perhaps regional level. In most cases income integration practices are detectable at the household level, although precise data and quantification are a different story, and always at the community level. Fornasin observes that “it is preferable to focus on the study of villages than on a broader territorial context, in order to avoid distortions and, therefore, overestimate the impact of the integrated peasant economy.” The possibility that income integration practices may be observed within the “network of related families” has also been proposed (Panjek). Of particular interest is the Japanese point of view, showing an integrated economy functioning among clusters of complementary villages, basing on

which Satoshi Murayama and colleagues propose that “an integrated economy should be considered not only within the family and a village but also within a certain regional unit of villages and village networks.”

Last but not least, there are the contributions of additional features of the integrated peasant economy. Here Luca Mocarelli and Paolo Tedeschi in particular, but also Alessandra Bulgarelli, Jesper Larsson and Mats Morrell have to be mentioned for explicitly or implicitly proposing that the influence of external markets and external demand has to be taken in due consideration. As we have seen in the first part, Slovenian scholarship too allows the speaking of an export-led integrated peasant economy. Besides this, other factors external to the local peasant economies must be taken care of, as not only Žarko Lazarević mentioned in the case of Slovenia, but also Luca Mocarelli and Paolo Tedeschi convincingly demonstrate on the case of Lombardy, concluding that “this strong dependence from exogenous factors could become a reason of weakness, as the changes in the 19th century clearly showed” (in this case they were related to the industrial and political developments). Quite the same may be said about the role of the commons that in Larsson as well as in Mocarelli and Tedeschi are interpreted as an important pool of resources usable (and used) for income integration practices. This trait is implicitly confirmed by other case studies too and may well be extended as a general feature of the integrated peasant economy, although it is not necessarily present, since we have cases in which peasants perform income integration practices without counting on decisive common assets. Alessandra Bulgarelli expressed the interesting proposal to include “social capital” as one of the distinctive features of the integrated peasant economy. This is another aspect that has to be left for future discussion and evidence.

Upgraded features of the integrated peasant economy

1. Peasants combine agriculture and market oriented activities to make their living and/or raise their living standard.
2. Market oriented activities represent an equal (may be minor or major) income source compared to subsistence agriculture.
3. The adopted activities and income sources belong to the three economic sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary).
4. The system is dynamic and flexible, adapts to changes in the availability of income sources and the market conditions, in the population and in family structure through time.

5. The carrying-capacity of the environment is increased beyond the level of population possible based on agricultural land alone.
6. Income sources deriving from the use of commons play a significant role (but not necessarily so).
7. The integrated peasant economy is connected to external demand and opportunities, and to exogenous factors.

Table 1.7: Upgraded integrated peasant economy checklist

Sector	Activity	Check
PRIMARY	Agricultural specialisation	
	Intensification of cultivation (no fallow, mixed-cropping, ...)	
	Wage day-labour in agriculture and longer-term farmhands at larger farms	
	Extension/intensification of animal husbandry	
	Intensification of forest exploitation (through primary sector activities, but also secondary and tertiary)	
	Extension of cultivated land (reclamation of commons and woods)	
	Quarries	
SECONDARY	Fishing	
	Transformation of primary resources/products (e.g. wine, cheese, meat products; charcoal, lime)	
	Rural crafts	
	Domestic, putting-out system (proto-industry)	
	Work in "centred" industries and plants (manufactures, mining, etc.)	
	Migrant/mobile craftsmen (e.g. bricklayers, etc.)	
TERTIARY	Wage labour in the industrial sector	
	Services in the field of long and medium distance trade (draught animal lease, fodder, lodging and food - inns, etc.)	
	Transport of other people's products and goods on short to medium distance	
	Trafficking with own products and goods on short to medium distance	
	Peddling	
	Smuggling	
	Migrant/mobile workers (dock-workers, etc.)	
	Works of trust (estimation of land value, testimonies, etc.)	
Tourism		

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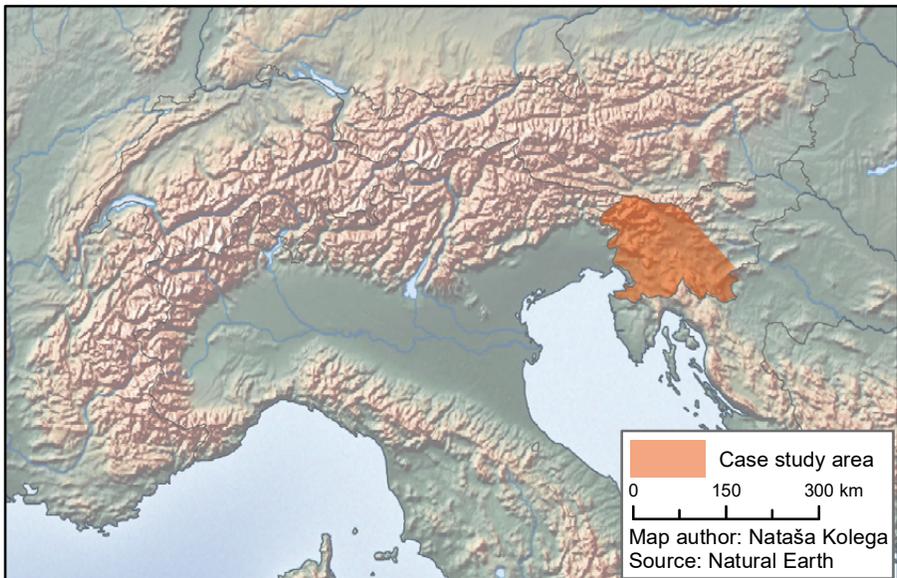
Peasant Income Integration in Early Modern Slovenia: A Historiographical Review

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Map 2.1: Case study area

1. An introduction to Slovenian historiography of the peasant trade and other non-agricultural activities

The involvement of the peasant population in non-agricultural activities was rather widespread in Slovenian lands. In Early Modern times, a large segment of the Slovenian agrarian population already began to offer its produce, products and services at local and cross-border markets, and on short-distance and long-distance trade routes. The origins of the scientific study of this important part of agrarian history, date back to the time of research into urban or non-agrarian economy in the first half of the 20th century (Gestrin 1982b, 205), when the topical subject was the opposition to rural trade from the townsfolk (e.g. Zwitter 1929; Žontar 1939, reissue 1982). More in-depth research on the topic of peasant trade and transport in Slovenian lands was contributed by the Slovenian historian, Gestrin in the 1960s. In parallel with his research, other works were being written, which indirectly discussed the “supplementary” activities of the peasant population. These are mostly works on the topic of local history, studies of other aspects of Slovenian history, and general histories in encyclopaedic style (e.g. Blaznik 1973; Grafenauer 1962; Blaznik et al. 1970, 1980; Čepič et al. 1979). Recently, there has been a revived interest in researching this part of agrarian history, which researchers are now tackling with new methodological approaches and comparative analysis within the regions of the Alps and western Europe (Panjek 2011; 2014; 2015a).

The first to describe economic activities practised by the peasantry in the Modern Era was the Carniolan nobleman Janez Vajkard Valvasor. In his comprehensive work *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* from 1689, he thoroughly recorded and studied natural, historical and cultural elements of the Carniola region. Among the many things he wrote about, he also included activities with which peasants integrated their sources of income. His descriptions are still an important source for research into Slovenian history and will be presented in greater detail later on.

Basic research of the history of non-agricultural activities of the peasant population and of “early capitalism” in Slovenian lands was conducted by Ferdo Gestrin.¹ While researching the economy and society of Slovenian provinces in the Early Modern Era, he focused on trade, investments of commercial – mostly foreign – capital, commercial exchanges between Slovenian hinterland and littoral towns, the types of commercial goods,

1 See works by Gestrin 1962; 1963; 1965; 1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1973d; 1982a; 1982b; 1991; etc.

and the trade routes which had connected Slovenian provinces with the Adriatic and the Alpine region, and with Hungarian and Italian provinces in modern times. He devoted a great deal of attention to the segment of commercial activity that was the domain of the agrarian population, i.e. to peasant trade in their own or in someone else's produce and products, transport and smuggling. He was also the first to define the terminology for peasant and rural trade and transport activities. He came across the term 'rural trade' in archival sources from the mid-14th century, which "in the broadest sense of the word meant any form of trade in the countryside, but which contemporaries often used to denote peasant trade, namely that segment of rural trade which was controlled by subjects" (Gestrin 1973a, 73). According to this definition, peasant trade is to be understood as the exclusive activity of the agrarian population, whereas other classes were also involved in rural trade. A more precise definition of peasant trade in modern times was given by Jože Šorn. According to him, "we can speak of peasant trade in the narrow sense of the word if a peasant was selling his own products; but when he was trading in citrus fruits, rice and similar goods and supplying other goods in return, then he was imitating the long-distance merchant and meddling in such transactions without being qualified to; in the case of salt, it was the supply of a basic good" (Šorn 1984, 43). Gestrin suggested the use of several terms when discussing peasant transport, since subjects were engaged in transport activities in various ways. By developing a market economy, they became involved in trade, at first with their surplus products at fairs, town squares and over longer distances, and later on partly with goods from the professional urban trade; they also transported their own goods, which he calls peasant transport (*kmečko tovorništvo*). Peasants would transport goods for the professional urban trade against payment, which thus became an important source of income for the rural population. He calls this type of transport paid peasant transport (*kmečko plačano tovorništvo*). In certain areas, subjects were obligated to carry out transport activities as part of their duties to their landlords ever since the Late Middle Ages, for which they exceptionally received some sort of compensation or payment, which he calls forced labour transport (*tlaško tovorništvo*) (Gestrin 1982a, 347).

Gestrin defined the development of peasant trade from the 13th century to the Early Modern Era in two periods, which coincide with the periods of the penetration of market relations into manors, and labels them the first and second stage of the commercialisation of manors. In the first period,

which lasted from the 13th to the mid-14th century, the formation of towns, the development of mining, the iron industry and trade, and the separation of crafts from the countryside created the conditions for subjects to become involved in market relations. Peasant trade, which had previously been limited to the exchange of goods at village fairs and parish festivals, began to offer the surplus products of farms at market-places in towns and “boroughs” (*trg*, German *Markt*; a settlement, a community with the right to hold markets, a “market-town”) as well as at fairs. Peasants were also involved in long-distance trade, especially in the exchange and/or sale of cereals, livestock and other foods from Carniolan provinces with littoral towns for salt. They were allegedly “forced” to do so by the decisions of feudal landlords, who began to change tributes in kind into money tributes after demesne economy had begun to disintegrate. In Gestrin’s opinion, by imposing tributes in money, “manors opened their doors wide to the commercialisation process, which thus established itself much more broadly in society. Hence the subjects who were engaged in trade soon began to transcend the limits of the existing social division of labour” (Gestrin 1973b, 45–6) by increasingly trading outside of towns and “boroughs,” which began to create conflict between the towns and the countryside. In the second half of the 15th century, Gestrin noticed new development tendencies.

Since the beginning of the first major crisis of feudalism and manorialism, especially towards the end of the Middle Ages and later on throughout the 16th century, the countryside started becoming more trade-oriented. In the period in question, which is characterised by the second stage of the commercialisation of manors, rural trade was reaching its peak (Gestrin 1973a, 74; 1973b, 45).

The presence of a market economy was so great in manors that it was beginning to influence the relations within the entire feudal society. The consequences were evident in the changed structure of the manor and in its growing commercialisation. Feudal landlords were searching for a way out of the “manor crisis” in different ways. Among other things, they began to distinctly interfere in market relations by involving peasants in commercial transactions; by introducing provisions which stated that peasants were allowed to sell produce and products to them alone, thus making themselves owners of the peasant trade; and by imposing on the subjects, the obligation of forced labour transport and the sale of the landlord’s goods (Gestrin 1973a, 74; 1991, 224–6, 235). The requirements of feudal landlords restricted the trading of peasants in their own produce and goods, yet peasant trade

nevertheless grew significantly as a result of peasants becoming involved in the trade of the townsfolk.

In the process, peasant trade acquired a few new characteristics. In addition to the peasant now trading in the goods of the professional, urban trade more than in the previous period [...] and consequently shattering the existing social division of labour even more, the peasants also intensified the reselling of various produce and products of others. [...] The third characteristic of the peasant trade of that time was that the subject, also on account of the raising of commercial and transport taxes, began to resort more and more to smuggling as the 16th century neared its end (Gestrin 1973a, 74–5).

Gestrin believes there were several reasons why the peasant population became engaged in commercial activities. The first reason was necessity, which stemmed from the desires of the landlords to receive payment of the feudal rent in money and the raising of taxes by the provincial administration and the state. Furthermore, he sees an additional reason in the small-sized farms, which were not profitable enough to pay off the growing taxes and feudal rent (Gestrin 1991, 248).

However, Gestrin believes that the small-sized farms and the need for an additional source of income in money were not the only reasons for expanding the peasant trade. He assumes that the involvement of peasants in commercial activities was a result of their desire to earn money and of their commercial entrepreneurship. He views transport in particular as an important supplementary economic activity of subjects, which demonstrated “success, profitability and partly even the assertion of an entrepreneurial spirit.” He states that “individual peasants sold 500–1000 *tovor* [Vienna *Saum* = 168 kg] and entire herds of livestock per year. Moreover, there are known cases of peasants selling their farms (which they held under hereditary tenancy) and becoming professional merchants” (Gestrin 1962, 17). According to Gestrin’s findings, around the year 1600 “the involvement of the countryside in market economy and the dependence of a major part of the peasant population on it was such that the process of commercialisation could not be stopped.” In his opinion, peasant trade and transport greatly influenced all socioeconomic and other events in Slovenian lands. “They generated a not exactly small income for the peasant, had a favourable impact on the development of the market economy and the expansion of the

market in Slovenian territory, and increased the peasant's economic power" (Gestrin 1991, 288).

As has already been mentioned, Gestrin believes that the involvement of the peasant population in trade and the expansion of market relations began to undermine the social division of labour at that time, which was reflected not only in the relations within manors, i.e. between the feudal landlord and subject, but also between the town and the countryside. This topic was often discussed in Slovenian historiography, namely as the opposition of the townsfolk to rural trade or as the battle for rural trade between the town and the village. The basic sources which authors used when researching this issue were the proposed and adopted police regulations for the Lower Austrian provinces from the first half of the 16th century, which were translated and published for the first time by Josip Žontar (1956–57).² As can be seen from their contents, when drafting the acts the provincial prince relied on the support of the provincial estates, which mostly comprised representatives of the nobility and the landlords, and on the support of the representatives of the towns of Slovenian provinces.

The townspeople endeavoured to limit or do away with the involvement of the peasant population in commercial activities, which they claimed was the domain of towns. However, the subjects received support from the provincial estates, which defended their engagement in supplementary activities, claiming that it facilitated their payment of feudal taxes. This reveals the dual role of the nobility in its attitude towards the subjects. On the one hand, representatives of landlords supported the involvement of the peasant population in rural trade, as can be seen in Gestrin's discussion of the topic (1991, 251), while on the other hand, they strove towards intensifying "feudal exploitation to the utmost" and obtaining a monopoly on the surplus of peasant production. In this battle, the towns initially succeeded in limiting rural trade. As early as 1525, the towns of Carinthia proposed that the clergy, nobility and peasantry should not engage in "reselling, for it does not become them. Priests and noblemen are able to subsist on their rents and hereditary income, while peasants are supplied with the food from their annual crops" (Žontar 1956–57, 47). Newer proposals from 1542 likewise contain demands that "no priest, nobleman, townsman or peasant" should trade or resell goods, whereas peasant trade was restricted to

2 Discussions of the battle between the towns and the countryside that were based on the above-mentioned source can be found in the late 19th and early 20th century (Vrhovec 1886; Zwitter 1929). For further analyses and summaries of these documents see e.g. Grafenauer 1962; Gestrin 1991, 191; 1973a, 72; etc.

the selling of one's own surpluses at fairs in towns and markets. The provincial estates did not agree with such provisions and eventually achieved that the provinces adopted certain reliefs to the benefit of rural trade and thus, at least seemingly, stood up for their subjects. At provincial diets they stated that the reason why peasants were unable to pay their taxes was that "poor people" were prohibited from any trading whatsoever; "without it, they are unable to feed and sustain themselves with their small, low-yielding *huba* [medieval farm-unit]. If the peasant subjects are not making any profit, then the landlord cannot receive tributes and taxes" (Žontar 1956–57, 73). In 1552, they claimed that peasants would not have been able to keep their farms if they had not been engaged in transport to the County of Gorizia, to the Vipava Valley, and to Trieste and Italy, where they conducted trade; and that, especially in the regions of Lower Carniola and the Karst, peasants would not have been able to stay on their farms if they had not traded and been actively engaged in transport (Žontar 1956–57, 114).

More than in the aspiration of towns to abolish rural trade, Žontar was interested in the economic and social changes by individual Slovenian provinces at the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era. To him, the most important finding, which he had inferred from the police regulations, was the differentiation in all classes of the population. In the case of peasantry, he observed partial economic growth rather than social growth. Owing to increased tributes, taxes and other charges, the situation of some of the genuine rural estates worsened somewhat. Nevertheless, there were peasants in the countryside who owned as many as three farms. The class of cottagers (*kajžarji*) grew significantly; they were peasants with little land, who were mostly engaged in the manufacture of linen and in the livestock and linen trade. The third stratum of the peasant population was formed by landless peasants (*gostači*), who had no land of their own and made a living mainly as day labourers.

By analysing and publishing the police regulations, Žontar significantly broadened the knowledge of the relations among different social classes of the population of that time, and our knowledge of the reasons for and of the scope and diversity of the non-agricultural activities of peasants. By doing so, he provided starting points to later authors, such as the previously presented Gestrin, which helped them to develop their interpretations of the importance of non-agricultural sources of income for the peasant population and of the status of the peasant population in Slovenian lands in Early Modern times.

The status of the peasant population in the 16th century and the importance of non-agricultural activities were also discussed in the works of Bogo Grafenauer. He was also interested in the reasons for and the status of peasant trade and crafts during the development of urban economy in the Modern Era, and in the opposition of the townspeople to rural trade. In his opinion, the small-sized farms, on which peasants were unable to produce a sufficient amount of food, is not the sole reason behind the growth in peasant trade; another is the town restrictions on the maximum purchase prices for field produce that were paid to the peasants. The townspeople afterwards resold the cereals at a significantly higher price, thus keeping much of the profit. The peasants wished to avoid this and sell their cereals elsewhere, where they could achieve a higher selling price (Grafenauer 1962, 61–2). In his subsequent research work, Grafenauer integrated these findings with the studies of peasant uprisings in Slovenian lands. When discussing the causes for peasant uprisings, he emphasises the restrictions on peasant trade imposed by the townspeople and landlords – which is also discussed by Gestrin and Žontar – and by the provincial prince. The peasant’s programmes clearly reveal that the state was interfering in peasant trade with an increasingly stricter toll and road regime. The complaints and demands of peasants in peasant uprisings often expressed their dissatisfaction with the introduction of forced routes and new tollhouses, and with the introduction and raising of tolls, as imposed by the state. For example, in the peasant revolt of 1514 the peasants of the town of Slovenske Konjice stated in one of the twelve demands intended for the emperor that they were being “inconvenienced by unusual roads (with regard to the obligatory route of peasant trade!), which did not exist before and which they would like to report” (Grafenauer 1974, 60–1). Grafenauer has established that the programme of the Slovenian-Croatian peasant uprising of 1572–73 placed exceptional importance on rural trade among the reasons behind the uprising. Once again the arguments centred on the new or raised tolls and customs duties which encumbered the trading conducted by peasants in Slovenian provinces (Grafenauer 1974, 155–6).

According to Grafenauer, the path to rebellion was opened up by the economic development of that time, which was directed towards early capitalism and which influenced “the personal status of subjects by unburdening them, thus aggravating social conflicts”³. He believes that the search for

3 Grafenauer 1973, 27. Grafenauer’s claim is based on S. Vilfan who stated that “early capitalism was undermining the basic foundations of feudal society and influencing

sources of income outside of manorial relations, either in trade or transport, or in the iron industry, rural craftsmanship or the domestic system, stimulated the mobility of the peasant population, which had allegedly been rather limited until then by the provincial nobility. “For the subjects and their sons, transport in particular was increasingly opening the doors to entrepreneurial life and to the world, where their landlords had no authority” (Grafenauer 1973, 27), whereas trade had a significant “impact on the internal stratification of the rural population.” Especially in Carniola, the class of cottagers (*kajžarji*) was growing rapidly; due to their small estates “they could not sustain themselves without rural crafts, transport and trade, and even more so without earnings from the iron industry” (Grafenauer 1974, 133–4). Simultaneously, a smaller group was forming in the countryside, of peasants who had accumulated a handsome fortune through trade and freed themselves of their duties to the landlord by purchasing land, as has also been established by Žontar.

In recent years, the topic of non-agricultural sources of income has been researched by Aleksander Panjek, employing new approaches and research questions. He is trying to determine the reasons why peasants began to look for non-agricultural sources of income, basing his work on the previously discussed characteristics of peasant economy in Slovenian lands, namely that agricultural activity was unable to ensure the food self-sufficiency of the peasant population because of the modest sizes of farms.

Based on the structure of feudal rents and the number of farms (*huba*) and cottages (*kajža*) in manors in the County of Gorizia and the Karst region (i.e. western Slovenia), Panjek has reached two conclusions, which are essential to the present discussion. The first concerns the great fragmentation of *huba* in the aforementioned areas. Ownership rights for *huba* were inherited from generation to generation based on long-term tenancy, which eventually resulted in the fact that the peasant was given free use of the *huba* as its owner and could either lease or sell it. This brought about the fragmentation of *huba*, with the land of one *huba* being cultivated by up to eighteen co-proprietors (Panjek 2011, 305; 2015a, 192). The second conclusion is based on the structure of feudal rents; Panjek employed a method which is well established in Slovenian historiography, according to which the volume of money tributes indicates the involvement of the peasant population in commercial activities. He has established that in the larger man-

the personal status (of subjects) by unburdening them” (quoted in: Grafenauer 1974, 20).

ors of western Slovenia almost half of the landlord's revenues (summing income from land rent, public functions and converted *corvée* labour – *Robotgeld*) was paid in money, which proves that the peasantry did not subsist on agricultural activity only, but also sought out non-agricultural sources of income. The desires of landlords to receive feudal rent in money directed the peasants towards the market, which the landlords supported (Panjek 2011; Panjek 2015a, 196).

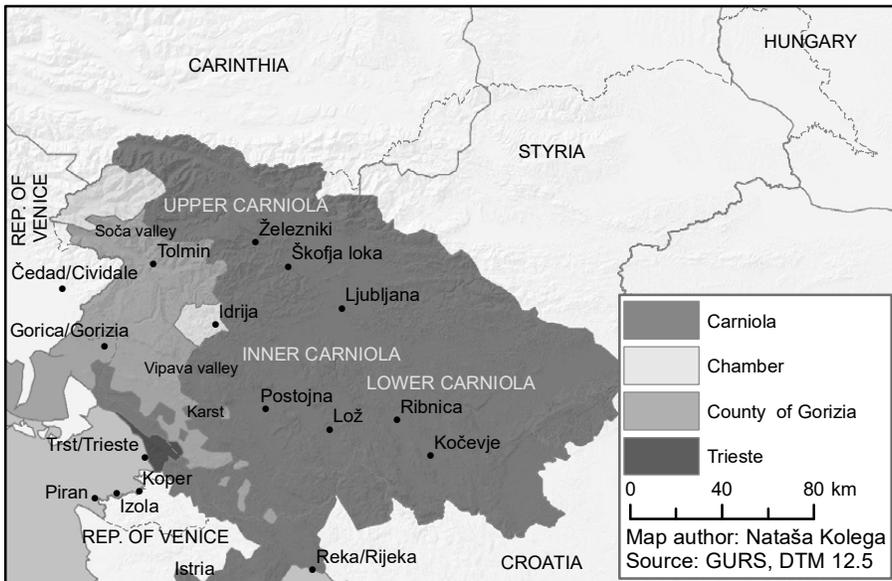
On the one hand, Panjek corroborates the findings of Gestrin and Grafenauer that peasant's involvement "in a mixture of commercial and transport activities was undoubtedly a necessity," as it enabled them to reach the level of subsistence and pay rents and taxes. On the other hand, he believes that

the fact that it was a necessity does not mean that it was a passively accepted solution. On the contrary, the multiplication of households beyond the level of subsistence provided by land indicates that the rural population counted on and exploited the possibility of access to alternative activities [...] the peasant's response to market demand was not so much in terms of choice and kinds of produce as in terms of major or minor opportunities to engage in extra-farming activities (Panjek 2015a, 196–7).

According to Panjek, the reason behind their engagement in "supplementary activities" is not only necessity, but also their perception of non-agricultural activities as a potential means for an additional source of income. This allowed for the fragmentation of *huba* and the formation of new peasant households, as the subsistence of the latter did not depend solely on the yield of the lands they were cultivating. Peasants thus "counted on the possibility of access to other activities, and used it actively and systematically" (Panjek, 2015a, 202). Non-agricultural activities therefore "represented an element in the more complex and comprehensive economic strategy of the rural population, in which one part of subsistence was provided by the farm and the other by additional employment, which ranged from cross-border smuggling to day labour" (Panjek 2014, 202).

Based on these findings, Panjek recommends the definition of "integrated rural economy" for Slovenian lands as a system with a characteristic integration of agricultural and non-agricultural sources of income from the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. A more thorough definition reads:

an economy in which peasant populations and households made their living by combining agriculture and market-oriented activities. Even agricultural activities may have been (at least partly) market oriented. The second characteristic is that agriculture was not necessarily its basis; nor were the market-oriented activities simply supplementary [...]. Of no lesser importance is the third characteristic distinguishing “integrated peasant economy,” i.e. the fact that it integrated activities and livelihoods from all three economic sectors together, namely the primary, secondary and tertiary [...]. In sum, something that is perhaps more of a consequence than a characteristic, but nevertheless constitutes a distinctive feature of “integrated peasant economy:” it enabled rural societies to overcome natural and technical limits, and significantly raise the carrying-capacity of the environment they lived in, since it allowed sustaining a population beyond the level that would have been possible based on (agricultural) land alone (Panjek 2015a, 203).



Map 2.2: Regions, provinces and areas of Early Modern western Slovenia

2. Review by the provinces and regions of central and western Slovenia

Let us take a closer look at the economic activities with which the Slovenian peasant population integrated their agricultural income, according to the definition proposed by Panjek. Before we begin, allow me to explain which areas and industries have not been included in the following analysis and why. The first reason is the great number of historiographical works which mention the combining of agriculture with non-agricultural industries. Even though, with the exception of the previously discussed authors, the rest of Slovenian historiography paid no special attention to the topic in question, many works indirectly mention individual non-agricultural industries in which peasants were engaged. It is therefore understandable that this paper could not cover every author who has mentioned agricultural activities in combination with non-agricultural ones. It was likewise impossible to discuss all non-agricultural activities, as they were so abundant in modern times; hence, the text below mostly discusses those that were particularly widespread and established in a specific area. The third explanation refers to the mention of craftsmen or providers of other activities (miller, cooper, ironworker, etc.), which do not always clearly state whether they are talking about specialised professions or subjects who combined agricultural activities with non-agricultural ones. For this reason, such examples are not discussed in this paper. The analysis encompasses about one half of present-day Slovenia, namely the central and western Slovenian provinces and regions, i.e. Carniola (without the present-day Croatian part of Istria), the County of Gorica (Görz, Gorizia), and the countryside of the coastal towns of northern Istria; it omits the provinces of Carinthia, Styria, and Prekmurje, which belonged to Hungary in the Modern Era. These eastern regions deserve the same amount of attention as the others, but will be omitted this time due to the great volume of activities in other provinces and the paper's limited number of characters. A presentation of western areas with a Slovenian population that are located outside of today's borders (the then Republic of Venice) has also been omitted.

2.1 *Upper Carniola*

Let us begin with Upper Carniola (*Gorenjska*), where the activities with which peasants integrated their income from agricultural activities were quite diverse. Let us take a look at how this province and its people were described by Valvasor in the 17th century. Among the inhabitants, he men-

tions many carriers “who transport goods to and fro with horses; and many miners, and many weavers and merchants who ensure their subsistence and business by doing all sorts of work.” In the village of Bitnje, the majority of the inhabitants were “sieve makers, who weave screens for sieves out of horsehair [...] these same peasants are also breeding many beautiful horses, which are mostly taken to Italy to graze and are sold there.” Almost every village in Upper Carniola produced fabric made of flax and wool (*mezlan*) for sale. People would trade in wool and sheep cheeses, black and red leather, and even scorpions, which chemists used to make scorpion oil. Valvasor mentions the extraction and processing of iron as two important industries. In the village of Bohinjska Bistrica, he recorded “a lot of miners that dug iron ore or found other ways to subsist in the mining activity” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 110, 117–8).

In the area of Upper Carniola, the iron industry or blacksmithing developed as early as the Middle Ages. At first, peasants extracted and smelted the ore by themselves, from which they then made products for domestic use (Blaznik 1959, 93; Mohorič 1955, 25–6; Gašperšič 1959, 5). When ironworkers and blacksmiths from nearby provinces (Carinthia and Friuli) started moving there, the local craft of iron extraction began to develop into a more modernised iron industry. In certain areas, ironworkers had “several *huba* of land with pastures and Alpine meadows, where they produced food for the ironworks settlement of miners, smelters and blacksmiths, and forests, where they burnt charcoal and collected pit props” (Mohorič 1969, 30). In the village of Železniki, ironworks employed peasants and day labourers as prospectors, ore diggers, charcoal burners, carriers and plant workers (Mohorič 1954, 96; Blaznik 1973, 88; Mohorič 1969, 39). In the 16th century, in certain areas of Upper Carniola the development of the iron industry also brought about a fast increase in the number of cottagers (*kajžarji*) and landless peasants (*gostači*). Gašperšič mentions that the boom in ironworks beneath the Jelovica plateau was the main reason behind the appearance of cottagers (*kajžarji* and *bajtarji*) in this area (Gašperšič 1959, 98). In areas with ironworks, cottagers worked mainly as ironworkers or charcoal burners, while many others were also engaged in crafts, rural trade and transport (Blaznik 1973, 201).

In addition to the iron industry, linen manufacture was also rather widespread in this area, as had been mentioned by Valvasor. The linen trade was already quite lively in the 15th century and was used by its main producers – peasants, and by professional merchants. In the 16th century, the do-

mestic system was already established in linen manufacture, sieve-making and the iron industry in the villages surrounding the town of Kranj (Žontar 1982, 161). According to Žontar, in the Škofja Loka manor in the 18th century “almost every peasant produced linen, for almost every house owned a loom;” the putting-out system was also widely established in hosiery production (Gestrin 1965, 194; Žontar 1956; Blaznik 1973, 289; Šorn 1984, 87–8, 98; Čepič et al. 1979, 339).

In the case of Upper Carniola, in addition to the above-mentioned rural crafts, the following are worthy of mention: tailoring, carpentry, masonry, coopery, inn-keeping and the milling industry, which were mainly run by cottagers and landless peasants (Blaznik 1973, 280–4; Hodnik 1995a 34, 36; Mihelič 1999, 659). Transport also developed to a great extent; however, as stated by Valenčič, this “transport activity had a different character and was used mostly for selling products of the local iron and linen industries. It was also partly connected with peasant trade. The carriers of iron products to Trieste and Italy returned with cargoes of wine, most certainly not for their own needs but for selling” (Valenčič 1981, 251). One of the important transport connections they used ran via Škofja Loka across the Poljane Valley and past the toll station in the settlement of Bača towards the town Cividale and onwards to Friuli in the Republic of Venice.⁴ On this route, smuggling also “prospered” (Blaznik 1973, 224). They transported linen, wine and livestock to Gorizia and the towns of Friuli. They bought the livestock in Hungary, reared it on their farms and then sold it to the Republic of Venice via the Tolmin region (Blaznik 1973, 223; Gašperšič 1960, 152; Gestrin 1965). Also significant was the transport activity which subjects performed for the needs of ironworks.⁵

2.2 *The County of Gorizia*

Let us move on to the County of Gorica, the region bordering on the Republic of Venice. In Slovenian historiography, the integrated peasant economy in this area was primarily researched by Aleksander Panjek. In his

4 For more information on this transport connection and other connections, see e.g. Blaznik 1966; Rajšp 1994.

5 Closely connected with the iron industry were e.g. carriers who transported ore and charcoal to the village of Železniki, and iron products from Železniki (Blaznik 1973, 180). The ironworks beneath the Jelovica plateau mostly transported their products via Bača towards Gorizia, Duino and Udine, or via the village of Col towards Trieste and Rijeka. Peasant carriers and ironworkers carried out most of the transport in these parts (Šmitek 1989, 27, 30).

opinion, as regards transport, the region of Zgornje Posočje and the Kanalska valley (Kanaltal, Val Canale) represented the central passage through the Alpine mountain range between Central Europe and the Mediterranean in the easternmost part of the Alps (Panjek 2002, 217). Along the Bovec route⁶ the peasants of Bovec and Tolmin would transport wine, livestock, meat products and cheese. They were also the main suppliers to the town of Gorizia and also sold their products and livestock across the border, to the Venetian town of Cividale.

Panjek points out that wine was the “wealth of the County of Gorica” (2015b, 60), whose principal market was Carinthia. The wine trade with Carinthia was founded on a number of agreements, under which Carinthians had to purchase the wines of Gorizia and Trieste before all others. The sweet wines of Gorica and Trieste (*rebula*, *prosek*; *ribolla*, *prosecco*) were supplied to Carinthia by Carinthian carriers, innkeepers, merchants and local transporters – the latter were mostly peasants. Carinthia and the region of Gorizia also exchanged wine for iron (Panjek 2015b, 59–79; Gomiršek 2007, 59). Moreover, in the 17th century “a large number of Carinthians” would come to Goriška Brda and Friuli across the Kanalska valley for seasonal work, in order to “get a temporary grape-picking job at the local vineyards” (Panjek 2002a, 218; Panjek 2015b, 102–3).

In the regions of Gorizia, Tolmin and the lower Vipava Valley, the population exploited forest resources with great intensity. In the 16th century, on account of log driving along the Soča River, Gorizia developed into the centre of the wood-processing industry (Gestrin 1965, 195). Peasants primarily exploited the forests for wood harvesting and free-range grazing of livestock. In the higher Alpine parts, wood was needed mostly for building cattle pens on Alpine meadows and as firing for processing dairy products. On the Trnovski gozd plateau the nearby subjects and cottagers (*kajžarji*) would exploit the royal forests for grazing sheep and goats, and for mowing. In the village of Lokve they would, in addition to pasture, engage in vocations connected with forestry, e.g. woodcutting, charcoal burning, carpentry and driving. In the 18th century, the craft of glassmaking developed there, in which the locals also took part in, and wooden pail-making, which was mostly practised by men in winter time (Kolenc 2011, 97–9; 2012, 131). Forest wood was also exploited by the locals for the needs of the local industry.

6 The Bovec route led from the Friuli lowland and the valley of the Soča/Isonzo River via Kobarid to Bovec and further on via the Predel mountain pass towards Tarvisio (Trbiž, Tarvis) in Carinthia.

They used it for making farming tools and equipment for domestic use, and for making woodenware to sell (Panjek 2015b, 107). In addition to the glass workshops (*glazute*), another consumer of the wood from the forests of the Gorizia and Posočje regions were the ironworks operating in the Bovec region and in the towns of Ajdovščina and Idrija. The area had a highly developed wood trade, which was connected mostly with the towns of Udine, Gorizia and Trieste. As peasants-foresters, the inhabitants of Trnovski gozd earned much of their income from felling, transportation (horse and cart drivers called *furmani*) and selling wood to Gorizia (Panjek 2015b, 110–1; Kolenc 2012, 206).

In the Gorizia region, sericulture developed greatly as an industrial activity, for which wood was an important energy source; it was connected with activities that were mostly present in the countryside in the form of the domestic system (Panjek 2015a, 103–5). In the 18th century, the rearing of silkworms became “in addition to viticulture, an important branch of agriculture in the County of Gradisca and in a segment of the County of Gorica;” it was mostly carried out by the “poor inhabitants of villages” (Žontar 1957, 16). At first, peasants bought the mulberry leaves with which they fed the silkworms, thus incurring great debts in the process. Hence the state began to encourage landlords to order and enable peasants to plant mulberry trees on their plots; in turn, it exempted the peasants from paying tributes for such activities and promised them rewards. The ban by count Attems in the village of Križ, which in 1768 prohibited subjects from sending their children to work in the workshops of Gorica, indicates that the children of the peasant population also worked in silk spinneries (Žontar 1957, 54–5, 70, 76); the work in spinneries was otherwise mostly carried out by foreign skilled workers/silk manufacturers.

Another activity that was rather widespread in these parts was smuggling. According to Panjek, it was “an integral part of transport and a universal phenomenon.” Especially lively was the cross-border smuggling of livestock. How it was carried out can be discerned from the memorandum of Carniolan towns of 1548:

When they take a horse to Italy, they strap a small load on it, as if they were getting wine or salt. [...] But when they arrive to the Republic of Venice, they sell the horse with the cargo. [...] In the vicinity of the Venetian border, the landlords give peasants permits for the money, claiming that they need it for their households. Thus peasants drove oxen and small cattle without paying the toll, and

*at night smuggle the livestock across the mountains to the Republic of Venice. The goods peasants brought from Veneto in exchange are sold not only at their homes and directly in front of the city gates, but are transported onwards to a third or fourth province.*⁷

Also characteristic of smuggling was that the carriers avoided the mandatory trade routes, thus dodging the payment of tolls and customs duties. They would thus smuggle wine, cereals and livestock from the Vipava Valley to the County of Gorizia, and from the Karst region to Tržič (Monfalcone). Via Posočje, across the mountains of Bohinj towards the town of Kobarič, and from the Bovec region they would mostly smuggle fat, cheese and to a large extent the aforementioned livestock. In most cases the final destination was the Republic of Venice (Panjek 2002a, 221–2; Panjek 2015b, 102).

In the County of Gorizia, an important source of income for the peasant population deserves special mention: the mercury mine in Idrija. In the Modern Era, it was one of the biggest mercury mines in the world. This mine employed peasant lads for wage labour and contract work as diggers and ore smelters, and as pumpers of water from the mine (Verbič 1952–53, 534, 538). Transport was carried out by subjects in Idrija and subjects from the neighbouring manors, especially the one in Škofja Loka (Verbič 1963, 98). In the first two centuries of the mine's operation, the leading manufacturers and suppliers of clay pots for ore smelting were peasant potters from the area of Škofja Loka. These pots were manufactured solely for the needs of the mine, which indicates industrial production or a form of the putting-out system (Verbič 1963, 99; Blaznik 1973, 222; Kavčič 2010, 144; Panjek 2015b, 108). It would seem that the smuggling of mercury ore was inevitable; it was mainly carried out by pedlars subject to the manors of Idrija, Tolmin and Škofja Loka, who came to Idrija under the pretence that they were bringing provisions in exchange for lace, which they purchased from the female lace makers of Idrija. The tradition of making Idrija lace, which was carried out by peasant women and girls, dates back to the 16th century. These lace makers purchased linen yarn and linen fabric in Škofja Loka in exchange for lace (Verbič 1969, 157; Hodnik 1995a; 1995b; Terpin 2007, 84).

7 Žontar 1956–57, 85. Similar exploitation of permits for cross-border selling was noticed by Panjek among the subjects from Bovec when studying archival sources (Panjek, 2000, 162; 2002b, 221).

2.3 *Inner Carniola, Vipava Valley and the Karst*

A road led from the east to Gorizia and onward to the Venetian Friuli lowland via the Vipava Valley and Inner Carniola. Other paths branched off in Inner Carniola, which led across the Karst region towards the coastal towns of Trieste, Štivan (San Giovanni di Duino), Koper, Izola, Piran and Reka (Fiume, Rijeka). Let us take a look at how the area of Inner Carniola, the Vipava Valley and the Karst was described by Valvasor. In the Karst, where “the soil is stony,” where there is “a shortage of wood” and water, and where “they have no cereals and eat very dry bread,” but where “marvellous wine” matures, he mentions that “the most beautiful and noble grass” grew there, which was used for grazing and rearing livestock. In the area of Inner Carniola and the Karst he also noticed many carriers with horses. In the village of (Zgornja) Pivka, many of the inhabitants made a living from the wood they transported to the sea, where they made “all sorts of things out of it that large ships needed.” In the Vipava Valley, the vine was thriving, as was fruit; the wine which they produced was being sold at a profit to “foreign provinces” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 263–5).

Due to their location on the route to the coastal towns, the most widespread industries in Inner Carniola and the Karst, in which a great number of peasants were engaged in, were trade, transport and smuggling. In Slovenian historiography, this topic has been researched the most by the previously mentioned Ferdo Gestrin (1962; 1969; 1963; 1986; and 1991). Peasant trade in and transport of salt, wine and oil was conducted from the coastal towns towards the interior of the provinces of Carniola, Styria and all the way to Croatia. In the opposite direction, towards littoral towns, peasant trade brought “all kinds of cereals and flour, livestock and meat products, cheese and fat, hides and leather and home-made cloth and linen, honey and wax, wood and wooden products, and other products of the cottage industry” (Gestrin 1965, 42). Peasants transported their own cereals or someone else’s, which they had bought at markets, or transported and sold products for landlords under forced labour transport. In the case of the Logatec manor, Voje has established that the most powerful cottager settlements were situated along the Ljubljana – Trieste route, which indicates the presence of transport activities. However, he has inferred that the cottagers were used as carriers – day labourers for larger-farm owners (*gruntarji*), who owned horses (Voje 1952–53, 661).

As has already been mentioned, fruit and vine also thrived in the Vipava Valley and the Karst. Archival sources contain more information on the

peasant sale of wine and fruit than the literature. According to entries in the rules of the Ljubljana market of 1571, inhabitants of the Vipava Valley (and Trieste) were among the leading sellers of fruit, either their own or of other peoples, at the Ljubljana market (Blaznik et al. 1980, 321). In the same year, the Carniolan provincial estates proposed that peasants be allowed to export “*Vipavec, rebula* and other sweet Italian wines” out of the province, since the salt exchange was no longer entirely free, and because it had “until now” been the domain of foreigners (Žontar 1956–57, 78). According to Valvasor, Inner Carniola (Karst and the Vipava Valley) was also “blessed with a great number of wines of the best quality and well-known throughout [...] for the vine is budding arms and legs not only with cups full of mirth, but with hope for a handsome profit, which the transport of wine will place in one’s purse” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 255, 269). The production and sale or exchange of wine and fruit were therefore important and traditional industries in modern times, in which the peasant population was engaged. The same can be said for the rearing of livestock, which was mentioned by Valvasor. Judging from the words of the provincial estates from 1531, peasants reared it “for work and not slaughter, because the inhabitants of the Karst subsisted on the rearing of draught oxen [*Ziehochsen*], whose meat is inedible and tough,” and was therefore exempt from the ban on export from the province (Vilfan 1962, 139).

The demand for karst wood came primarily from the nearby towns and especially from Trieste at the time of its growth in the 18th century. In that century, villagers from the nearby karst manors would come to the aforementioned town, bringing wood for heating, construction and vines (Gestrin 1965, 195; Panjek 2015b, 109–10). In the forests of Inner Carniola, peasants also trapped dormice. The work of the natural scientist Franz Anton Steinberg of 1758 speaks of dormice trapping on the Javornik hill. According to him, dormouse fur generated great profit for peasants:

Dormouse pelts are generating a very good profit [on Javornik]; they sell them to furriers, who dress them and sew them into quadrangular sheets, and sell them in large quantities [...] they also send them to foreign lands. The local countryfolk send them to Holland, together with scorpion oil and other small goods, from where they are sold as far away as India. Because dormice are very fatty, peasants dissolve the fat and consume their meat with cabbage and turnip (Baš 1981–1983, 44).

Let us also mention smuggling, which culminated in this area at the end of the 16th century, and was carried out by both peasants and the townspeople. Smuggling boomed especially after the introduction of the forced route toward Trieste and the measures with which the state regulated the payment of tolls, the regulations at the stations in Lož, Planina, Postojna and Podkraj towards the Gulf of Trieste (the Adriatic Sea), and increased supervision on routes and at fairs with road patrols (toll collectors called *ib-lajtarji* or Überreiter). Peasant merchants resisted these measures and the violent *ib-lajtarji* by using other, unusual routes, thus avoiding the tollhouses, or by making their way past the tollhouses using violence (Gestrin 1963, 78–9; 1965, 81–2; 1991, 277; Vilfan 1963, 2–4; Panjek 2002b, 162–3).

2.4 Northern Istria

The forced route towards Trieste and smuggling mostly affected northern Istria (the coastal towns of Koper, Piran and Izola and their countryside), which belonged to the Republic of Venice. Gestrin believes that the situation was the worst in Piran. “Ever since the mid-15th century, the trade in wood from the hinterland was declining there. After 1500, the only lively trade [had to be] the peasant trade, including the smuggling trade, which continued to bring cereals and other food, and items of peasant trade to Piran; on the other hand, the chief product that was being sent inland was salt” (Gestrin 1963, 79).⁸ In addition to Piran, the Austrian (Hapsburg) state measures were also highly detrimental to Koper. The *podestà* of Koper, the local representative of the Venetian state, mentioned in the mid-17th century that the trade with the Hapsburg hinterland had been lively in the past, but was now dying away. Every day, Hapsburg subjects allegedly came to Koper with 200 to 300 horses each; “in exchange for the local products, they would bring cereals, cheese, wool, hides, iron, meat, especially beef for the needs of the town’s butcher’s shops, and other products, mostly made of wood, such as barrels, various tubs, buckets, pails, chests, etc.” (Darovec 2000, 50; 2004, 178).

The goods exported from the Littoral to the hinterland show that the coastal Venetian areas had rather well-developed agricultural industries; their surplus produce could have been sold by peasants, who would thus have gained an additional source of income. Some of these industries are salt production, fishery, oil manufacture and viticulture. However, this hy-

8 For more on the smuggling of salt from Koper and Piran, see Žitko 1979; Bonin and Bonin, 2015, 189–206.

pothesis cannot be easily confirmed, since, with the exception of salt production,⁹ all of the industries that have been mentioned for the area of Istria have been poorly researched in Slovenian historiography. Moreover, it is difficult to identify the classes of the population in the towns and the hinterland. In addition to noblemen, the towns were also inhabited by the *popolari*, i.e. the lower class urban population, which included “salt workers, shipbuilders, sailors, fishermen,” craftsmen, merchants and peasants. They are usually mentioned in literature by the name of the town or the craft they were engaged in (e.g. inhabitant of Piran, inhabitant of Koper, salt worker, etc.), and not by their social class. According to Pahor, there were allegedly many “distinctly urban peasants-*popolari*” in Koper in 1610, whereas there were few of them in Piran or even none at all. *Popolari* are thus encountered as e.g. professional salt workers, who worked the salt pans of the townspeople and nobility as tenants (tenant farmers or *koloni*), or as owners of a (usually very small) section of the salt pans (Pahor 1972, 32, 34, 57).

Let us take a brief look at the rest of the above-mentioned industries: fishery, viticulture, oil manufacture and sericulture. It is known that the fishermen of Piran engaged in the contraband fishing and selling of fish outside of town (Pahor 1972, 61). Sericulture began to develop in north-west Istria at the end of the 17th century; weaving and spinning were present even before that time. In 1763, two entrepreneurs from Koper set up silk spinning mills in order to provide work and subsistence to the “poor local population” by selling silk “to Austrian provinces.” As was the case in the County of Gorizia, the authorities and individuals in coastal towns proposed that peasants be directed towards this profitable culture by planting and cultivating mulberry trees for sericulture. However, the peasants were more inclined to the traditional Istrian agricultural industry, i.e. viticulture (Darovec 2004, 244, 247, 280), whose produce was one of the main export products of coastal towns.

2.5 Inner and Lower Carniola

Let us take a look at the last two regions to be discussed; in Valvasor’s time they were divided into two parts of Carniola, namely Inner Carniola and Lower Carniola, and today encompass the eastern part of the Notranjska region and the region of Dolenjska. Valvasor noticed many carriers, craftsmen and merchants there, who traded in linen, oxen and other livestock, honey and dormouse pelts; he did not fail to mention the “mighty fo-

9 See e.g. Pahor 1957, 1972; Vilfan 1962, 1963; Z. Bonin 2005, 2009; F. Bonin 2016; etc.

rest near the Snežnik plateau” and could not praise “the healthy wine of Lower Carniola” highly enough (Valvasor 2009–2013 174, 188–92, 223). He made special mention of the woodenware craft in the areas of Ribnica and Kočevje, and the transport via Cerknica towards Ljubljana and towards the sea. Goods were not transported only by land; they also rafted cargo along the Sava River, which carried cargo from Styria, Lower Carniola and Croatia. In the region of Lower Carniola (*Dolenjska*), as he had in Upper Carniola, Valvasor recorded that some villages specialised in one or more activities. For example, in the village of Šmartno, there were “many carriers and different kinds of craftsmen, especially tanners who made black leather. The village of Perišče is named after the laundresses (*perice*), women who bleached the laundry. Women would go to Ljubljana every week to collect dirty linen and wash it. They would also bleach a lot of linen fabric and linen yarn” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 180–1, 218–9).

As can be discerned from Valvasor’s descriptions, the area in question was very active as regards crafts and transport. The latter is especially typical of the vicinity of the Cerknica Valley, which is connected with the transport in the Karst and Inner Carniola towards coastal towns or the hinterland, which has already been discussed. Namely, a traffic road led from Novo mesto towards Inner Carniola via the village of Rašica. An even more important transport connection ran through Novo mesto from Ljubljana towards the Croatian city of Zagreb (Gestrin 1991, 105–6; Kosi 1998, 235); subjects from White Carniola and the Kočevje area joined the peasant trade towards the town of Rijeka (Gestrin 1972, 57). As mentioned by Valvasor, trade was also conducted along the Sava River, on which they rafted “all of the merchandise from Croatia, and some of the merchandise from Styria and Lower Carniola, towards Ljubljana” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 158). Boating “was for most boatmen a side job, which they performed when they did not have to work on their own farm or in a manor” (Umek 1999, 276). Peasants would therefore integrate their income from agriculture with income from trade and boating; within the borders of the Višnja Gora manorial court (*Landgericht*) they would also integrate it with income from the lease of tollhouses. In the 16th and 17th century, the rural, “smaller tollhouses were generally leased by peasants,” whereas in the small town of Litija they were leased by its inhabitants and magistrates (Golec 1995, 84).

Like most of the previously described regions, the present-day region of Dolenjska was a wine-growing region in modern times. There, peasants would work the vineyards either as subjects or as tenants of “moun-

tain vineyards,” for which they paid in kind or in money; it can therefore be assumed that they also traded in wine or other goods. As the population began to expand in the 16th century, other types of rural population were formed, i.e. cottagers (*kajžarji*) and landless peasants (*gostači*), who “are staying at the homes of other peasants, and trading in linen and other items” (Vilfan 1952, 112; Granda 2005, 287). The area of Ribnica and Kočevje is especially known for its woodenware craft. As described by Valvasor, “all of the inhabitants of the Kočevje [karstic] plain make boxes, plane wooden plates and bowls, make spoons, sifters and sieves; they make all kinds of wooden products and transport them.” In the valley of Ribnica in the same region of Kočevje, there are also “many potters and those who make sifters, hoops, bowls, plates, pails and plane other woodenware, and carpenters, who transport and sell their products at home as well as abroad” (218–219). The discipline of ethnology has shown greater interest in these activities and has devoted itself to this topic especially for the period of the 19th and 20th centuries (Bras 1982; Drnovšek 2007; individual articles in Orel and Matičetov 1951; etc.), and less so the discipline of history. Nevertheless, we can outline a few elements of these activities for the Early Modern period. Trade in woodenware is already attested by the market deed of 1492, when Emperor Frederick III granted a privilege to the subjects in Kočevje and Ribnica, allowing them to take their livestock, linen and anything else they would rear and produce by themselves to Croatia and other lands, with which he tried to restore the villages in the area of Ribnica and Kočevje that had been ruined by Turkish raids. This privilege became the foundation for local peddling (Otošec 1982, 83; Gradišnik 2012, 13). In the 16th century, the trade in wooden products had become so widespread that the authorities wanted to tax it. In time, the original occupation expanded into several, more specialised industries, such as pail-making, spoon-making, pot-making, etc. (Trošt 1950–51, 36–7). Woodenware makers (*suhorobarji*) also sold their products as pedlars, as was already mentioned by Valvasor, “both in their province and abroad.” The raw material was provided by the vast forests of Snežnik and Gottschee. The peasants beneath the mountain Snežnik had an easement to use commercial wood for selling and trading in wooden products. Just as the Kočevje peasants were granted a privilege to sell wooden products, so were the peasants beneath Snežnik granted the aforementioned right in order to recover economically from the Turkish raids of the 16th century (Kačičnik Gabrič 2004, 48–9). As regards subjects in the Snežnik manor, let us mention in passing that in the 18th century they in-

cluded seasonal migrant workers, in addition to carriers, who “went to Croatia in the summer to mow the grass and in the winter to thresh” (Valenčič 1981, 254). In the forests of Inner Carniola, just as in the forests of Javornik, peasants would also trap dormice and “carry [their pelts] to distant lands such as Holland, and even England and Spain” (Valvasor 2009–2013, 211).

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, let us try to categorise the economic activities in which the peasant population was engaged, in addition to agriculture, by economic sectors. They will be compared with the diagram of activities that were present in integrated peasant economy as presented for western Slovenia, in comparison with the regions of the Alps and western Europe (Panjek 2014, 203; 2015a, 199). In addition to summing up the findings on non-agricultural activities in the peasant economy, we will thus be able to verify whether the above-mentioned diagram can be expanded to central Slovenia.

The activities categorised under the primary sector can be found in all of the discussed provinces and regions. These include pasturage and forestry in the Tolmin region and in the County of Gorizia; viticulture and fruit growing in the County of Gorizia, Vipava Valley and Lower Carniola; sericulture in the County of Gorizia and the coastal towns, to which we can add oil manufacture, salt production, fishery and viticulture, for these areas indicate specialisation and intensification. With the acquisition of new pastureland, the sector of animal husbandry began to expand; forest surfaces were cleared for the needs of viticulture by peasants in Lower Carniola. These include “Carinthians” who came to the County of Gorizia during the grape harvest as seasonal workers. Also worthy of mention is the digging of iron ore in Upper Carniola and of mercury ore in Idrija.

The secondary sector includes the processing of raw materials, produce and semi-finished products, such as charcoal, iron and wooden products, wine, meat, cheese, leather, scorpion oil, dormouse pelts, etc. This sector encompasses rural crafts, which were present in great volume mostly in Upper and Lower Carniola; the domestic system; bigger and smaller specialised plants for the production of iron products and semi-finished products, mercury and glass; mines involved in the processing of ore; and weaving facilities.

The tertiary sector encompasses peasant trade and short- and long-distance commercial services. Transport and carrier services, which were mostly connected with the main transport routes from the hinterland to-

wards the sea and from the area of Gorizia towards Venetian and Inner Austrian provinces, likewise belong to the tertiary sector. We can distinguish between transport by land and rafting along rivers, e.g. the Sava River. Let us also mention peddling in Inner Carniola, Lower Carniola and in the Idrija region; and smuggling, which was widespread in all provinces, particularly towards the coastal towns. This sector also includes the services of female migrant workers, such as the laundresses in Lower Carniola, who went to Ljubljana on a weekly basis to wash and bleach linen.

From the range of economic activities one can infer the considerable diversity and density of industries in which the modern peasant population was able to engage, in addition to agriculture. It can therefore be said that the diversity and distribution of activities in the provinces in question was rather high. However, it would be difficult to determine which activity was the most widespread and which the least. But it can be said that most tertiary activities (trade, transport, carrier services and smuggling) were represented in all regions. On the other hand, some of them are locally specific; e.g. female lace makers in the area of Idrija, who are still world-renowned today; or silkworm breeding in the County of Gorizia and in the coastal towns, where it had developed primarily on account of favourable conditions for the growth of mulberry trees. The distribution of some of these activities was therefore influenced by natural conditions; in addition to the aforementioned sericulture, let us mention, for instance, salt production in coastal towns. When comparing the area of western Slovenia with the entire Alpine region and with western Europe, Panjek uncovered that “a great number of different non-agricultural activities or even the majority of the documented typologies had been present and widespread” (Panjek 2014, 203) in our parts. This is corroborated by the present analysis, which covers the area of central Slovenia, in addition to western Slovenia.

Let us conclude by saying a few words about Slovenian historiography. The review of Slovenian literature has shown that in the period from the last works of F. Gestrin in the 1990s to the concept of integrated peasant economy by A. Panjek, there have been no new comprehensive studies on peasant's involvement in non-agricultural activities in Slovenian lands.

In any case, as regards the topic of integrated peasant economy, Slovenian historians had researched the broader field of “peasant trade” most of all; its concept has been defined more thoroughly and periodised up to the turn of the 17th century, thanks to Gestrin. In the case of Grafenauer and other 20th-century authors, it can be said that they created a very good ba-

sis for new research, though not equally for individual fields and with a few hindrances, which they had already pointed out.

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3

Integrated Peasant Economy in Medieval Slovenia: A Preliminary Study

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Map 3.1: Case study area

Introduction

Although documented in all its diversity during the Early Modern Period, peasant trade (commerce) and a wide range of other supplementary activities of the Slovenian peasant population originated from the Middle Ages. For the correct understanding of the phenomena outlined here it is necessary to understand the causes and circumstances of its emergence, including:

- a) the introduction of a monetary economy, which – in parallel with ‘exchange in kind’ – had been present in these parts from at least the 12th century onwards,
- b) demographic and climate changes,
- c) the less favourable macroeconomic situation in the late Middle Ages
- d) The role of the seignior (estate) as an initiator of agricultural surplus, non-urban crafts and peasant commerce.

The aim of this medieval section of the project is to provide an overview of the range and forms of the studied phenomena in their early stages of development.

One important aspect of this research is the influence of the seignior on agricultural economy. In the territory under investigation in the medieval period – from at least the 12th century onwards – one can barely imagine agricultural production outside the seigniorial bounds (Dopsch 1999, 19). The free peasants that survived up to this point represented a very small fraction of the integral branch. The peasant population mainly formed a distinct class of tenants, subject to a certain person belonging to – or to a certain institution controlled by – the upper strata of society. Their control over agricultural facilities – including serfs – represented the seignior (Vilfan 1980, 78). From the economic point of view, seigniories (manors) may be seen as large-scale units of agricultural activity, which – due to the demands they imposed upon immediate producers – importantly influenced and to a certain extent directed agricultural production (Bizjak 2003, 231). These demands mostly resulted in increased peasant production, its commitment to meet the demands of the seignior, the lord as well as the market and finally in the peasant’s entrance into the market mainly as a consequence of ever greater demands for dues in money.¹ But

1 One must not overlook the peasants own initiative to trade with their products, which is unfortunately not documented in medieval sources.

they also improved peasant facilities that led them into non-agrarian activities – again, at first for their own usage and later also for the market (Gestrin 1978, 170–1). One typical feature of this development is the emergence of settlements of predominantly non-agrarian character near the castles as seigniorial centres that could (but not necessarily did) gradually evolve into towns (Bizjak 2012, 438–9).

Based on the current state of historiography, the roots of the following complementary peasant activities can be traced back to the Middle Ages:

In the primary sector:

- increased intensity of forest exploitation
- specialisation in agriculture (hops growing, viticulture).

In the secondary sector:

- processing of crops and other natural resources (winery, cheese production, chalk and charcoal production)
- different crafts

In the tertiary sector:

- selling of crops at the market
- transport over short and medium distances.

1. Peasant trade (commerce)

During the Middle Ages the differentiation between the countryside and urban trade centres became regulated by law, but in the territory under investigation the existing laws no longer kept abreast of the evolving relations as early as the end of the 14th century. From 1389 there is evidence of a princely ban on peasant trade in Carniola which, as Duke Albert III concluded, caused serious repercussions for towns and a significant drop in princely tolls (Klun 1855, 21).² Similar bans became usual in the second half of the 15th century, when the issue escalated. The charters that we know today were issued in 1461 (Otošec, 1958, 68), 1488 (Otošec, 1959, 19) and 1491 (Otošec, 1959, 25). The problem was as follows: under common law, peasants were obliged to offer the surplus of their crops to merchants (or other costumers) in the local market. By doing so, they were required to pay tolls at the town entrance, whereas local merchants could buy the goods

2 Charter reveals that this is not the first ban of that kind; the duke refers to the former ban issued by him and his brother Leopold, i.e. in the time before the division of government (1365–1397), v. Schwind, and Dopsch (1895, 270ff.).

at a reasonably low price and then resell them at a profit. Peasants could earn more by selling directly to foreign merchants who had found their way to the countryside, but this practice was not legal (Žontar 1956–57, 38). By being present in the local markets and making contacts with foreign merchants, peasants gained an insight into trade, as well as becoming very mobile by performing transport services at the behest of their lords (seignories). They were becoming more and more acquainted with the routes and important trading centres in the area. Little wonder then, that some of them had become involved in long-distance trade by the mid-1300s; at first they increased the range of their own products and traded them abroad in exchange for other goods (iron, grains, salt, wine, etc.) which they would sell at home or even carry them further across the provincial border. Gradually, they took over certain activities like salt and peasant craft trade and finally began to trade in other goods.

At the beginning of the 1490s, the permanent conflict between the interests of the towns and those of the nobility escalated to the point where the prince had to interfere in order to reach an agreement between the two sides concerning peasant trade and crafts, since the seignory was the initiator as well as the patron of these activities. The treaty of 23rd March 1492 was intended as an integral regulation of relations between towns and the countryside that protected the rights of the former, but no longer to the extent reflected in the earlier bans (Otošec 1959, 28).

The treaty comprised six articles:

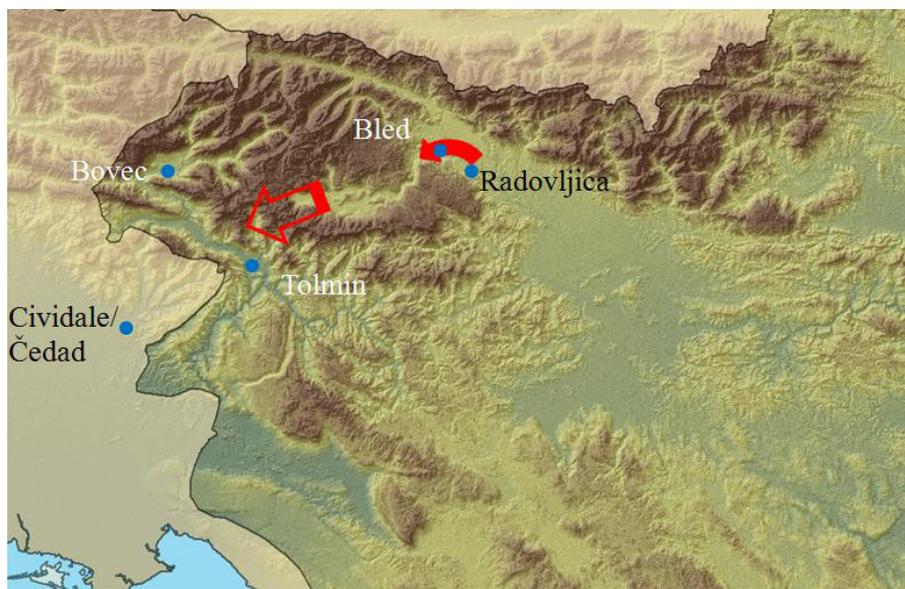
- 1) Restriction on non-urban crafts: there can only be one blacksmith, one tailor, one shoemaker and one tavern in the area surrounding bigger towns in a diameter of one mile and smaller ones in a diameter of half a mile.
- 2) Prohibition of crafts and trade in the form of church fairs.
- 3) Permission for peasants to engage in wine trade: import and export of sour wines and import only of sweet wines.
- 4) Permission for peasants to engage in sea salt trade: import and export, permission to trade it for wine and grains (with the mentioned restriction in wine trade).
- 5) Permission for peasants to engage in cattle trade, i.e. import from Hungary, whereas the export to Italy was restricted to cattle raised on their own farms.
- 6) Prohibition of peasant resale of commercial goods (olive oil, iron, cattle, skins).

But not even these new arrangements could reverse the ongoing growth in peasant trade. Already in the 1520s, the circumstances compelled seigniors and towns in Carniola to resume negotiations and revise the treaty of 1492 (Žontar 1956–57, 25ff.). According to the statement of burgers from approximately the same time, peasant trade in Carniola reached the greatest scale among all Habsburg hereditary lands (Gestrin 1965, 42).

2. Some examples

2.1 *Sheep trade from Upper Carniola to Friuli*

The report on the dispute between the seigniorship of Radovljica and the steward of nearby Bled, Hartmann Kraig, from the end of the 15th century contains an account of the local peasant trade in the direction of Bovec, Tolmin and Cividale. The peasants of Radovljica complained to the emperor that Kraig prevented them from transporting sheep to Italy using their usual route by forcing them to travel across the wilderness (rocky alpine terrain), where many animals got killed. In his answer Kraig explained that the peasants drove more than 1000 heads of rams through the valley of Bohinj during the best grazing time and devastated the grasslands of local tenants (Kaspert 1889, 77, 98–9, 121–2).



Map 3.2: Directions of sheep trade from Upper Carniola to Friuli

2.2 *Labour obligation of transport as a springboard for long-distance trade*

Several seigniories imposed an obligation on the transport of imported goods on certain tenants.

Gornji Grad. The land register of 1426 contains two lists in relation to this matter. The first one names five tenants who transported oil and spices from Italy during the time of fasting and the second names tenants who transported salt. The second one appears to be much more important. The seignior transported more than thirty horse loads of salt per year. It is interesting that peasants could buy their way out of such an obligation with one load of salt, which clearly indicated that they also engaged in salt trade on their own account (Gestrin 1952–53, 505–6; Orožen 1876, 320–2).

Škofja Loka. In the late Middle Ages the bishops of Freising were regularly supplied with wine from the Adriatic coast, primarily with *rebula/ribollio*, which at the time represented a reasonably important trade commodity. The Bavarian Bishopric possessed no estates in the Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages, where it would engage in its own production of quality wines. However, it could make use of its posts in Carniola when importing Istrian wine. Every year, a caravan with approximately ten horses left Škofja Loka for Trieste to buy *rebula* and occasionally also *muscat*. A delivery of between 1500 and 2000 litres was brought back to Škofja Loka, reloaded and usually sent on towards Oberwölz in Upper Styria, where the administration of the Freising seignior arranged its transport to the final destination (Bizjak 2014, 130). The wine was transported by tenants as part of their labour duties; in 1501, for instance, the peasants of Bitnje were charged with transporting wine between Škofja Loka and Mautern-dorf (Salzburg) (Blaznik 1963, 352). It was also suggested that these caravans consisted of both tenants and merchants, which would make the introduction of peasants into trade even easier and more obvious (Blaznik 1973, 93).

Conclusive remarks

As may be concluded, peasant trade was a widespread and well-developed activity at the end of the Middle Ages. In the search for its origins, one cannot overlook the institution and organisation of the seignior, which during the entire period functioned as its stimulator. One of the main reasons that drove peasants into trade apart from their own needs were dues in money which they were obliged to pay to their lords.

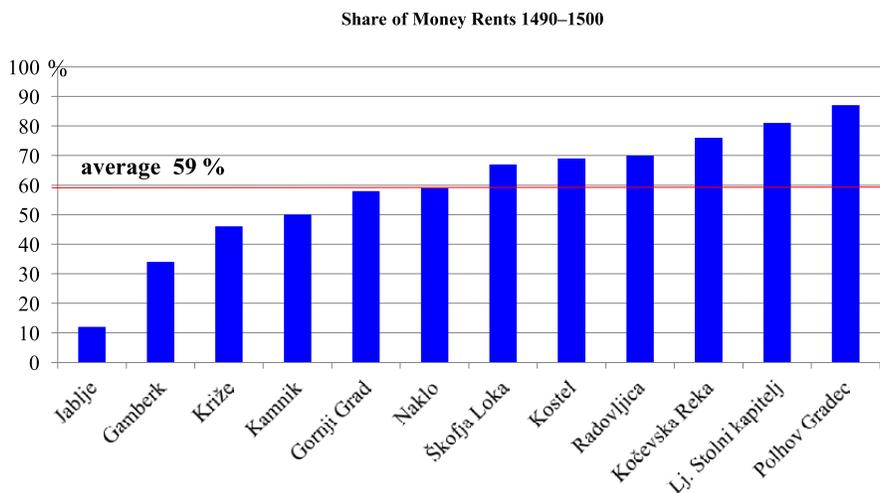
When exactly the estates in the territory under investigation started with the introduction of money dues is hard to establish. Their emergence depended on the circulation of money, manorial reorganisation from demesne to individual holdings and the existence of the local market, which again depended on the existence of urban settlements.

In the 7th century money stopped circulating in western Europe, but started to recover in the 10th (Spufford 1988, 12ff). Even though a certain delay can be detected in the south-eastern part of the empire, the vicinity of Italy had a positive effect on the reappearance of money at least in the first half of the 12th century, when several mints (Aquileia, Breže/Friesach) were already well established around the area studied here; at the beginning of the 13th century, however, the mints also appeared in the territory of present-day Slovenia (Kos 1996, 158–74).

The establishing of estates took place here only after the end of the Hungarian raids, i.e. at the end of the 10th century (Vilfan 1980, 111). That was the time when the system of individual holdings started to spread over Middle Europe until it prevailed in the 11th and 12th centuries. The first estates in this area were probably already of a mixed type, whereas demesne was not very significant (its last remains can be traced in the land register for Bled of 1253; Bizjak 2006b, 158, 188). In spite of the predominantly rural character of non-coastal areas in the Slovenian territory there is early evidence of some proto-urban settlements where local trade took place (Ptuj, Kranj, Slovenj Gradec, Škofja Loka, Ljubljana, Gorica; Kosi 2009). All this evidence leads to the conclusion that the estates, at least in the 12th century, collected a portion of their dues in money. This is also confirmed in a written source, namely, the first preserved land register for this territory, the Škofja Loka estate belonging to the Freising Bishopric, dating back to 1160 (Blaznik 1963, 127–8).

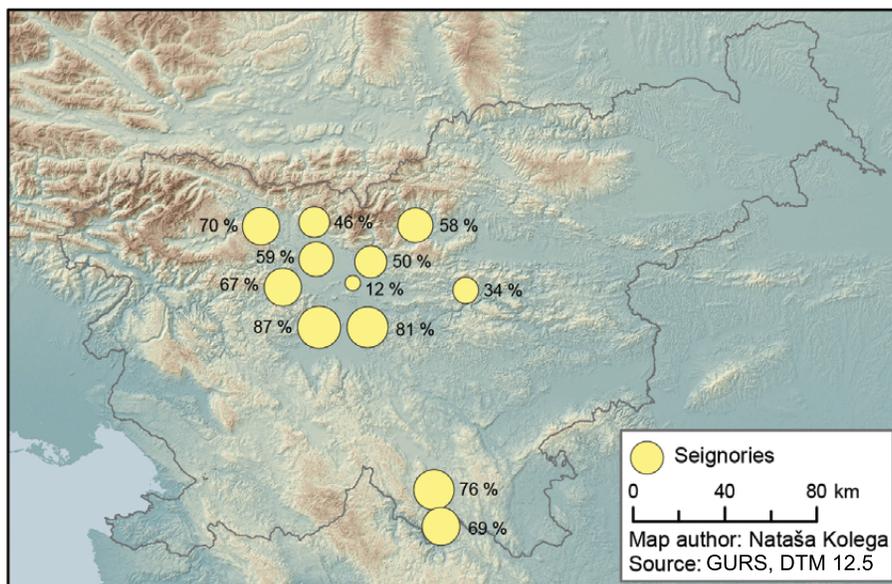
All the above led to the following situation at the end of the Middle Ages. The ratio of money rents in some estates gradually increased until the end of the 15th century. One such instance was Škofja Loka, which showed the following trend: 55% in 1310, 65% in 1396–1400, 67% in 1437–1500 (Zahn 1871, 127–8; Bizjak 2003, 182), or Gornji Grad: 44% in 1426, 58% in 1490–1500 (Bizjak 2003, 218). Other areas, such as Bled, however, revealed a different trend: 51% in 1253, 19% in 1309, 30% in 1464 (Bizjak 2006b, 166). And even though in some areas the rent in kind was still dominant in the late 1400s, the majority of estates show the share of money rent higher than 50% (Jablje 12% in 1493, Gamberk 34% in 1498, Križe 46% in 1498, Kamnik 50% in 1493,

Naklo 59% in 1498, Kostel 69% in 1494, Radovljica 70% in 1498, Kočevska Reka 76% in 1498, Ljubljanski stolni kapitelj 81% in 1499, Polhov Gradec 87% in 1500).³



Graph 3.1: Share of Money Rents 1490–1500

3 These figures are calculated on the basis of original urbaria, all but one (Chapter of bishopric Ljubljana 1499 – NŠAL, KA, U1) kept in the Archive of Slovenia (ARS): Jablje 1493 – ARS, AS 1, box 84; Gamberk 1494 – ARS, AS 1, box 81; Križe 1498 – ARS, AS 1, box 75; Kamnik 1493 – ARS, AS 1074, cod. 80u; Naklo 1498 – ARS, AS 1, box 100; Kostel 1494 – ARS, AS 1, box 83; Radovljica 1498 – ARS, AS 174, box 246; Kočevska Reka 1498 – ARS, AS 11, no. 23, fasc. 15; Polhov Gradec 1500 – ARS, AS 1, box 74.



Map 3.3: Share of Money Rents 1490–1500

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ARS: Arhiv Republike Slovenije.

AS 1: Vicedomski urad za Kranjsko, boxes 74, 75, 81, 83, 100.

AS 11: Komisija za fevdne zadeve za Kranjsko, no. 23.

AS 174: Terezijanski kataster za Kranjsko, box 246.

AS 1074: Zbirka urbarjev, cod. 80u.

NŠAL, KA: Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, *Kapiteljski arhiv*, U1.

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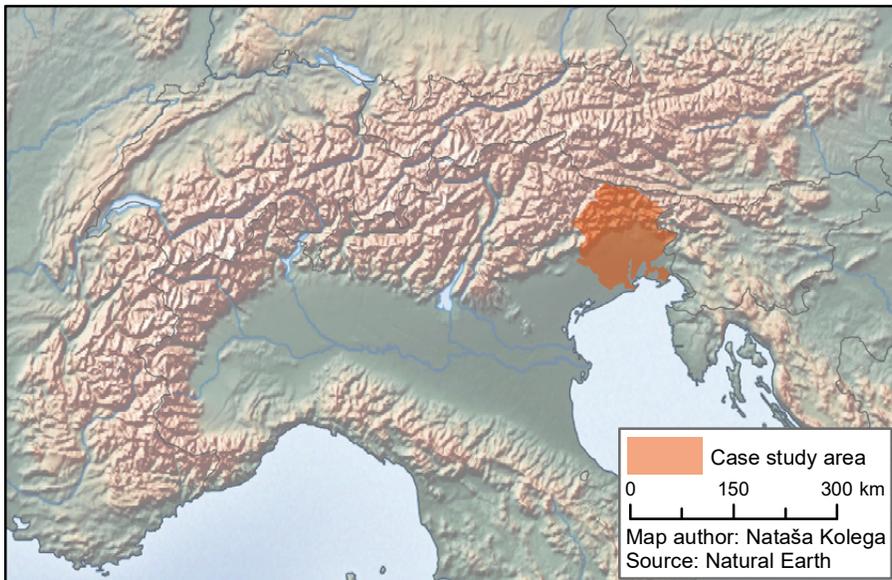
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4 Integrated Peasant Economy in Friuli (16th–18th Centuries)

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Map 4.1: Case study area

Introduction

The starting point of this paper is the revisited concept of integrated peasant economy.¹ According to the definition suggested by Aleksander Panjek, peasant economy is studied in light of the fact that it coexists with other activities, not always interchangeable, which allow it to integrate to different extents with the proceeds deriving from agriculture or which even generate a surplus beyond basic subsistence.

The underlying hypothesis is that not all socio-economic environments enable the development of an integrated peasant economy. In particular, we believe that a suitable environment might be one where the population enjoys a higher degree of personal freedom and where a larger number of people are able to make autonomous decisions. Personal freedom and autonomy allows us, in concurrence with a change in economic conditions, to modulate activities and production in a faster, and therefore more effective way to face new, unforeseen situations.

We would like to test this concept in different areas of the Friuli province during the Venetian period. First of all, we will identify the plain and the mountains as the two environments where the different impact of the integrated peasant economy can be analysed. We will then investigate on which level it is possible to talk about an integrated peasant economy: region, village, family. Finally, we will attempt to outline the solutions of the integrated peasant economy to economic crisis and to the economy's transformation.

1. Villages on the plain versus villages in the mountains

In this section we describe the two contexts we intend to analyse, that is the plain and the mountains, and we attempt to understand which one might be more favourable to the development of the integrated peasant economy.

On the Friulian plain, agriculture was unequivocally predominant compared to any other economic activity. In the villages, the property of the land was strongly concentrated in the hands of a scarce number of absent aristocrat families. The administration of the land was entrusted to landholders, who relied primarily on exploiting the workforce rather than on investments in the production. Production was based on the subordination of farmers, often farm hands without any land, to farm conductors.

1 Panjek 2015. The essay deals with the Slovenian context. Among its references to the Italian Alpine areas it refers to – and integrates – Coppola 1989 and 1991.

The property of the land was limited and it was often not enough to guarantee a family's subsistence.

The most widespread agricultural contract in Friuli was *affitto misto*, a sort of sharecropping, which entailed payments in kind. Part of the agricultural production, the least valuable, was surrendered by peasant families according to a fixed quota, while the products destined for the market were provided based on a quota proportional to the harvest. Several were variables to the contract, however all of them included, together with the quota from the harvest, some additional fees to be paid to the landowner. Among these fees were always some days devoted to improving the soil and transporting commodities in surplus to the urban market.

In most of the countryside the administration of justice was entrusted to *giusdicenti*, that is to the aristocratic landowners themselves, who could thus exercise direct control on rural communities and on individuals also from a judicial point of view.

As far as the local administration was concerned, on the Friulian plain the institution of the village community was widespread, however the margins for decision and autonomy of the assembly of the householders were strongly limited and basically subordinate to aristocratic families.²

Every aspect of working life was thus subordinate to the needs of the landowner and of his farmer. The activity of the settler (*colono*) was regulated by agricultural contracts and obedience was guaranteed by law, as supervised by the *giusdicente*, that is, in most cases, the landowner himself or a representative of the property. Consequently, from this perspective it was hardly possible to sustain the integrated peasant economy. Also because of these reasons, one of the characteristics of the economy centered on agriculture was the low degree of geographic mobility, especially long range.³

In such context, therefore, the non-agricultural activities carried out by farmers needed to take place under the conductors' strict supervision. According to this logic the working day was anyway dictated by the rhythms of agriculture, and the exception to this routine was the activism of the landowners themselves beyond the agricultural field, which was in fact quite rare, although not strange in Friuli during the 18th century, as it is

2 On these aspects, in general, see Bianco 1994; Morassi 1997, 135–219. For more jurisdictional aspects in the Venetian mainland, see Zamperetti 1991 and Viggiano 1993.

3 This is a constant feature in the marriage market in Friuli; see. Fornasin and Marzonna (2009).

for example attested by the farm Asquini in Fagagna next to the hilly area (Morassi 1992) or, at the beginning of the 19th century, by Gherardo Freschi in Sesto al Reghena on the fertile plain to the right of the Tagliamento river (Zanier 1998; Bianco 2012).

Even though agricultural economy was by far the prevailing economic activity and it usually guaranteed self-sufficiency or even a surplus destined to the market, there existed also other activities destined to handicraft. These activities, however, were often not autochthonous. On the Friulian plain, for example, textile activities at the local level were carried out by seasonal immigrants coming from the mountains. The market of reference for other handicraft needs was the urban market, where most of the secondary sector was concentrated.

Another important aspect to outline in the characteristics of agricultural society on the Friulian plain is the structure of the family. Taking into account the different variants which can be observed in the territory,⁴ the extended family was quite widespread on the Friulian plain, which family consisted of a large number of components: brothers living together with wives and children, often led by the patriarch (Morassi 1985; Bosco and Deganutti 1986). In a similar context, where family groups were relatively few compared to the number of inhabitants, few were also the householders, and therefore the people who were tasked with making decisions in this domain.

The distribution of tasks within the family always took place inside the agricultural activity, with a substantial subordination of females to males. We might sum up in a diagram (see Diagram 4.1) the main characteristics of agricultural society on the Friulian plain and consider it on the basis of it being open to an integrated peasant economy.

The combination of these characteristics and of these limitations lead in this specific context to low levels of personal freedom. On the plain, as a consequence, those individuals who could make autonomous decisions were relatively few.

On the contrary, in the mountainous area of Friuli, agricultural activity represented only a minor portion of the economy. Since the Middle Ages, vast regions of the Alpine area could guarantee the population's subsistence for only a few months every year. In order to remedy this shortage of foodstuffs these areas had to import some products, especially cereals from the

4 In Friuli there is a delay on these studies due to the lack of specific sources, like for example the *Status animarum*; see Fornasin and Veronese 1999.

plain (Fornasin 2001a). The economic balance was maintained thanks to activities alternative to agriculture, which provided the population with the money they needed to buy the required foodstuffs (Fornasin 1998a).

Diagram 4.1: Main socio-economic characteristics of a village on the plain; Friuli, 16th–18th centuries

Economy	Agriculture = No geographical mobility
Local administration	Noblemen = No autonomy
Land property	Few landlords = No property
Contracts	Rent, sharecropping = No autonomy
Family	Large = Few number of decision makers

From the point of view of the local administration, the Friulian plain – especially Carnia, the most populated mountainous area of the entire Province – enjoyed ample autonomy (Bianco 1985). Justice was administered by a local representative, the *gastaldo*, who exercised his prerogative in almost all the territory. The village community, therefore, did not have any limitation to its authority through a local *giusdicente*, if not only relatively. In addition to this, the communities in the mountains enjoyed (more often than those on the plain) prerogatives over vast land extensions: almost every village managed on its own wide areas of meadows/pastures and forests, and through their lease or exploited on their own, it derived considerable proceeds for the benefit of all inhabitants (Bianco 1985; 1994, 103–47; 2001; Lorenzini 2007a; 2011; Barbacetto 2000). Besides, in the mountains the cultivable land was scarce, but property was at least universal: almost all families held a lot of land. Also, the breeding of animals was quite developed, in particular cattle, as well as the production of milk and cheese destined for the markets of the plain and in towns (Fornasin 2005; 2011).

In general, in the mountains the occupations were quite diversified and the distribution of tasks within the family quite pronounced. The most renowned case is Carnia. Here, male occupation was mainly focused on activities related to emigration. Many emigrants were pedlars or they were engaged in handicraft. Women, instead, were dedicated to agricultural activities, such as the cultivation of small lots of land which each family held. Besides this general organisation of work at the household level, there was a wide range of possible activities which could be carried out in the Friulian mountains. For example, the big textile firm of Jacopo Linusio, which employed a number of workers, mainly weavers, in the Tolmez-

zo factory (Banelli 1984; 1987; Mainardis 1986; Morassi 1997, 317–60; Ferigo and Lorenzini 2006, 30–7). The same firm employed a large number of female home workers, dedicated to spinning (Gri 1985; Morassi 1990). The particular environment of the mountains allowed also the exploitation of forests for timber and of common lands for breeding (Bianco 1985; Lorenzini 2011). The existence of these resources, almost entirely missing on the Friulian plain, had given rise to a distribution of the occupations on a territorial basis. In fact, not only Carnia’s inhabitants exploited these resources, but mostly also workers coming from other Alpine valleys (Ferigo 1997; Lorenzini 2007b).

From the point of view of the demographic structure, the average size of families was smaller compared to those on the plain. There also existed bigger family groups, but they were less common than on the plain (Catelan 2002).⁵

Again, we can assess the openness of the mountains to the integrated peasant economy with a diagram (see Diagram 4.2).

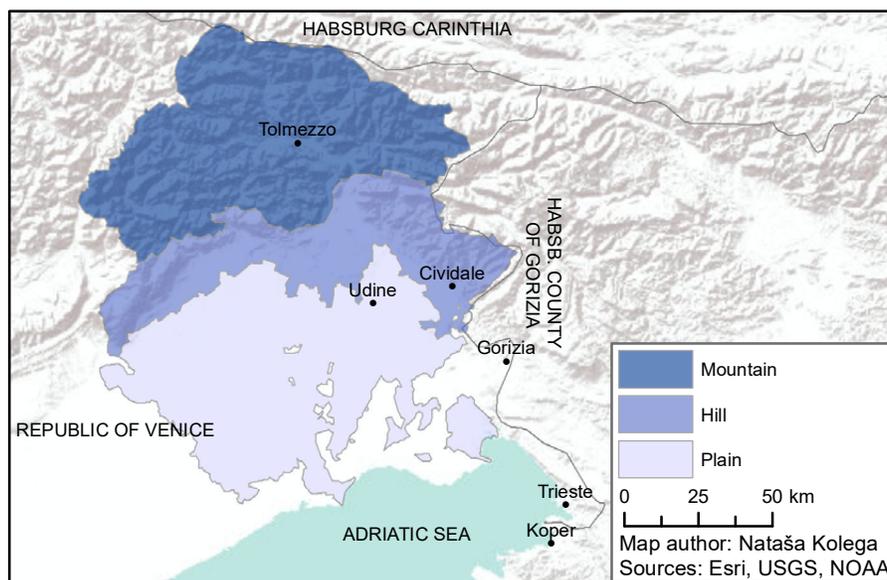
Diagram 4.2: Main socio-economic characteristics of a village in the mountains; Friuli, 15th–18th centuries

Economy	Small trade or handicraft = Mobility
Local administration	Village community = Autonomy
Land property	Universal = Property
Contracts	- = Autonomy
Family	Small = Relatively large number of decision makers

The combination of these characteristics entailed, in this specific context, high levels of personal freedom and a higher number of individuals able to make autonomous decisions.

Thanks to this comparison, we can draw a first, short conclusion. The degrees of autonomy were quite low in the villages on the plain, whereby they were relatively high in the mountains. The latter, therefore, enjoyed a higher degree of flexibility both on an individual and on a collective level. Consequently, the mountainous area was a more favourable environment for the integrated peasant economy.

5 For a comparison with the entire eastern Alpine area, see Albera 2011, 233–40.



Map 4.2: Mountain and plain in Venetian Friuli

2. Macro and micro level: the village and the family

In this part of the paper we seek to understand the extent to which it is possible to talk of an integrated peasant economy. In our opinion there are at least two levels worth discussing: the first at the level of the territorial community, which is the village: the second at a domestic level, which is the family.

The socio-economic situation of Friuli did not differ only among wider areas defined by their environmental characteristics, on the contrary each village community was qualified by specific features: the different way to interact with *giusdicenti*; the possession of collective resources and so forth. We cannot take into account the entire variety of features distinguishing villages from an economic, social and demographic point of view, however we can identify some models which include some peculiar characteristics. We can thus identify four types of villages, two on the plain and two in the mountains which can be briefly described as in Diagram 4.3.

The models are based on some characteristics which can actually be traced to different contexts. When it comes to villages on the plain we thought of using as a first example a village of ‘Conservative landlord model.’ This is the model which largely prevails in Friuli (Bianco 1994, 51–100;

Morassi 1997, 160–78), characterised by an absentee property, isolated in its privileges, not at all willing to invest in production in the countryside.⁶ As an alternative we identified a village where, instead, the proprietary model was more inclined towards innovation, investment and direct conduction of the property (for example the case of the Asquini of Fagagna investigated by Luciana Morassi, 1985 and 1992).

Diagram 4.3: ‘Types’ of village; Friuli, 15th–18th centuries

Plain	1	‘Conservative landlord model’
	2	‘Innovative landlord model’
Mountain	1	‘Pedlar model’
	2	‘Handicraft model’

For the mountains, instead, we considered two models separate from the prevailing activity related to emigration. On the one hand, thus, the villages where the main economic activity was centred on the service industry and, in particular, on the small ambulant trade; on the other hand the villages whose emigrants performed handicraft activities, mainly linked to weaving (Ferigo and Fornasin 1996; Fornasin 1997). Once the models have been identified, the characteristics of the different villages and of Friuli in its whole have been checked against the pattern suggested by Aleksander Panjek (2015). What emerged is Table 4.1, where letters Y and N represent, respectively, the presence or the absence of the activity in the village-model; the higher the number of Y’s, therefore, the higher the level of integrated peasant economy.

As can be seen, the higher number of Y’s refers to the regional context as a whole.

Obviously the result is the outcome of an artifice. Within a general context there are many particular situations, therefore the influence of the integrated peasant economy has increased. For this reason we believe that it might be preferable to investigate at the village level rather than on a wider regional scale.

As emerges from Table 4.1, the distribution of activities is unequal both between the different environmental contexts, summed up in the binomial mountain-plain, and within the same context, in the different village types.

6 On these aspects, see also Bianco (1983).

Table 4.1: Integrated peasant economy in different geographical and socio-economic contexts

Sector	Activity	F	P-1	P-2	M-1	M-2
Primary	Agricultural specialisation	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Intensification of cultivation	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Wage day-labour in agriculture	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Extension/intensification of breeding	Y	N	N	Y	Y
	Intensification of forest exploitation	Y	N	N	Y	Y
	Extension of cultivated land	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Secondary	Transformation of primary resources /products	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Rural crafts	N	N	N	N	N
	Domestic putting-out system	Y	N	N	N	Y
	'Centred' industries	Y	N	N	N	Y
	Migrant/mobile craftsmen	Y	N	N	N	Y
	Wage labour in industrial sector	N	N	N	N	N
Tertiary	Services in the field of long and medium distance trade	Y	N	N	Y	Y
	Transport of other people's products and goods on short to medium distance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Trafficking with own products and goods on short to medium distance	Y	N	N	Y	Y
	Peddling	Y	N	N	Y	N
	Smuggling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Total Y		15	5	7	12	14

Note: F = Friuli; P-1 = Plain 1, 'Conservative landlord model'; P-2 = Plain 2, 'Innovative landlord model'; Mountain 1, 'Pedlar model'; Mountain 2, 'Handicraft model'.

For the primary sector, referring only to the Early Modern period, we might think that the crop specialisation in the villages on the plain could take place only where the landowners inclined to experimentation were leading innovation. In the mountains, on the contrary, examples of specialisation could be traced also in relation to industrial activities, such as the processing of linen and hemp (Gri 1998; Ferigo 1993), which had led to forms of exploitation of the soil less likely to occur in a context where innovation was imposed from above.

The intensification of cultivation was possible mainly in the mountains. In this context, the increase in population could be sustained, as in

many areas on the plain, through the cultivation of new lands, but especially through the intensive exploitation of the existing ones.⁷

The pressure on land had led to the intensification of breeding, but on the plain the expansion of cultivated lands entailed a considerable reduction of territories which were collectively exploited, often meadows, pastures and forests, and consequently a reduction – if not quantitative, definitely qualitative – of livestock (Berengo 1963, 325–37). In the mountains, on the contrary, an extensive breeding of cattle developed, especially cows, sheep and goats.

With reference to the secondary sector, there were of course artisans working in the single villages, as was common in all rural societies. However the primacy in terms of handicraft and the concentration of most of its activity were typically in towns.

The domestic production of goods was almost unknown on the Friulian plain, while in some regions in the mountains spinning from home, which produced the raw material for weaving, was widespread. As far as the ‘centred’ industries are concerned, the only example we might refer to is the mountainous area nearby Tolmezzo (village type 2). Within the historical and geographical context of those times, the only activity which could be defined as centred industry was the Linussio factory in Tolmezzo. The weavers employed there were concentrated in the villages near the plant, but the weaving activity in these villages was also closely linked to seasonal emigration (Gri 1999).

Coming to the tertiary sector, in particular transport, this was obviously an activity widespread everywhere, but its development was different precisely in relation to the structure of society. In the mountains the ample personal autonomy allowed the creation of a network of professional carterers which could carry other people’s products, as well as their own, both long- and short-distances (Fornasin 2001a; Lorenzini 2015). On the plain, instead, due to the lack or the limited size of a professional category dedicated to transport, there were only farmers, usually tenants or small owners, who carried foodstuffs, either produced by themselves or grown on the

7 What can be observed, for the stage following directly the one which is currently being examined, is that the introduction of the potato took place earlier in the mountains than on the plain, although relatively later in comparison with other alpine areas; see Gri 1999 and overall Gentilcore 2012. On the agricultural intensification in the mountains, see the classic by Robert McC. Netting (1981) and, in relation to breeding, see Mathieu 1998.

manor's property, from the countryside to the urban markets. Also this transport was regulated by agricultural contracts.

Finally, the small ambulant trade, as we already noted, was widespread mainly in some villages in the mountains, while smuggling, in the specific geographical context of Friuli, an area contiguous to and permeated by the Imperial territories, was a quite common, almost universal practice (Bianco 1990; 1998).

After having explored the integrated peasant economy at the village level, we will now attempt to analyse the concept at the household level, in light of the fact that the family was the main productive unit in pre-industrial society. In this context we naturally need to discuss the internal distribution of work and the role of women; these aspects are summed up in Table 4.2. Similarly to what has been done before, we cross-checked the information related to the activities with the distribution of work at the gender level in the two different environmental contexts. We indicate with the letter M the activities mainly performed by men, while the letter F identifies those performed by women. Consistently with our starting assumption, therefore, the higher number of Fs, the more relevant the role of the woman in the economy and, supposedly, in the decision-making process within the family, and consequently the more favourable the level of the integrated peasant economy.

As can be seen in Table 4.2, in the mountains, the distribution of work within the family was clear-cut and was based on the dichotomy male = migrant labour, female = sedentary labour.⁸ Within the village, an analogous distribution took place – socially, culturally, and economically – between migrant families and sedentary families. The latter's array of activities was not so to say universal, but it was based only on some activities, such as short distance transport, some activities linked to the tertiary sector, such as local trade, notaries, small credit, and so forth. In this context, therefore, women played an important economic role which was mainly based on agriculture, but also domestic processing. In Carnia, by way of example, spinning was widespread in many villages, and its raw material was the production of wool on a local scale (Gri 1995). The absence of men, involved in migrant activities, for a large part of the year, left ample margins of autonomy to women. Women were responsible for the family, for

8 On this dichotomy, which can be traced to a large part of the alpine area, see Lorenzetti and Merzario 2005, 3–14; Valsangiacomo and Lorenzetti 2010. Overall, see Viazzi 2009, 121–52; and Fontaine 1998.

intra-community relationships, for production and for subsistence. Women, therefore, played an important role which inevitably reverberated also on their social status within the community (Ferigo and Lorenzini 2006, 139–49).⁹

Table 4.2: Integrated peasant economy in different geographical and socio-economic contexts at household level

Sector	Activity	Plain	Mountain
Primary	Agricultural specialisation	M	F
	Intensification of cultivation	M	F
	Wage day-labour in agriculture	M	F
	Extension/intensification of breeding	M	M
	Intensification of forest exploitation	M	M
	Extension of cultivated land	M	M
Secondary	Transformation of primary resources/products	M	M
	Rural crafts	M	M
	Domestic putting-out system	M	F
	'Centred' industries	M	M
	Migrant/mobile craftsmen	M	M
	Wage labour in industrial sector	M	M
Tertiary	Services in the field of long and medium distance trade	M	M
	Transport of other people's products and goods on short to medium distance	M	M
	Trafficking with own products and goods on short to medium distance	M	M
	Peddling	M	M
	Smuggling	M	M
Total F		0	4

In conclusion, we can make two general statements. First of all, it is preferable to focus on the study of villages rather than on a broader territorial context, in order to avoid distortions and, therefore, overestimate the impact of the integrated peasant economy. Secondly, we identified, on the basis of the village types, the villages in the mountains as the most favourable environment for the integrated peasant economy, because in such vil-

9 For an analytical comparison on these aspects with other alpine areas, we can mention the studies by Raul Merzario, in particular 1992 and 2000.

lages in addition to the migrant activities linked to weaving there was also a manufacturing production linked to the territory. Also when we reason in terms of family, then, the mountains, although poorer in land, prove to be a very fertile environment for the development of the integrated peasant economy.

3. The historical development

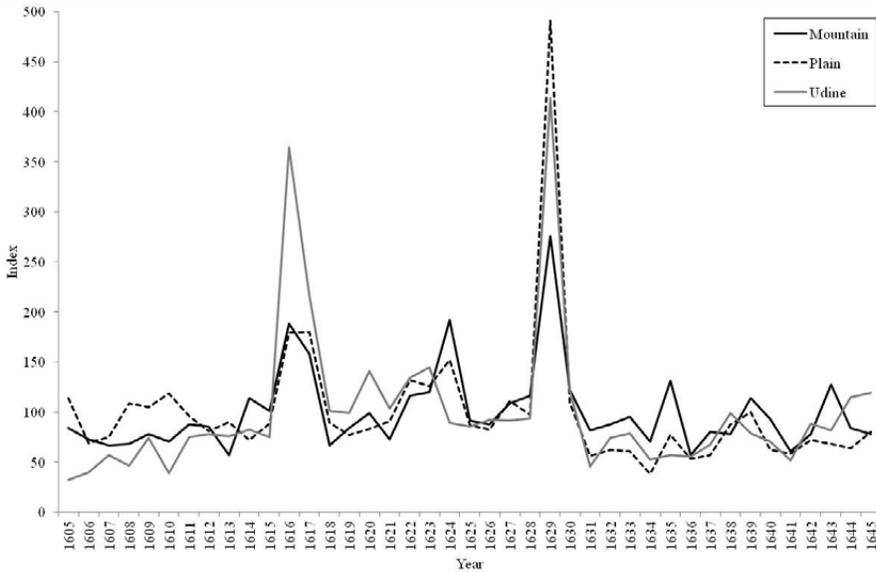
In this part of the paper we deal with the topic of the integrated peasant economy in light of its historical dynamics that is, its possible developments over time. We conduct the analysis on two sides: short and medium period.

An integrated peasant economy implies the existence of multiple activities but also their close inter-dependence, according to the idea that all the activities were integrated, overlapped and modulated in order to better adapt to the economic situation.

From this perspective we need to acknowledge a system plasticity which could be achieved through the distribution of work among different categories of families within the same village, but also through task distribution within the family. In the context of an integrated peasant economy, economic transformations not only ease stress, but allow an adjustment in the short term. This adjustment is closely linked to the options which depend on the economic relationships among the different actors. From an institutional point of view, for example, the options' range of a family is favoured by the fact that it owns land and it has the possibility to exploit it independently, without any constraints placed on it by other people or institutions. In times of crisis, therefore, the reciprocal relationship between the activities linked to the integrated peasant economy changes. Having said that, this does not imply that drastic breaking points might not occur in the general economic balance or in the usual performance of the activities. The entire system, however, adapts more easily.

On the basis of what we have previously maintained, therefore, the development of an integrated peasant economy should bring about a better ability to resist economic crisis and, therefore, according to the logic of a Malthusian system, allow a better equipped territory to overcome fewer losses in a subsistence crisis.

In Graph 4.1 we illustrate the historical series of deceases between 1605 and 1645 in connection with a set of Friulian communities divided between the mountains and the plain. By way of comparison we illustrate also the series related to Udine, the main urban centre of the territory.

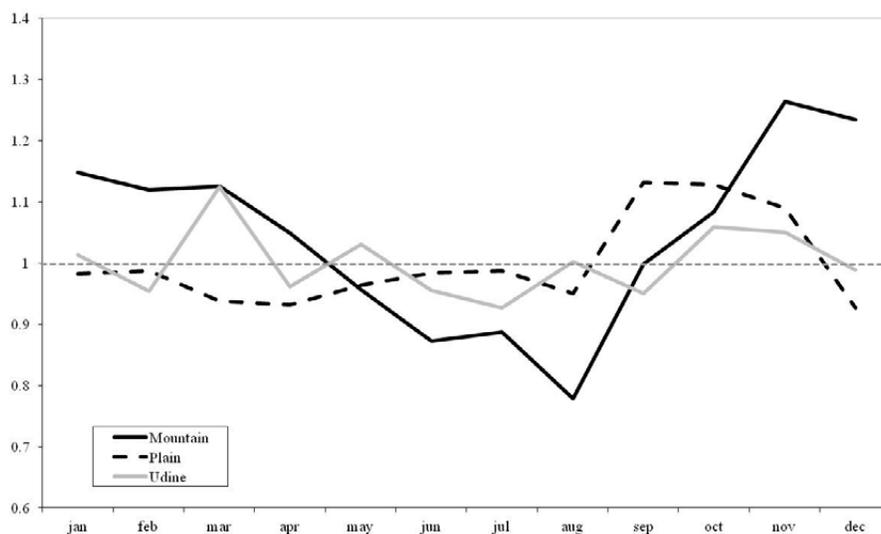


Graph 4.1: Two demographic crises in Friuli, 1605–1645
Source: Fornasin (forthcoming).

The choice of the period was made in order to compare two mortality crises of different natures. The first, in 1616–17, was due to an epidemic contemporary to the Gradisca war (Fornasin and Panjek 2008); the second, in 1629, was due to a severe famine (Fornasin 2001b). The evidence of the graph conforms to the theoretical expectations. In fact, whenever a mortality crisis is due to a subsistence crisis, the territory which is better suited to adapt is the mountains, as it is characterised by a more favourable environment to the integrated peasant economy. In the same way there are no relevant differences between the plain and the mountains, when the mortality crisis is due to epidemic factors.

It remains to demonstrate which mechanisms allow a mountainous context to better overcome an unfavourable economic conjuncture. To this regard we present Graph 4.2, where we outline the seasonality of conceptions in the three different contexts already explored in Graph 4.1.

We can find an indirect check of this adaptation in the data on baptisms recorded in the mountains villages. One of the demographic characteristics of the mountains population in Friuli was the presence of seasonal migrations, which kept men away from their villages for most of the year. Migrants returned home during the summer. Since they stayed home



Graph 4.2: Seasonality of conceptions in years of crisis

Note: 1 = 18th century. Source: Breschi et al. 2010.

mainly in July and August, it goes without saying that this was also the period of the year when the highest number of conceptions occurred (Fornasin 1998a, 19–27). In order to check for a ‘conscious’ response to fertility in times of grain shortage, we can try to compare data on the seasonality of conceptions in years of high prices with the similar curve referred to conceptions in the 18th century.

As you can see in Graph 4.2, in the mountains territory conceptions show large variations in ‘bad’ years. During those periods, in fact, we observe a decrease in conceptions, in particular in the month of August. This does not happen on the plain, where migration is not a widespread phenomenon. In other words, it is reasonable to think that, since July and August were just after the harvest of wheat and immediately prior to the harvest of corn, many of the men who were at home might decide whether to leave or not on the basis of current prices and the price forecast.

In addition to the examination of the short period we might debate over the evolution in time of the integrated peasant economy. In order to tackle this kind of study we focused in particular on the mountains during the 19th century. In fact, the economy of this territory was affected by important economic transformations. The migration flows based on trade and

handicraft were replaced by a migration founded mainly on occupations linked to the construction industry (Fornasin 1998b). The standardisation of these migration patterns in the entire territory had also repercussions on the integrated peasant economy.

Table 4.3 illustrates the situation of the activities for the village-models in the mountains as-in the second half of the 19th century.

Table 4.3: Integrated peasant economy in two mountain contexts from a historical perspective

Sector	Activity	Mountain-1	Mountain-2
Primary	Agricultural specialisation	N	N
	Intensification of cultivation	Y	Y
	Wage day-labour in agriculture	Y	Y
	Extension/intensification of breeding	Y	Y
	Intensification of forest exploitation	Y	Y
	Extension of cultivated land	Y	Y
Secondary	Transformation of primary resources/products	Y	Y
	Rural crafts	N	N
	Domestic putting-out system	N	N
	'Centred' industries	N	N
	Migrant/mobile craftsmen	Y	Y
	Wage labour in industrial sector	N	N
Tertiary	Services in the field of long and medium distance trade	Y	Y
	Transport of other people's products and goods on short to medium distance	Y	Y
	Trafficking with own products and goods on short to medium distance	Y	Y
	Peddling	N	N
	Smuggling	N	N
Tot		10	10
Difference		-2	-4

Note: Mountain 1, 'Pedlar model;' Mountain 2, 'Handicraft model.'

In the second half of the 19th century the environmental situation for the integrated peasant economy progressively deteriorated in both village-models: a series of economic activities which had characterised the

entire territory had disappeared. The most evident fact was the discontinuation of the Linussio textile factory in Tolmezzo, which had been one of the most important productive establishments in the Venetian mainland.

Both internal and external factors, therefore, affected the radical change of the economy of the Friulian mountains during that period. Among the solutions adopted by the local population, in order to face this radical transformation were both the intensification of agriculture (in particular an increase in the number of livestock: Fornasin 2011) and a closer bond between professions and resources (namely, forests and pastures).¹⁰

Conclusions

In this paper we engaged in an analysis of Friuli's economic history through the interpretative instrument of the integrated peasant economy. What emerged from our analysis is that the features necessary to favour its development in this territory were largely present in the mountains rather than on the plain. The degree of individual freedom was relatively higher in the mountains, while it was lower in the villages on the plain. In the latter, flexibility was higher both on an individual and on a collective level. The most suitable 'environment' for the integrated peasant economy included the villages in the mountains where, in addition to the migrant activities linked to weaving and trade, there was also a manufacturing production linked to the territory. Also when the analysis goes down to the household level, the mountains prove to be a much more favourable 'environment' to the development of the integrated peasant economy.

After the economic transformations taking place between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, also within the context of the mountains the 'environmental' favourable conditions started to disappear and the adherence to that model became less adaptive.

In this logic, therefore, it appears to us that it is possible to talk about integrated peasant economy regardless of the degree of importance of the agriculture. For example, in the Carnia case, agriculture played a secondary role, to the point that only in a few cases it is possible to talk about peasant families (Fornasin 2004). Here agriculture merely contributed to complementing the income, and never played a main role in the economy.

The modernisation – or, rather, the 'big transformation' – which affected the entire Friulian territory starting with the end of the 18th century,

10 We intend to deal further with this bond, more or less close in the different alpine regions of the Friulian area, in the near future (see Lorenzini 2015).

also in light of the internal and external factors which have been examined, only relatively affected the mountains, leading to progressive marginalisation,¹¹ precisely in conjunction with the increasing importance of agriculture in its economy.

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11 On these aspects, see Lorenzetti 2010, 21-133.

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5 The Importance of Commons in an Integrated Peasant Economy in Early Modern Northern Scandinavia

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Map 5.1: Case study area

Introduction

As described in other chapters in this volume, the peasant economy in Early Modern upland Europe became more integrated, and northern Scandinavia was no exception. Here, however, the increased use of common-pool resources (CPRs) is a key to understanding how the integrated economy developed. This chapter explains and analyses the role of the commons in this change by discussing the development in three steps.

The first step explains how commons became a fundamental part of the economy and why users in northern Scandinavia could exploit the new opportunities that commons provided. This part of the chapter discusses three geographical areas in northern Scandinavia where user groups utilised different natural resources in order to produce commodities for self-sufficiency and trade.

The second step explores more closely how the changed and intensified use of CPRs came to alter peasant's lives and broadened their livelihoods to include a variety of income sources. The key concepts here are farm division and labour division. This chapter will show how farm division proceeded without the loss of economic viability for the peasants. With more resources coming from outlying land, households' dependence on production from arable land was reduced and land fragmentation was not a problem. Labour division in animal husbandry, the backbone of the agrarian economy in northern Scandinavia, made it possible to work on other tasks.

The third step explores how production on these small farms developed into a vibrant regional market with local specialisation and exchanges of commodities between parishes despite land fragmentation. Many of the resources used in the integrated economy depended on the commons. The focus here will be on Dalarna, a region in central upland Sweden. This part will discuss how the peasants' integrated economy was also connected to the global market by producing firewood and charcoal for mines and ironworks. With less arable land for each household, the region became more dependent on grain trade.

1. Expansion of the use of common-pool resources

The vast forests and mountain areas in northern Scandinavia have been utilised as commons since people settled in the area thousands of years ago. However, in the Early Modern period, a new use of the commons emerged: large-scale utilisation with connections to the demands of state and global

markets. This expansion ultimately led to all land, private and common, being used in the 19th century and was highly dependent on self-governance and collective action (J. Larsson 2016). In that sense, it was part of a European trend started in the medieval period when collective action was a characteristic feature of the peasant economy that peaked before the liberal reforms changed management to favour private property during the 18th and 19th centuries (de Moor 2015). In northern Scandinavia, the commons were an essential part of the economy up to the late 19th century, when changes in production and property rights profoundly changed society (J. Larsson 2009). Sami societies dependent on reindeer husbandry were the exception. New legislation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries declared Sami villages as legal entities for reindeer breeding, giving legal support to their CPR management (Lundmark 2006; Lantto 2012).

The expansion of the economy on common land started during the recovery from the medieval crises in the late 15th century and took off in the 17th century (Lindegren 2001; Söderberg and Myrdal 2002; Myrdal 2011; J. Larsson 2016). An expanding global market provided opportunities to change production using available resources that had been used in more limited ways before. Demands for iron, copper, cattle, butter, hides, tar, charcoal, and reindeer meat – commodities that could be extracted from or produced by using the wooded and mountainous upland areas in central and northern Scandinavia – fueled the change. Looking closely at exports from Sweden during that time yields two striking facts (Lindegren 2001). First, exports from Sweden, to a large extent, were dependent on resources from CPRs; mining, ironwork, and forestry all depended on CPR resources, such as charcoal and firewood. Second, expanding exports profoundly changed the management of many commons, as exemplified by four brief case studies of intensified production in three areas of northern Scandinavia.

1.1 Nomadic reindeer pastoralism

The economy of the Mountain Sami society changed from an economy based mostly on hunting and fishing to an economy based on large-scale nomadic reindeer pastoralism, but the period in which this change occurred has been intensely debated (Hultblad 1968; Arell 1977; Lundmark 1982; Aronsson 1991; Marklund 2004; Bergman, Zackrisson, and Liedgren 2013). Scholars argue that the change took place within a span from the 800s to the 17th century. Without going into the debate too deeply, there are good

reasons to believe that a major change in the economy occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries and that this led to an expansion of nomadic reindeer herding in the mountainous parts of Lapponia, now Swedish Lapland.

Swedish historian Lennart Lundmark (1982) has forcefully argued that the change was rapid during the first decades of the 17th century. When a decline in fur trade coincided with the introduction of a new and burdensome tax, the pressure on Sami families became too great. The solution was a profound change in the Sami economy from hunter and gatherer with some draught animals and a few reindeer for milk production to large-scale reindeer herding. Lundmark has been heavily criticised for his view, and the sources are indeed difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, it remains clear that a shift in the economy occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries and by the end of the 17th century a fully developed nomadic reindeer pastoralism was in place. Written sources from the 16th century do not support that nomadic reindeer herding was practiced at that time, but studies of reindeer DNA reveal a distinct transformation from wild to domestic reindeer during the Early Modern period (Bjørnstad et al. 2012). The new economy was more labour intensive, but the yield was higher. Once a large-scale nomadic reindeer husbandry system had been introduced it was impossible to go back to a hunting and fishing economy with only a few domestic reindeer.¹

1.2 Tar distillation

While the introduction of large-scale nomadic reindeer pastoralism has been debated, the introduction of large-scale tar distillation is a more straightforward story. In Ostrobothnia, western Finland, formerly part of Sweden, a remarkable increase in tar production for shipbuilding took place during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) (Villstrand 1992; 2000). The sharp increase would not have taken place if peasants had not been under pressure from the state, which demanded taxes to continue in order to pay for the war and for men to fight in the war. It was difficult to avoid conscription, but a man could pay someone else to take his place. However, the fee was determined by supply and demand, and it was a seller's market. To obtain money, one had to produce a commodity that was in demand, and the natural resources in Ostrobothnia were perfect for large-scale tar distillation. The vast pine forests provided raw materials, a relatively flat landscape with

1 Lundgren 1987. For more about an integrated Sami economy, see Eva-Lotta Päiviö's Chapter 6.

streams, rivers, and lakes facilitated transport of the heavy product, and the cost of production consisted solely of the peasants' own labour. They self-organised and used the forest as commons. The demand for tar was high in Europe, and tar and pitch were established as the third most important Swedish export commodity after copper and iron. The more intense use of commons changed the economy for centuries to come, but tar distillation in Ostrobothnia began to disappear after 1870 when ships were increasingly built of metal instead of timber (Kuvaja 2001).

1.3 Charcoal, firewood, and transhumance

In northern central Sweden, use of the commons changed to produce charcoal and firewood and to support an emerging transhumance system. The sharp increase in production of copper and iron required large amounts of charcoal and firewood. Large-scale firewood production was a necessity for the mines, and charcoal was mostly used in ironworks. To obtain large amounts of firewood and charcoal, the state collected those products as part of its tax. In the region of Dalarna, which this chapter will examine more closely in section III, taxation previously based mainly on arable land and production of furs from squirrels changed in the 1580s and more radically in 1606. From the latter date onward, the tax could only be paid in charcoal and firewood (Ersgård 1997). Similar to tar distillation in Ostrobothnia, economic matters outside the local community became increasingly important in determining peasants' production. There was a reciprocal benefit between peasants and mine owners.

The sharp increase in firewood and charcoal production coincided with the establishment of an Alpine transhumance system (compared to the Mediterranean transhumance), which in Sweden was called *fäbod* (summer farms) (Davies 1941; J. Larsson 2012). Peasants had started to establish summer farms in the early 16th century, but the system took off in the 17th century, and by the end of that century they were part of a vibrant agricultural system. The connection between charcoal and firewood production and the expansion of the transhumance system stems from the large collection of resources. The forests were opened up and conditions for pasturing within the forests improved, which facilitated communication and made them safer places to work (J. Larsson 2016).

2. Common-pool resources and an integrated peasant economy

How did the growing importance of CPRs link to an integrated peasant economy? The shift to a more intense use of CPRs coincided with the division of farms and farm labour, resulting in diversification of livelihoods. The commons, mainly woodlands, were providing more resources, which allowed farm division without losing economic power. To understand how farm division could be so dramatic, one has to look at how peasants organised their stockbreeding with its division of labour (see the next subsection for a detailed explanation of farm division). This section will look more closely at the development of an integrated economy in north central Sweden, where charcoal and firewood production were important and a transhumance system developed.²

By expanding animal husbandry using the vast forests for grazing it was possible to increase the number of animals. Cows, sheep, and goats were the most common animals at farmsteads that were part of an agricultural system with summer farms. In earlier studies of how the numbers of animals changed over time, it is clear that areas with a transhumance system on commons differed from the plains, which had limited area to use as common land for grazing (Gadd 1983; Dahlström 2006; J. Larsson 2009, 2012). This pattern is observed in three parishes using an alpine transhumance system when comparing how the numbers of animals changed from the 16th to the 20th century. During this time, CPRs were important for economic development and had a large impact on the organisation of production. Three main trends appeared in this development: growth in numbers of animals, farm division, and efficient use of labour.

Firstly, the number of animals expanded greatly from the 16th to the mid-19th century. The large increases in sheep and goats are striking: while the number of cows increased four to five times, the number of goats increased six to eleven times and the number of sheep increased even more, from seven to sixteen times. At the household level, the composition of the herd was transforming. During the 16th century, the cow was the most common species in the herd, followed by goat and sheep. In the mid-18th and up to the mid-19th century, sheep were the most common animal in a peasant's herd, followed by goats (J. Larsson 2009). This change in herd composition shows a closer connection between animal husbandry and market integra-

2 Nomadic reindeer pastoralism will not be considered here, because its development differed substantially from agricultural development in northern Scandinavia.

tion. Hides and wool had become important raw materials in occupations outside agriculture, and the large increase of goats and sheep was a huge factor in the development of the integrated peasant economy in the area.

Secondly, farms in the region underwent widespread division among household members. It is important to note that farm division endured to the second half of the 18th century, at the same time the number of animals increased. By the mid-19th century, the number of animals per farm had decreased, but not as rapidly as the size of the farm measured in taxation assessments. This means that the relative wealth held in livestock increased at the farm level. In 1851, the average farm in Klövsjö Parish in the region of Jämtland measured in tax was one third of its size in 1633. Its number of cows was unchanged but each farm had on average four times more sheep and almost three times more goats (J. Larsson 2009, 172, table 3:11). Counting animals per capita among the whole rural population, including landless people (who often owned animals), the number of animals was stable until the beginning of the 19th century. While a minor decrease of cows per capita is observed, the numbers of sheep and goats increased. During the 19th century, a rapid increase in population took place, resulting in an increase in the number of households and a decrease in animals per capita, especially after 1850, when the number of goats and sheep decreased rapidly. However, during this era came the industrial breakthrough, around 1870, and the integrated peasant economy became more dependent on wage labour and forestry.

Thirdly, the rapid growth of animal husbandry in the transhumance system was possible only because labour became more efficient. The key to understanding labour organisation at the summer farms is to analyse labour division. A new organisation for animal husbandry emerged in Early Modern upland Scandinavia, where herding animals had been the work of men until the late Middle Ages, when women and children took over the task, except in Denmark. Milking animals and processing milk had always been women's work (Simonton 1998; Myrdal 2012). The summer farm system became efficient since women combined herding and milking, and all households using summer farms sent one woman each to work there for the summer. A recent study of Orsa Parish in Dalarna shows that at the end of the 17th century households commonly sent a daughter between the ages of 11 and 21 to the summer farm. However, many households did not have a daughter, or the daughter was not an appropriate age. The household's second choice was to send the wife or a close relative. However, 25% to 30% of

households did not have any of these options. They solved that by employing a maid for the summer, and a labour market among subsistence peasants developed. The maids were usually poor women from small households (J. Larsson 2014).

Since animal husbandry was the backbone in agricultural production in many areas where CPRs were important for the economy, a few things about its organisation must be stressed to understand how an integrated peasant economy could develop. First, all women over the age of 10 worked; 25% of them worked at summer farms each summer. This allowed the rest (75% of the women and all men) to do other tasks during the busy summer season (see also Netting 1981, 65). During the summer, many were busy collecting winter fodder for the animals, a task that was defining for alpine transhumance, and doing other agricultural chores. However, this change in labour division also opened up the possibility of working in non-agriculture jobs. Second, for animal husbandry to work, subsistent peasants needed to employ maids, thus creating a labour market to maintain the system. Hence, peasants were open to hiring people to maintain their household economy, as well as working outside the household to bring in money and other assets.

The final important aspect is that production itself at summer farms was part of the development of an integrated economy. Even though most of the products made at summer farms were used for subsistence, some of them, mostly butter, were sold at markets. More importantly, though, was the production of hides and wool, products that entered commerce in the forms of fabric, clothes, leather, blankets, etc. Section III provides more details.

2.1 Settlement development and farm division

Here we look more deeply into aspects of settlement development that affected the rise of a more integrated economy: first, the increase in specialised use of landscapes, and second, the connection between rapid farm division and forest resources.

During the 17th century, a structural change in landscape use occurred in the Dalarna region, resulting in a more specialised landscape. The number of homesteads in villages in the central areas of each parish increased, while permanent settlements in more wooded areas were abandoned or decreased in number. At the same time, the settlements in central areas changed character. They went from a more scattered distribution of home-

steads located in the infields to denser villages located in the transition from arable land to outlying land (Ersgård 1997). In the wooded areas, the abandoned settlements were replaced by many periodic settlements, summer farms. Arable land around former farmsteads was replaced by meadows and grazing land (Lange 1996; J. Larsson 2009, 2012). The more populated villages facilitated cooperation among households and became arenas for social and economic collaborations in agriculture, animal husbandry, and secondary occupations (Ersgård 1997; Larsson 2009).

As discussed earlier, a larger proportion of resources for households came from CPRs during the 17th century compared to before. Thus, the households' dependence on arable land decreased and it became easier to divide the farms without losing economic viability. The forests' instrumental role in the rapid farm division and expansion of the economy was not unique to central Sweden. Lars-Olof Larsson (1989) has shown that the national and international demands for commodities from the Småland region in southern Sweden were dependent on forest products. Charcoal for ironworks, potash for making detergent and glass, and tar, pitch, mast tree, and oak timber for vessels were most important. Larsson points out that the period from 1500 to 1750 saw some new farmsteads, but was mainly characterised by rapid farm division, most pronounced in Småland's forest areas after 1600. This development was spurred by forestry's larger role in the peasant economy.

L.-O. Larsson (1983) argues that agriculture production from the 1550s to the 1620s kept pace with farm division according to a study of three regions in southeastern Sweden and that farm division was more common on the plains than in the forest regions. The rest of the 17th century saw a shift to more farm division in forest regions than on the plains. The farm division in the forest region was faster than the increase of agricultural production and is explained by the fact that forest products gained a larger share in the peasant economy. The farm division continued between 1700 and 1750 but at a slower pace. Larsson stresses that it is almost impossible to measure forest production's direct impact on the peasant household economy during the 17th century, but his impression is that income from forest production compensated losses in decreased agriculture production. An argument for that is that farm division did not lead to pauperisation.

In the three regions L.-O. Larsson (1983) examined, the number of farms increased 55% on average from 1627 to 1750, mostly by farm division. However, the differences between the areas are huge, and while the num-

ber of farms increased by 126% in Kumla, it increased by only 56% in Kinevald, and it actually decreased by 6% in Valkebo. In Kumla, the number of farmsteads decreased by 20% within the following 100 years (Rosén 1994). This development was very typical for southern Sweden, where a process of amalgamation of farmsteads started in the mid-18th century. Similar to the trend in Kumla, the number of farmsteads decreased in many places by around 20% (Winberg 1975; Olai 1983; Peterson 1989; Ulväng 2004).

The changes in the number of farmsteads in northern Sweden was quite different from the changes in the south, even though there were similarities, such as the extensive division of farms up to 1750 in both regions. In some regions, farm division was slower in the north, whereas it was more rapid in other northern regions. For example, the increase in farm division in Rättvik Parish in Dalarna was around 200% from early 17th century to 1750 (J. Larsson 2009). The large difference between southern and northern Sweden was due to the development of an integrated peasant economy after 1750. While farm amalgamation occurred in the south, farm division continued in the north.

The development after 1750 was characterised by an increase in population, a more intense use of natural resources, and an expanding agriculture production that utilised every corner of the landscape. This, in turn, created local and regional demands for commodities and tools. At the same time, there was an external demand for products and services. Supply and demand were in place to create and develop an integrated peasant economy.

3. Local specialisation and market integration

The expansion of this integrated peasant economy can be divided into two phases. In the first phase, up to the first half of the 17th century, a more intense use of the commons took place, and production of charcoal and firewood were important and expanded rapidly. This development coincided with the expansion of a transhumance system and more efficient and intensive agriculture production. In the second phase, the production of charcoal and fire wood continued, but to protect the commons from overuse, access and withdrawal rights had to be restricted, and the peasants developed institutions for management in the 17th and 18th centuries (J. Larsson 2016). The commons continued to play an important role by providing raw materials for much of the secondary production, and peasants increased the production of tools and commodities for the market. To ease the

burden on the commons and maintain household income, the migration of labour increased considerably (Rosander 1967). At the community level, the agricultural economy continued to expand into the mid-19th century, but at the household level, this expansion ended earlier and secondary occupations became a necessity. Traveling within and outside their regions to sell commodities or labour, the peasants brought home many things; most important were money and grain.

By looking more closely at Dalarna, we can see how this integration unfolded from the 17th century to the mid-19th century. The integrated peasant economy had certain features that made it vibrant and extremely important: (1) local specialisation; (2) commodities for a regional market; (3) labour and commodities for a national and Scandinavian market; and (4) a connection to the global market. Hence, products were diverse and included tools to facilitate agriculture production, commodities, clothing, construction, etc. In this section, I present a few examples of secondary production that illustrate the integrated peasant economy but do not provide a complete list of their market-oriented activities.

3.1 Tools for agriculture production

The agricultural expansion in the area created a demand for tools for better management of arable, meadow, and pasture lands, as well as for animal husbandry. The secondary occupations that arose from that demand were often connected to favourable natural resources. One of these tools was the grindstone, for which Orsa Parish, north of Lake Siljan, became famous. The grindstones were mined from an open pit that was collectively owned by the villages, whose shares in the quarries were based on their shares of assessed taxes. As in many other activities in Dalarna, the users were organised in teams, and mining grindstones was performed as collective action. Grindstones were necessary to keep the scythes sharp when mowing hay and can be linked to the great increase in animals in the region and their demand for winter feed. But grindstones were also required for various agricultural tasks throughout the country, and during the winter season, peasants from Orsa travelled great distances to sell them. In exchange, they brought home grain, money, and other commodities (Hülphers 1762; Levander 1944; Linné 1984).

Sharpening stones or whetstones were also in demand for honing scythes. Transtrand Parish in western Dalarna stands out for its production of sharpening stones. These stones were mined on common land in

the mountains and were sold at markets far from Transtrand. This trade impacted the peasant economy, and in many villages all peasants were involved in production (Levander 1944; J. Larsson 1989).

The production of millstones is known to have occurred in only a few places in Dalarna, most prominently in Malung Parish in the west. The mines were located on common land but each pit was individually owned and was inherited like other immovable property. The millstones were sold at regional markets as well as in other nearby regions such as Värmland in west central Sweden (Hülphers 1762; Levander 1944).

Early Modern Scandinavian agriculture required iron tools, and a regional specialisation took place in Älvdalen and Lima parishes, where peasants produced scythes, spikes, horse shoes, axes, spades, and other items. In his journey through Dalarna in 1734, Linneus noted that peasants in Lima travelled to 'faraway' places to trade their scythes. In exchange, they got grain; one scythe was worth 1/8 barrel or 20 litres of grain (Pettersson 1982; Linné 1984). Abraham Hülphers (1762) is more specific and points out that most scythes were sold in Norway and the nearby Hälsingland region, but also within Dalarna. An account from 1764 mentioned by Levander (1944) and Pettersson (1982) estimated that Lima produced 7,000–8,000 dozen scythes and that two-thirds of the iron in these parishes was used for scythes. The same account mentions that 200 people from Lima Parish went to Grundset market in Norway to trade scythes. The iron for the scythes was smelted from bog iron and, according to Hülphers (1762), scythe production in Lima was so high they had to buy iron from the neighbouring Särna Parish.

3.2 Woodwork

The area northwest of Lake Siljan became well known for its woodwork. Wooden containers were used in all households for many purposes: farming, animal husbandry, and domestic work. In Venjan, Mora, and parts of Älvdalen parishes, wooden containers were made for the market. The raw material came from pine trees from the commons, and 18th century authors lamented that the peasants used a very small part of the tree for wooden containers and left the rest of it to rot. During the winter season, some of the peasants travelled to sell the containers and returned with grain (Hülphers 1762; Levander 1944). Regional centres of specialisation in woodcraft emerged as the peasants developed special tools that made their products more efficiently. Parish residents benefited from the collective knowledge

of producing certain commodities. For example, the production of reeds for weaving existed only in a small area of upper Dalarna. Some villages in this region did not produce the entire reed; they made the dents (teeth) and sold them to reed makers (Levander 1944). Production of large rowing boats with eight to ten pairs of oars for transportation to the local church were made at Sollerön in Mora Parish, and rowing boats sold to neighbouring parishes were made in Transtrand (Hülphers 1762).

3.3 Clothes and hides

Early Modern society demanded more clothing. The raw material usually came from animals that grazed on the commons during summer. Sheep delivered wool for making fabric and skins, and goats produced leather and hair used to make strong and long-lasting garments, such as socks and mittens. Hides and wool were part of the commercial market, and traditional clothing made partly from leather and hides from goats were popular (Odstedt 1953). While we do not know much about this market integration or the importance of traditional clothing in the integrated peasant economy of Dalarna, we do know a lot about the specialisation that took place in Malung Parish.

Malung Parish became a hub for the production of hides, leather, and furs during the Early Modern period and continued into the 20th century to be a vibrant centre for these products. Although production took place within Malung, it was more common during the 18th and 19th centuries for teams of tanners to travel to different districts where they performed their work in customers' households. Many teams worked in populated areas and fewer worked in less populated areas. There were no formal rules regarding which district a team could work in or finite borders for these districts, but informal rules were established that made it possible for a team to work in the same district and with the same customers year after year. The district belonged to the team master and could be inherited from father to son. They received informal 'property rights' to these districts, and a team could have a monopoly in a district. Sometimes tanners competed with each other by bidding a lower price. However, this practice was not well regarded (Matsson 1976).

The teams from Malung combined the skill of tanning with the skill of making clothes and other commodities from hides and furs, such as fleece blankets. The connection between the increase of sheep and an integrated peasant economy becomes clear when analysing how many sheep blankets

were produced. To make the most common fleece blanket, a two-person blanket, they needed the skins from six sheep. Most household members had their own blankets, and a wealthy household had fleece blankets for guests. In fact, households manifested their wealth by the number of fleece blankets they had and often displayed them in the home. Additional bedding was required, and the tanners from Malung also made sheets and pillow cases out of hides. Many other commodities and garments were also made from hides, such as sacks for flour, jackets, and other fur clothing (Matsson 1976).

The exclusive districts where skinners and tanners worked were scattered over a large area covering most of central Sweden and part of Norway. Hülphers (1762) wrote that 300 to 400 people left Malung Parish with the teams every year in autumn and did not return until spring, when they would grow crops. They received money for their work, but payments could also be in kind as well as hides they brought back to complete and sell. The teams consisted of a master, farmhands, apprentices, and boys.

3.4 Firewood, charcoal, and transportation

Before 1750, charcoal and firewood production was the main activity outside agriculture in many parishes. This production was more pronounced in areas closer to the intense mining and ironwork area called Bergslagen and the large copper mountain in Falun. In some ways, production continued into the 20th century. The parishes of Järna, Nås, and Floda along Västerdal River (*Västerdalälven*) produced an enormous amount of firewood for the mine in Falun. Trees were cut down during winter, then taken by streams to Västerdal River and floated to Falun in the spring. Charcoal, on the other hand, was most commonly transported on land by sledges in the winter. It was also possible to put the charcoal on rafts and transport by river to Tuna, where it was unloaded for further transport to Falun (Hülphers 1762).

The peasants also worked in transportation and charcoal production outside their home parishes. Peasants from Gagnef Parish went to the southern part of Dalarna, around Ludvika, to make charcoal and do transportation work at the iron works. Peasants from Leksand Parish travelled during winter to ironworks and mines for transportation work. At the mine in Falun, they also chopped wood and produced charcoal (Hülphers 1762). Peasants in Rättvik Parish received cash for transporting ore between mines and ironworks in neighbouring parishes, but also went further south. All secondary occupations in Ore Parish stayed within the par-

ish, according to Hülphers (1762). In Ore, they had lime kilns and sold lime to the region of Hälsingland. They also produced charcoal and worked in transportation at the Furudal ironworks, located in the parish.

3.5 Migration of labour

To protect the commons from overuse, to increase cash incomes in the peasants' households, and to bring home grain, migration of labour became important. The earliest account of labour migration from Dalarna dates back to the 16th century and involved people working at the copper mine in Falun. However, migration of labour first became an important income source for peasants in the region during the 18th century and evolved to be an intrinsic part of the peasant economy during the 19th century. The increasing importance of labour migration coincided with the period when expansion of the agricultural economy was no longer possible and a sharp increase in population took place. The migration further diversified the household income in a time when the use of commons had reached its limit. Until 1800, migrant labourers were mostly men, but during the 19th century more and more women participated. By the end of the century, mostly women migrated on a seasonal basis. Men had started to find work in forestry in their home parishes (Rosander 1967).

Until the 19th century, migration of labour was rooted in activities performed in the home parish and was a result of skills peasants already had. This could be agricultural work, where peasants from Dalarna were well known for clearing land, ditch digging, etc. Migration of labour also included chopping wood and constructing buildings; a few peasants were skilled decorative painters and carpenters (Rosander 1967). Many of the occupations mentioned earlier, such as production of hides, were also part of the labour migration. Households in different areas became known and sought out for specific skills. The peasants migrated to workplaces with people from the same area and maintained close social ties.

In the 19th century, migration of labour became a hallmark for Dalarna. Men continued to migrate to work, but were now joined by a large number of women. Women's migration was not rooted in the occupations they had in their home parishes to the same extent the men's was. Examples of women's work include gardening, rowing (e.g., small passenger boats in Stockholm), brewing beer, and candle making in factories. While men worked in occupations that had been around for a long time, women found work in emerging industries. Women worked and stayed with women from

their home parish. It was easy to recognise them, because they wore traditional clothing unique to each parish in Dalarna.

Conclusion

It is clear that peasants in the region of Dalarna created an integrated economy as defined by Panjek (2015). It was an economy in which households made their living by combining agriculture and market-oriented activities, and the latter clearly represented a substantial part of their income. The peasants had activities in all three economic sectors: primary, secondary, and tertiary. They were active players in this development, and local specialisations produced and traded commodities, tools, and equipment. They were also consumers and brought home commodities from their trade journeys. These non-agriculture sources of income created a complex and comprehensive economic strategy. In the creation of an integrated peasant economy in Dalarna, the commons came to play a vital role.

Final remarks

In this chapter, I have described how corporate, collective actions developed concomitantly in a rural setting. In particular, the case study of Dalarna demonstrates how labour specialisation, including migration of labour and intensified use of commons, developed as the peasant economy diversified and became increasingly integrated. Taking a closer look at how agriculture, including animal husbandry, and market-oriented activities were organised, it is apparent that collective management was important in both and that these activities built on each other. The market-oriented occupations were often regional or local specialisations where households worked together in teams. Producers from a certain area could also divide the market among its members, as in the case of hide skimmers and tanners from Malung Parish. Similar to the silent revolution in medieval western Europe (de Moor 2009), institutions for governance of CPRs and labour specialisations emerged at the same time. This highlights the connection between peasants' commons and market-oriented activities in early modern Dalarna.

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6

Livelihood Diversification in Early Modern Sami Households in Northern Sweden

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Map 6.1: Case study area

Introduction

The Sami are an indigenous people of northern Scandinavia, Finland, and the Kola Peninsula of northern Russia. From the 1550s the Sami gradually became integrated within State administration in terms of taxation, trade and jurisdiction (Hansen and Olsen 2014, Ch. 5). In the 17th and 18th centuries the Sami realm was divided into Russian, Danish/Norwegian and Swedish lappmarks. Until the late 18th century the Swedish lappmark (see Map 6.2) was inhabited mostly by Sami and a small non-Sami population focused around inland mining sites and church centres. However, the number of both Sami and non-Sami settlers multiplied rapidly over the following centuries.



Map 6.2: Map of northern Fennoscandia showing the distribution of the six administrative districts of the Swedish lappmark in the late 18th century (Hermelin 1796)

So, what characterised the Sami economy in the Swedish lappmark in the 17th and 18th centuries? How did the Sami there exploit the natural resources and how did they subsist? Sami subsistence, used synonymously with economy, is defined here as the source or means of obtaining the necessities of life, yet it also includes the production of goods to be used for trade. In this period the Sami in Sweden comprised two groups: Mountain

Sami and Forest Sami, each with a very different resource base. The Mountain Sami, who lived in the western part of the Swedish lappmarks, focused on reindeer husbandry, keeping large herds for milk and meat (Hansen and Olsen 2014, 231). The Forest Sami on the other hand, who were common throughout the western and eastern lappmarks, kept small herds of reindeer mainly for transport and lived primarily on fishing and hunting. This duality of Sami economy, focusing on either reindeer husbandry or hunting/fishing, has been the most common way to characterise Sami subsistence in the Early Modern period (1500–c. 1800). However, current research has nuanced this picture emphasising a greater diversity in Sami culture both regionally and temporally with regards to trade, husbandry and social differentiation (Hansen and Olsen 2014).

Aside from reindeer husbandry and hunting/fishing, the Sami had a wide range of other income sources such as gathering, farming, handcrafts, trade and transport, which contributed to Sami household economy. Some of these activities must have been time consuming, and thus important, although their relative importance would certainly have varied between households. The aim of this study is to fill the gap in our knowledge of which role integrated income sources played in Sami households in the 17th and 18th centuries. This will be done by studying how the various activities mentioned above contributed to Sami household economy mainly using accounts by missionaries and travellers in northern Fennoscandia and via some archaeological evidence from this period. Moreover the study will compare the relative importance of these activities for the Mountain Sami, who focused on large-scale reindeer husbandry, and the Forest Sami, who focused on fishing, to analyse any differences in strategy.

1. Background and framework

A multitude of subsistence-related tasks were carried out in Sami households in the 17th and 18th centuries as previously mentioned, and some of these, such as reindeer milking and the gathering of plants and bark, have been studied from an anthropological or ethno-biological perspective (Fjellström 1985; 2003; Rautio 2014; Svanberg and Tunón 2000). In addition, various historical-ecological studies, combining ecological, geographical and historical methods, have focused on quantifying the Sami use of natural resources in the Early Modern period (Bergman, Östlund, and Zackrisson 2004; Josefsson, Bergman, and Östlund 2010; Norstedt, Axelson, and Östlund 2014; Rautio, Josefsson, and Östlund 2014; Zackrisson et

al. 2000). These studies can contribute with useful knowledge of various aspects related to subsistence in Early Modern Sami households.

There are also economic-historical studies that contribute to our understanding of subsistence in Early Modern Sami households and its role in the Sami economy as a whole. Marklund (2008) has for example analysed Forest Sami subsistence and trade from the 17th to the 20th century. He presents a model of trade and subsistence which illuminates the high level of connectedness between Mountain Sami, Forest Sami and farmers along the Sea of Bothnia. Moreover, Nielssen (1986) has studied Sami economic adaption in around 1700, focusing on coastal Sami in northern Norway. He concludes that economic adaptation varied between regions where sets of subsistence activities played important roles. Historical Sami trade has been studied in detail by Hansen (1990; 2006) and put in a wider historical Sami context by Hansen and Olsen (2014). In these works the Sami's active and dynamic role in trade systems in Early Modern northern Fennoscandia is emphasised. To sum up, most recent archaeological and historical analysis portrays the Sami mainly as their own historical agents with varying subsistence practices and many contacts with neighbouring groups, not least with regards to trade.

The question of when and how the Sami transitioned from hunting/gathering to reindeer pastoralism has been dealt with in a number of archaeological and historical studies. Some scholars claim the change occurred in AD 800–1000, yet others suggest it took place only in the early 17th century (Bergman, Zackrisson, and Liedgren 2013; Lundmark 1982; Sommerseth 2011). It is however indisputable that large-scale reindeer husbandry was a feature of the Swedish lappmark in the late 17th century. Contributing to this discussion, Bjørklund (2013) has used a household approach to question the established idea that the transition from hunting to large-scale reindeer husbandry took place abruptly at a specific point in time. He has instead developed a model where he characterises Sami livelihood until the 19th century as a continual *multifaceted household adaption* consisting of a wide range of activities.

Bjørklund's model of "multifaceted household adaption" (Bjørklund 2013) has parallels with the analytical concept of the integrated peasant economy (Panjek 2015). Peasants engaging in a wide number of subsistence activities is a prominent characteristic of pre-industrial farms in many regions of Europe and particularly in upland areas. The concept of integrated peasant economy understands this livelihood diversification as an active

and systematic choice for peasants and not as occasional or casual events. Instead, activities aside from farming represent essential income sources that are not simply supplementary. In line with this reasoning peasants did not just produce to consume and take part in other tasks when there was time left, but they had a systematic approach meaning that other income bringing activities were used actively and taken into consideration in household planning. Despite differences in cultural settings and subsistence patterns, the concept of the integrated peasant economy would also seem to be a useful analytical tool for understanding the Early Modern Sami economy. Like pre-industrial peasants in marginalised regions the Early Modern Sami were engaged in primary production that, for many of them, was self-insufficient. In order to achieve a durable household economy they instead had to rely on a number of other subsistence tasks aside from reindeer husbandry and fishing. Moreover, from the 16th century Sami had started to become market oriented which adjusted both their production and consumption patterns. We know from historical sources that many subsistence activities were important with regards to trade and not merely carried out to fulfil household consumption needs. However, in order to analyse which role integrated income sources played in early modern Sami economy, one must analyse the historical written sources and archaeological evidence relating to Sami subsistence in more detail. The relevant source material will be described in the following chapter.

2. Sources

In common with the majority of indigenous peoples, the Sami produced virtually no historical records of their own before the 20th century. Information about Sami history must instead be pieced together from a number of secondary sources, namely State tax records, court records, accounts by priests and travellers, and archaeological material. One source that describes Sami husbandry in the 17th and 18th centuries consists of accounts by missionaries to Lapland at this time. Six of these date from the 17th century, most of them prepared on behalf of the Chancellor of the Realm, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and forwarded to the Uppsala professor Johannes Schefferus for his book project *Laponia* (Schefferus 1673). For various reasons Schefferus did not use all of the accounts in his book, and the complete collection was edited and published, some of it for the first time, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Royal Skyttean Society republished the accounts in compilation in 1983 (Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet

1983). All in all, this compilation is made up of accounts by six missionaries: Samuel Rheen (Rheen 1983), Olaus Graan (Graan 1983), Johannes Tornaues (Tornaues 1983), Olaus Petri Niurenienius (Niurenienius 1983), Nicolai Lundius (Lundius 1983) and Gabriel Tuderus (Tuderus 1983). In the early 1740s another detailed description of Sami life and customs was written and published by the missionary Pehr Högström (Högström 1980). Högström had become well-acquainted with both Sami livelihood and language through his work as a missionary and priest in the Lule lappmark. In his book he refers quite often to Schefferus' *Lapponia*, commenting on and correcting information that he considers to be at fault.

Even though missionary accounts provide many valuable insights into Sami history they are also associated with source-critical problems. Firstly, they are inevitably coloured by the Swedish context in which their authors were raised and educated, and moreover by the ideals of the Christian Lutheran Church that brought them to the lappmark in the first place. In fact, only one of the missionaries, Nicolai Lundius, was Sami and thereby also part of the Sami context (Fjellström 1983). His Sami background is however not especially apparent in his accounts. The primary task of the many missionaries was to spread the Christian Lutheran faith and customs among the Sami through preaching and travelling in the Swedish lappmark. This would certainly have provided many valuable insights into Sami subsistence, and the missionaries would surely have developed a relatively close, albeit unequal, relationship with the Sami they describe. As a result, the strength of the accounts as source material is that the authors actually interacted with the Sami of northern Sweden in the 17th and 18th centuries. They thereby provide us with a unique window into Sami history, albeit with various problematic filters.

Secondly, another source criticism is that some missionaries seem to have copied parts of other's texts, incorporating them into their own accounts. This calls for careful reading and analysis in order to identify each author's independent contribution. The third problem concerns how well the priests and the Sami could communicate with one another, given that they spoke different languages. According to contemporary sources, some Sami, at least in the southern lappmark, understood Swedish quite well, and similarly some Sami in the eastern lappmark understood Finnish (Högström 1980, 77; Rheen 1983, 52). These language skills are described as especially good among the Sami who took part in trade. There are also said to have been plenty of interpreters in the lappmark whom priests for example

could use when preaching sermons. Moreover, in one account the author actually mentions his interpreter, which clearly shows that not all priests could speak Sami, and that interpreters were used not only for sermons but also for other forms of contact between missionaries and Sami (Tornaues 1983, 61). All in all, it seems to have been quite possible for missionaries and Sami to bridge the language barrier, either using Swedish or Finnish; using an interpreter; or more rarely using Sami language.

Missionaries aside, a number of Swedish and foreign travellers in the 18th-century lappmark recorded their encounters with the Sami. Most famous among these is perhaps Carl Linnæus who, as a young man in the spring and summer of 1732, journeyed to Lapland at the behest of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Uppsala. On his travels he visited both the Ume and Lule lappmarks, making countless useful observations on Sami livelihood. He noted and illustrated many of his observations in a personal diary that was supposedly never intended for publication. His edited journal first appeared in English in 1811 (Linnæus 1811a, b). The Swedish version, which has been edited and republished several times, was published most recently in three volumes by the Royal Skyttean Society in 2003 (Linnæus 2003).

Almost a decade later another young man, Arwid Ehrenmalm, travelled from Stockholm to the Åsele lappmark in southern Lapland on behalf of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. On his return to Stockholm he wrote a book about his experiences, its final section describing Sami customs and habits (Ehrenmalm 1743). Both these travelogues contain detailed and useful information allowing us to understand more about Sami subsistence. These accounts, however, share similar source-critical problems with the missionary accounts described above, some of which will be elaborated upon in the next section.

The prime objective of the journeys by Linnæus and Ehrenmalm was to investigate the natural resources of northern Sweden, and to ascertain how the area could best be exploited from a Swedish point of view. As part of their task the travellers also provided valuable insights into Sami subsistence. However, as with the missionaries described above, the travelogue authors came from a different context to the Sami they described. This sometimes shines through by way of derogatory descriptions, especially related to Sami beliefs, appearances and manners, and more so for Ehrenmalm than for Linnæus. Nevertheless, both authors are more objective and matter-of-fact when describing various aspects of Sami trade, reindeer husbandry, fishing, and their use of other natural resources. As neither of

them spoke Sami, one suspects that a great deal of information, as well as the many nuances of Sami culture, became lost in translation. Ehrenmalm mentions using an interpreter, which Linnæus does not, even though he too would certainly have been accompanied by one.

The travelogues, and the missionary accounts too, are mainly descriptive in character and therefore not particularly suitable for quantitative analyses. However, since the descriptions derive from a total of nine authors, who depict partly different districts in the lappmark, it is still possible to make comparisons, which in turn strengthens the credibility of the descriptions as source material.

Historical sources aside, archaeological material also contributes to our understanding of Sami subsistence. One such assemblage comes from the ancient church centre and market site of Lycksele in the Ume lappmark. The site, investigated archeologically several times between 1949 and 2001, has yielded a wide range of objects including coins, needles, glass fragments, clay pipes, pottery and porcelain sherds, and various types of metal objects (Rydström 2006). A market on this particular site at Lycksele was held only until 1799, which allows us to roughly date the finds. Moreover, the dearth of non-Sami settlers in the Ume lappmark before the 19th century would suggest the finds are Sami related. Another useful archaeological assemblage derives from the excavation of an ancient seasonal Sami settlement (Swedish: *kåtaplats*) close to the Norwegian border in the Ume lappmark (Huggert 2009).

3. Landscape use and subsistence in Sami households in the 17th and 18th centuries

We can shed light on many aspects of Sami subsistence using the sources described above. Each subsistence activity contributed in its own way to Sami household economy and the resources produced were used both for consumption, paying tax and not least trade. In this chapter each activity is described more thoroughly, and its relative importance for household economy is analysed for Mountain Sami and Forest Sami households respectively.

3.1 *Reindeer husbandry*

Throughout history, reindeer have contributed to Sami subsistence in numerous ways. The relationship between Sami and reindeer is not coinci-

dental but came about due to the reindeer's ability to survive in northern latitudes with short growing seasons and long winters. In summer the reindeer graze on grasses and herbs, and in winter they eat lichen, which they dig for through the snow using their front hooves. The written sources describe reindeer being used to provide:

- traction as pack and draught animals
- help as decoys when hunting wild reindeer
- foodstuffs such as milk, blood, intestines and meat
- antler and bone for making tools and utensils
- intestines and stomachs for making containers
- hides and furs for making utensils, clothes and blankets
- sinews for making twine and rope

Both Mountain Sami and Forest Sami used reindeer for all the above, albeit to varying degrees. A Mountain Sami herder could own several hundred reindeer, whereas a rich individual might possess up to a thousand animals (Linnæus 2003, 44; Ehrenmalm 1743, 129). At the same time the Forest Sami are described as owning only a few reindeer that they used primarily as pack and draught animals (Högström 1980, 85). The following section describes the Sami's versatile use of reindeer more in detail.

Reindeer were used either to pull or carry loads by Mountain Sami and Forest Sami alike, and were the primary means of transport for moving between various habitation sites. Apart from transport, reindeer also provided milk during summer and autumn. Milking was an intricate task in which all the reindeer were first herded into pens, with the females separated and tethered, four by four, to special milking poles (Awebro 2000; Graan 1983, 51, 56; Linnæus 2003, 105; Rheen 1983, 24–5; Ruong 1969, Ch. 10). Reindeer were milked twice a day, which is described as a task for both men and women, young and old. It was time-consuming work, especially for households with many reindeer, which explains why all available labour was needed for milking. Some milk was drunk immediately but most of it was turned into cheese. The milk yield was nevertheless small and the milk from at least ten reindeer was required to make a cheese the size of a plate. Given the limited availability of reindeer milk, the Forest Sami would have produced and traded reindeer cheese only on a small scale. For the Mountain Sami on the other hand, reindeer cheese is described as a common form of merchandise, which they sold at market and bartered with neighbouring groups.

The traditional slaughter time was at the beginning of September and reindeer were thereafter slaughtered as required until market time in January and February. Some of the meat was consumed immediately, cooked over an open fire, but most of it was dried or otherwise preserved to be eaten in winter and spring. Reindeer meat was more important, in terms of diet, for the Mountain Sami than the Forest Sami. Moreover, for the Mountain Sami, reindeer meat was an important trade good that they sold to Swedish and Norwegian merchants at market. It could also be bartered with settlers and Forest Sami on a more everyday basis in return for dried fish and other products.

After slaughter most of the animal was utilised (Fjellström 1985, 262ff; Högström 1980, 120). Bones and antlers were turned into tools or utensils such as spoons and knife handles (Högström 1980, 84). Sinews were skilfully handcrafted into twine and rope. Stomachs and intestines were cleaned and used for storing blood and milk. Not least, the reindeer hides were utilised and either de-haired and tanned, or stretched out to dry with the hair in place. Reindeer fur, with its excellent insulating property, was essential for surviving the winters in northern Fennoscandia and was thus an indispensable product in every Sami household, for making both fur parkas and blankets. Additionally, fur was a tax good and a popular form of merchandise.

To sum up, reindeer husbandry was the main subsistence activity for Mountain Sami while it was only a part of, and played a lesser role in, subsistence in most Forest Sami households. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Mountain Sami had bigger reindeer herds than the Forest Sami and consequently more access to reindeer products, as noted above with reindeer milk and meat, and we can reasonably assume that they would have had more goods to trade and to use for paying tax.

3.2 Fishing

Aside from reindeer husbandry the Forest Sami were heavily involved in fishing. In fact the written sources describe them as subsisting almost solely on fish (Lundius 1983; Linnæus 2003, 55). Fish was an obvious resource as many Forest Sami had access to fish-rich lakes and streams, populated by a great variety of species such as pike (*Esox lucius*), whitefish (*Coregonus sp.*), perch (*Perca fluviatilis*), roach (*Rutilus rutilus*) and grayling (*Thymallus thymallus*) (Tornæus 1983, 60). Fishing was carried out by various means but the most efficient forms were net fishing, and seining where the

Sami used a special type of boat built without nails (Lundius 1983, 9). Fish were grilled, boiled or dried and, at least among the poor, eaten with little or no salt. Furthermore, dried fish, especially pike, was used to pay tax, barter with Mountain Sami in return for reindeer meat and cheese, and sold at market to merchants from the coast.

Fish was an important resource also in Mountain Sami households. For example, Rheen (1983, 19) writes that the Mountain Sami during spring readily ate fish instead of meat on Fridays, which were observed as fast days. If they had not fished themselves they bought the fish from Forest Sami. Fishing was probably considered too time-consuming for Mountain Sami who owned many reindeer and for them it was easier to buy fish. So, for this group fishing is described primarily as an occupation of the poor (Graan 1983, 36; Lundius 1983, 11). Neither was fishing as lucrative in the mountains as it was in the lakes and streams down in the forest, partly because of the nutrient-poor waters and partly because fewer species of fish populated the mountain lakes and streams (Norstedt, Axelsson, and Östlund 2014).

All in all, fishing was the main subsistence activity for Forest Sami and the fish was either consumed in the household or used for paying tax. In addition, dried fish is described as a common trade good, especially for the Forest Sami. For Mountain Sami fish was a part of the diet during spring. However, they seldom fished and fishing is described mainly as an activity for the poor.

3.3 *Hunting*

Hunting is a broad term that includes grabbing, trapping, pursuing and tracking. The Sami used rifles or bows for hunting both small game, such as marten (*Martes martes*), ermine (*Mustela ermine*), fox (*Vulpes sp.*), squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*), wood grouse (*Tetrao urogallus*), ptarmigan (*Lagopus muta*) and large game such as wild reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) and brown bear (*Ursus arctos arctos*) (Fjellström 1985, 185ff). The pelts from bear and wild reindeer were often sold while the meat was consumed in the household. Other hunting methods were trapping and snaring, commonly used for catching small game (Fjellström 1985, 197ff; Linnæus 2003, 61ff). The objective of the hunt for small game was to get furs that could be traded with and used to pay tax. Moreover, there are descriptions of how the Forest Sami traded feathers from seabirds and wood grouse with the Mountain Sami, who in turn sold them at market in Norway (Lundius 1983, 17). Furthermore, seabird eggs are described as an important part of the diet

(Fjellström 2003, 254; Niurenus 1983, 15; Tornaesus 1983, 60). The eggs were collected in summer from nesting-boxes set up for this very purpose.

Wild-game meat was more important for the Forest Sami than it was for the Mountain Sami with their large reindeer herds. The Forest Sami are consequentially described as better marksmen than the Mountain Sami (Högström 1980, 85; Linnæus 2003, 138). While staying with Mountain Sami in Lule lappmark Linnæus (1811, 298) writes: "The Laplanders of this neighbourhood do not often take the diversion of shooting. They are seldom masters of a fowling-piece; and when not occupied in following or attending the reindeer, they remain in idleness for whole days together, feeding on nothing but milk, and the dishes prepared from it." Parallel to this, Högström (1980, 85) notes that he encountered few Mountain Sami with rifles or steel bows. On the other hand, the sources describe the Mountain Sami in Lule lappmark as dexterous users of wooden bows for hunting squirrels in the forest in winter (Högström 1980, 86; Linnæus 2003, 138). This indicates that squirrel pelts, at least, were part of the Mountain Sami economy, along with the pelts of other small game they occasionally hunted. Noteworthy is also that there may have been regional differences with regards to hunting methods. Lundius (1983, 18) writes that the Mountain Sami in Ume lappmark did not use wooden bows but strictly used rifles that they bought in Norway. Moreover, accounts describe poor Mountain Sami staying as long as possible in the mountains in winter to snare ptarmigans (Fjellström 2003, 253; Högström 1980, 97; Linnæus 2003, 107). The meat from ptarmigan was dried and eaten.

To conclude, hunting was carried out by both Mountain Sami and Forest Sami. However, it seems to have been more important for Forest Sami as wild-game meat was an important input to their diet and the pelts and furs were important as trade goods. The Mountain Sami, at least in the Lule lappmark, more seldom owned rifles and steel bows and primarily hunted small game in winter using wooden bows. Small-game hunting gave furs that were sold at market or used to pay tax.

3.4 Gathering

The growing season lasts only a couple of short summer months in northern Fennoscandia. At this time of year the Sami would have certainly spent less time gathering firewood and more time gathering various herbaceous plants, berries and sedges. Among the edible herbaceous plants most often described are garden angelica (*Angelica archangelica*), wild angelica (*Ange-*

lica sylvestris), alpine blue-sow-thistle (*Cicerbita alpina*) and common sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*) (Aronsson 2000; Fjellström 2000; Linnæus 2003, 91ff; Lundius 1983, 11; Rautio 2014, 20ff; Rheen 1983, 21; Svanberg 2000). These could be eaten immediately, on their own or mixed with milk, or stored for later consumption. Some herbaceous plants were also collected for medicinal purposes, such as tormentil (*Potentilla erecta*) for treating stomach aches, garden angelica for colds, yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) for cuts and mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*) for toothaches (Fjellström 2003, 255; Linnæus 2003, 95; Tunón, 2000). Tormentil root was also used to dye wool red (Fjellström 2003, 260; Linnæus 2003, 59). In summer the Sami also gathered berries such as cloudberries (*Rubus chamaemorus*), lingonberries (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*), crowberries (*Empetrum nigrum*) and bilberries (*Vaccinium myrtillus*), which, if not eaten immediately, could be stewed with fish or served with milk (Graan 1983, 42; Rheen 1983, 21). As with edible herbs, berries could be preserved and saved for later consumption. Berries were also a trade good and Lundius (1983, 19) describes how the Forest Sami sell berries to the Mountain Sami in return for cheese, reindeer calves or reindeer meat.

Apart from edible plants and berries the Sami collected a particular kind of sedge (*Carex sp.*) in summer or early autumn, which after drying was used in shoes instead of socks as an insulating material (Fjellström 1985, 339ff; Linnæus 2003, 90ff). Lundius (1983, 30) describes that Forest Sami gather and prepare shoe-hay that they sell to Mountain Sami in exchange for cheese, reindeer calves and reindeer meat.

Summer was also the most suitable time to dig for the fine roots of Norway spruce (*Picea abies*), Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) and birch (*Betula sp.*) that were used to make ropes and baskets (Fjellström 2003, 272; Linnæus 2003, 141). Also the bark from birch, rowan (*Sorbus aucuparia*), grey alder (*Alnus incana*) and willow (*Salix caprea*), was collected early in summer when the sap was rising and the bark detached easily from the trees (Fjellström 2003, 272; Linnæus 2003, 28ff). This bark was used to tan reindeer hides when making leather. Lastly, Scots pine bark was gathered to be used as a food resource and as cases for storing sinews (Graan 1983, 43; Rautio 2014, 25ff; Zackrisson et al. 2000).

To sum up, household needs were certainly one motive behind many gathering activities. Even so, the commercial aspects are not negligible, for example handcrafted products such as baskets and ropes, made from gathered roots, were sold at market along with leather goods that had been

tanned with gathered bark. According to the written sources both Mountain Sami and Forest Sami took part in various gathering activities and both groups sold products that were manufactured from gathered resources. Even so, gathering seems to have been a more important income source for Forest Sami than for Mountain Sami. All in all, the gathering of various natural resources provided direct and indirect incomes and was not merely carried out to fulfil consumption needs within the household.

3.5 Handcrafts

Descriptions of Sami handcrafts are common in the written sources and include a wide range of products such as boats, sleds and objects such as chests, boxes, spoons and baskets (Graan 1983, 52; Högström 1980, 87; Rheen 1983, 57). The Sami did not have special handcraft guilds. Instead, skills were passed down within families from generation to generation. Högström (1980, 88) describes for example tin-twine making as so skilful that it could have been “learned from the best master.” Making twine from tin, roots and sinews was mainly a woman’s task. It was also a woman’s task to prepare reindeer hide and use it to sew garments such as hats, cloaks, boots and gloves. Both Mountain Sami and Forest Sami engaged in handcrafts. Högström (1980, 87) notes that the Mountain Sami did not engage in handcrafting very much with the exception of the poor who, forced by necessity, could be quite skilled craftsmen. Again it is probable that the rich Mountain Sami with their many reindeer focused on herding and spent less time on other activities such as handcrafting. Nevertheless, all Sami households at this time would probably have made most of their everyday utensils and clothes themselves. However, Rheen (1983, 58) describes that Sami handcrafts such as cloaks, boots and gloves were sold at market and handcrafted products were evidently not only aimed at household consumption.

3.6 Farming

Sami never stayed in the same place for more than a couple of weeks before moving, a strategy that maximised their resource bases: fishing waters and reindeer pasture. Farming, conversely, called for a sedentary lifestyle with long-term planning, far removed from the nomadic way of life. However, Lundius (1980, 27) describes how Sami in the Ume lappmark dig up small plots and sow turnips in the enclosures where reindeers are milked. Turnips probably made up a relatively small contribution to the ho-

usehold economy. Nonetheless, it is not impossible that Forest Sami sold turnips to Mountain Sami that desired turnips so much that they easily traded one reindeer cheese for a single one (Linnæus 2003, 58, 60). The sources also describe how rich Mountain Sami would buy cows and sheep in Norway in early summer, which they milked daily along with their reindeer in the mountains (Graan 1983, 37; Lundius 1983, 32); Högström 1980, 118). Livestock were kept until the first snow, when they were slaughtered and their meat preserved. Keeping cattle, sheep and goats, activities similar to reindeer husbandry, were probably not considered a hindrance for daily life, and would thus have been a rational form of subsistence for the Sami.

As mentioned before there were relatively few settlers in the lappmark before the 19th century. Even so, their numbers had slowly increased from the 17th century, and 18th-century sources record that settlers, although still few in number, had spread out, particularly in the south and east lappmarks and along the Norwegian coast (Högström 1980, 254). Towards the 19th century more and more Forest Sami started to build homes and cultivate the land. The reason that they abandoned their former nomadic lifestyle was probably in part due to increased competition for natural resources from the growing number of non-Sami settlers, and in part due to the introduction of new influences and ideas.

3.7 Trade and transports

Sami selling, buying and exchanging their products has already been mentioned several times in relation to various subsistence activities. Trade of this kind took place either at official market sites that were established in each Swedish lappmark from the early 17th century, or as part of everyday exchange between neighbouring groups. To the regular markets, which were held in January or February each year, almost all Sami came and met merchants from the nearest coastal town to trade various kinds of items (Ehrenmalm 1743, 91; Rheen 1983). According to the sources the Sami sold reindeer and reindeer meat, reindeer hides and furs, reindeer cheese, and manufactured products such as fur parkas, boots, gloves and cloaks. They also sold dried fish, furs of wild game, and lastly, down and feathers.

Moreover the sources detail a wide range of products that merchants took to market (Ehrenmalm 1743, 91; Rheen 1983). These include alcohol, axes, brass rings, clay tobacco pipes, coins, copper, fabric, fishing tackle, flour, gunpowder, ox and cow hides, iron, knives, lead, needles, rifles, rope,

salt, silver, tar and tobacco.¹ Archaeological investigations have confirmed that many of these products were probably traded because, for example, fragments of clay tobacco pipes, pottery and porcelain, as well as needles, metals and coins have been found at the ancient market site of Lycksele in the Ume lappmark and at an ancient seasonal Sami settlement (Swedish: *kåtaplats*) close to the Norwegian border in the Ume lappmark (Huggert 2009; 2010; Rydstrom 2006). Given the small number of settlers there at this time, most of these products were likely taken to market to be sold to the Sami.

Apart from visiting Swedish winter markets, some Mountain Sami also visited Norwegian markets around midsummer and in November each year (Ehrenmalm 1743, 91; Lundius 1983, 40; Rheen 1983). There they sold products such as reindeer hides, meat, feathers and down, and various kinds of goods bought originally from Swedish merchants. They also bought Norwegian goods such as dried sea fish, which they in turn sold to Swedish merchants. But mostly they would have bought products for personal use that were cheaper in Norway such as silver, tobacco and woven blankets.

Besides the trade conducted at market, it is obvious, on the basis of the sources, that goods were continually changing hands between Forest and Mountain Sami and between Sami and settlers. There are, for example, descriptions of Forest Sami exchanging fish and wood grouse in return for reindeer from Mountain Sami (Tornaes 1983, 63–4), and Mountain Sami exchanging reindeer cheese in return for turnips from settlers: “The colonists settled in Lappmark sow a great deal of turnip seed, which frequently succeeds very well and produces a plentiful crop. The native Laplanders are so fond of this root, that they will often give a cheese in exchange for a turnip; than which nothing can be more foolish.” (Linnæus 1811a, 174).

Commercial interactions of the kind described above required the transport of goods. It would have been straightforward for the Sami, who already had access to pack and draught reindeer, to go about this business. Apart from the Sami transporting their own goods, reindeer transport is also described as a good source of income in the market season when Mountain Sami especially transported merchants and their goods from the

1 Interestingly coffee is not listed as a trade item in any of the sources, and neither is it mentioned elsewhere in other contexts. In comparison there are plentiful descriptions of tobacco and alcohol, as sought-after commodities consumed to excess by the Sami. One obvious interpretation of this absence of information about coffee is that the Sami had yet to begin drinking it in the 17th and 18th centuries.

coast to and from market (Högström 1980, 86). Another aspect of transport relates to mining. Whereas Sami attitudes to mining are generally characterised as negative, some reindeer herders are known to have made a good living transporting ore in winter time (Högström 1980, 86). Other forms of commercial transport probably involved Sami conveying people, post and goods from the coast to inland church centres. In winter these journeys were made using draught reindeer, and in summer they were carried out by boat along lakes, rivers and streams, and to a lesser extent using pack reindeer.

To sum up, Sami trade was conducted both at regular market places and on an everyday basis as bartering between neighbouring groups. Mountain Sami primarily sold reindeer products while forest Sami primarily sold dried fish and furs. At market Sami could also use their gained incomes to buy products, such as alcohol, metal, fabric, needles, silver and tobacco from merchants. Moreover, Mountain Sami took advantage of having access to two markets as they traded both in Sweden and in Norway and also acted as intermediaries selling Norwegian goods to Swedish merchants and vice versa.

Conclusions

In the 17th and 18th centuries the Mountain Sami's subsistence was mainly based on large-scale reindeer husbandry. This focus, particularly in terms of milk production, being labour intensive, meant that they had less time and less need for other forms of activity. They focused in part on producing milk, and in part on meat, hides and pelts. Produce was consumed among the household and used for trade and paying tax. Large-scale reindeer husbandry provided products including cheese, hides, meat and handcrafted items such as boots, gloves and fur parkas that could be exchanged with neighbouring groups and sold at market. In return the Mountain Sami would buy products from merchants, such as iron kettles, knife blades, alcohol, salt, silver and tobacco, at market in Sweden and Norway.

Even though the Mountain Sami focused on reindeer husbandry it is also evident from the sources that they took part in a wide range of other subsistence activities. These included for example gathering edible and medicinal plants, hunting small game, handcrafting and fishing. However, a social stratification among the Mountain Sami likely gave rise to varying strategies within the group. For example, poorer Mountain Sami appear to have been more active in handcrafting, fishing and hunting. The rational

explanation here is that the poor needed several income sources to make ends meet.

Another important activity for the Mountain Sami, stemming from their large-scale reindeer husbandry, relates to transport. In order to sell products they needed to transport goods to the winter markets in the Swedish inland and to the summer and autumn markets in Norway. They also earned income by transporting merchants and their goods between the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia and the inland markets and vice versa. The Sami are also known to have transported post, people and goods outside the market season, not least to church and mining centres.

Fishing was the main resource base for the Forest Sami, but they also engaged in small-scale reindeer husbandry. Even though the Forest Sami sold dried fish to merchants, and exchanged dried fish with Mountain Sami in return for reindeer cheese and meat, they still depended on a wide range of other sources of income besides fishing. For example they collected seabird eggs and plucked down and feathers from seabirds and wood grouse. Hunting too seems to have been important for the Forest Sami, for the written sources describe them as better marksmen than the Mountain Sami. The sources also note that the Mountain Sami seldom owned rifles. For the Forest Sami, hunting, which provided hides, furs and meat to be used in the household and sold at market, was an important income source.

The illustration in Diagram 6.1 shows that household subsistence for Mountain Sami and Forest Sami during this time was made up of a wide range of activities such as handcrafting, hunting, farming, gathering, trade and transport. Based on the study it is however apparent that Forest Sami, generally being less self-sufficient than Mountain Sami, were more reliant on multiple income sources. The same goes for poor Mountain Sami as they are described in the sources as being more engaged in hunting, fishing and handcrafts than rich Mountain Sami.

To sum up, it seems the analytical concept of the integrated peasant economy (Panjek 2015) is also useful for understanding early modern Sami economy. In compliance with this concept Early Modern Sami households combined primary production, in this case reindeer husbandry and fishing, and market-oriented activities such as handcrafts and transports to make a living. Diversification activities in Early Modern Sami households were part of an economic system and not just as occasional tasks performed randomly. This economic system offered dynamic possibilities for Sami households to adapt to changing settings over time and space with regards to for

example availability in resources, market conditions and variations in family structure. As a continuation of this work it would be interesting to analyse diversification in Sami households in the 19th and 20th centuries to find out how this economic system evolved, not least due to the far-reaching colonisation processes that took place during these centuries.

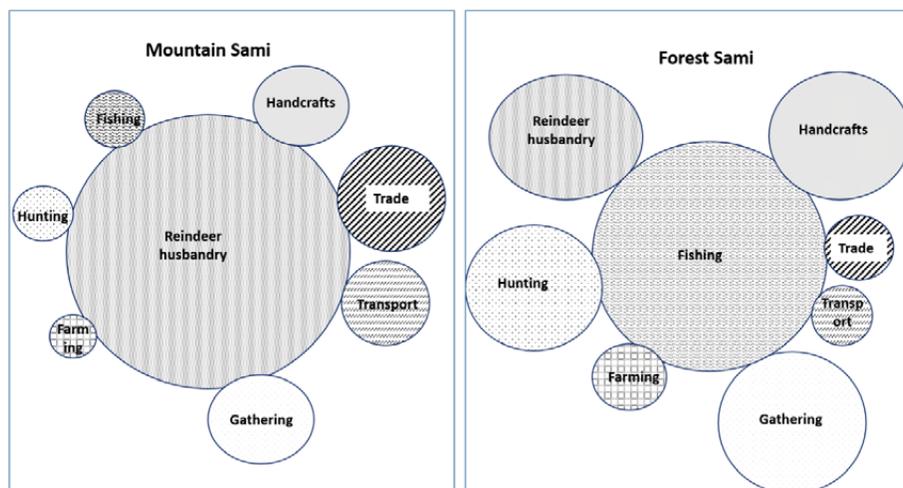


Diagram 6.1: Model showing the relative importance of various subsistence activities in Mountain Sami and Forest Sami households in the Swedish lapmark in the 17th and 18th centuries

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7

The Equilibrium of the Mountain Economy in the Apennines: The Regional Case of Abruzzo in the Kingdom of Naples (16th–19th Centuries)

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Map 7.1: Case study area

Introduction

Abruzzo is a region of central Italy which formed the northernmost part of the Kingdom of Naples over the centuries of interest in this paper. It was divided into three provinces: Abruzzo Ultra II (with L'Aquila as its main city), Abruzzo Ultra I (Teramo) and Abruzzo Citra (Chieti). The geomorphic conformation of the regions is such that the mountainous area occupies more than two thirds of its current territory, CRESA (2002, 30). In the centuries considered here, the percentage was even higher (approximately 80%) because the region also included some high-altitude municipalities. To the north lay 14 settlements forming the Cittaducale district, which was lost in 1927 with the creation of the province of Rieti. To the south, the city of Agnone became part of the new province of Molise in 1811.

The largest mountain mass of the entire Apennines was, and is, concentrated in a roughly elliptical shaped area of over 9,500km² (8,225km² plus the 1,362km² of the Cittaducale district) which contains the highest peaks.

Three mountain ranges divided by wide intermountain basins, run along a north-west/south-east axis. The highest group is located to the east and consists of the Laga Mountains (2,455m), the Gran Sasso (2,914m), the Morrone (2,060m) and the Maiella (2,795m). The Velino (2,487m) and Sirente (2,349m) ranges occupy the centre, while further to the west, on the edge of the upper Sangro river valley, the ridges of the Meta Mountains culminate in the peaks of Mount Pretoso (2,247m) and Mount Meta (2,241m).

This imposing mountain mass shares some features with Alpine territory (temperature, snow cover and general climate), (Farinelli 2000, 130). Luigi Granata in 1830 referred to it as the 'Siberia of the Kingdom of Naples' (Granata 1830, 199).

These environmental characteristics have long fostered the image of an area suffering from isolation, backwardness, and stagnation. The most recent historiography (De Matteis 1993; Costantini 1998, 2000; Felice 1995; 2000, Bulgarelli Lukacs 1993a; 2000; 2006; 2013; Nardone 2013; Piccioni 1993; Pierucci 2007; 2013) has contributed to a redefinition free of the stereotypes that the documentary evidence has proved to be unfounded.

This paper aims to illustrate the mountain's ability to balance the economic system, deploying flexibility and creativity in response to external stresses on the local economy and market. In relation to the areas addressed in this volume, we will try to answer the question of whether or not the mountain economy of Abruzzo was an integrated economy accord-

ing to the definition proposed by Gauro Coppola (1989, 1991) for the Italian Alps, as taken up and developed into the integrated peasant economy on the case of Early Modern western Slovenia by Aleksander Panjek (2011; 2014; 2015).

To do so, a brief description of the characteristics of the Abruzzo Mountain economy may prove useful, namely an excursus through the non-agricultural activities producing revenue, the market orientation of this economy generally defined as a closed economy aiming for self-sufficiency, and its market-oriented activities and trade centres. Starting from here, it will be possible to shed light on the integration, flexibility, strength and resilience of this economy in the Early Modern Age.



Map 7.2: Features of Abruzzo mountain area

The comparative approach has been used wherever possible. The degree of solvency in relation to fiscal commitments showed by the moun-

tain communities during the 17th century crisis has been taken as an index of resilience in adverse economic situations. For two sample years, the fiscal performance of the Apennine areas was compared with those of the hill and coastal plain areas of Abruzzo Citra. The conclusions highlight another factor: social capital as strength of the Abruzzo mountain area. Sharing rules, information, penalties and values defines the quality of the networks and social relations that are decisive in promoting adaptation to changes in the economic system.



Map 7.3: Kingdom of Naples provinces

1. Abruzzo Mountain's economic system

The physiognomy of the Abruzzo Mountain's economic system, here as in the Alpine areas, takes its shape from agriculture and its environmental constraints such as the altitude, climate, morphology and topography of the mainly calcareous soil. This leads to well-defined and lasting characteristics: the fragmentation and dispersion of plots, predominant cereal crops even at high altitudes and well beyond the limit of climatic compatibility, low production levels and very low productivity (De Matteis 2000; Tino, 1989). Only in the basins between the mountains and at lower altitudes was it possible to practice polyculture with valuable vines, almonds, mulberry, walnut, apple and other fruit trees, together with horticultural crops.

The limited availability of land suitable for cultivation was offset by the extended collective resources held by local communities, namely forests and natural pastures, whose use was strictly regulated in order to preserve their properties and sustainability. Livestock farming was originally fostered by the presence of pastureland. Herding had a decisive impact on the economy of the area for these mountain communities, providing stable employment and even substantial flows of money and assets not only through the sale of wool, but also that of cattle, horses, sheep, cheese and skins. Forest produce, namely chestnuts, firewood and timber, as well as pitch, resins and bark contributed to the equilibrium, and not only the nutritional needs, of mountain families in Abruzzo. Agriculture, livestock farming and forestry all seem to have been integrated and, being the predominant activities in the region, would appear to define the environment as wholly agro-pastoral in nature. However, the reality is rather more complex.

Agriculture involved the vast majority of the working population driven to this primary activity by subsistence needs. Even though it is not possible to estimate the percentage of the population working in this sector during the Early Modern Age, an idea of the proportion immediately transpires from a reading of the tax records (censuses, land registers, cadastral estimations) where the householders themselves declared their activities (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1989, 102–5; Piccioni, 1989–90, 191–2). Despite the prevalence of mountain agriculture, it did not yield enough for staple support, nor did it occupy the workers full time. As a result, they also engaged in various activities in other fields, and did not always report these activities to the government authorities.

Contact with the market was necessary to meet the food supply requirements of the population: the main wood's products – first of all chestnuts but also firewood, timber, charcoal as well as pitch, wood rosin and bark – were sold, but also the wheat itself, although insufficient, was subtracted from the local food consumption and substituted with less valuable foodstuffs. For centuries, and up to WWI, fair and local market circuit were the cornerstone of the trade. There were more fairs than average in the other provinces of the Kingdom, showing the need for mercantile expansion in the mountain area (Salvemini and Visceglia 1991, 65–122). A typical product capable of raising the share of income from agriculture was saffron, but it was grown in a well-defined area of the L'Aquila province, located on the Navelli plateau (Marciani 1974, 47–72; Clementi 1994, 17–8; Pierucci 1997, 25–44; and 1998, 161–224). Moreover, despite wheat yields be-

ing insufficient for local needs, they were taken to market, so this produce was no longer consumed by the local community, which relied on less precious cereals such as rye, barley and spelt, or legumes and, subsequently, potatoes and corn (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006, 50–5).

Unlike agriculture, livestock farming could even provide an income above subsistence level, and this was especially true of transhumance. Sheep breeding was a traditional activity in Abruzzo, and constituted a typical form of investment in the poorest areas, especially the mountains, including both resident flocks and, above all, transhumance. This was a reverse transhumance, as the direction was from the mountains to the Roman and Apulian plains, where the finest wool (*'Gentile di Puglia'* and *'sopravvisana'*) was brought at the Foggia Customs station. The fine quality wool was among the best in Italy, and demand came from manufacturing centres not only within the Kingdom, but also beyond, especially in the Lombardy and Veneto area (Piccioni 1989–90, 160–5; Rossi 2007, 190–205). There is a wealth of literature on transhumance, referred to here, merely to recall some specific aspects. The first is the geographical concentration of the phenomenon, as major supply came from three specific areas, namely the southern slope of the Gran Sasso and the plateau of the Rocche (Calascio, Lucoli, Castel del Monte, Santo Stefano, San Demetrio, Carapelle Calvisio, and Ovindoli), the northern slope of the Gran Sasso and the Monti della Laga on the northwestern border of Abruzzo (Monteale and Amatrice), and the western side of Maiella, as well as the Peligna valley (Pacentro, Campo di Giove, Canzano, Pescocostanzo, Roccaraso, Rivisondoli, Barrea, Pescasseroli, Introdacqua, and Scanno).

It is clear then that transhumance was carried out by a limited number of mountain communities, attracted by the altitude of around 1,000m and the abundance of pastureland. The records of the Foggia Customs Authority show their continued and stable presence on the Tavoliere plain in Apulia, predominating over the other provinces of the South (Molise, Capitanata, Principato Ultra). John Marino's research makes it possible to quantify their presence, showing that in around two centuries (1591–1779), those communities regularly brought in 65%–75% of the sheep population recorded by the Foggia Customs Authority, thus obtaining the best pastures (Marino, 1992, 169–74 and appendix B; Piccioni 1993, 197–200; Rossi 2007, 86–116).

For these mountain communities herding had a decisive influence in the economy of the area. Providing stable employment and even substan-

tial flows of money and goods through the sale of wool but also livestock (horses and sheep) cheese and skins (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2013, 90–122). Nevertheless, these communities did not only identify with pastoralism: the registers reveal that the herd owners represent a very small percentage of the total active population. Out of a population that counted 223 households in 1656, before the plague, and 147 in 1658 after it, Alfedena had 3 shepherds in 1656 and 10 in 1658. In Pacentro, another centre regularly recorded by the Foggia Customs (for the payment of the *fida*, due to grazing), the *tavolario* that describes it for the government in an entry for 1651 makes no mention of sheep farming among the work carried out by members of this community (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1989, 120–30).

A century later, the cadastres of Castel del Monte, Calascio, Santo Stefano di Sessanio, Ovindoli, Rocca di Mezzo and Scanno report that sheep farmers amounted to around 8.2%, a figure also confirmed in the first half of the 19th century (Piccioni 1989/1990, 192–4; and 1993, 201–5). We may wonder if these were the signs of a local community organisation investing small capital in the composition of the flock to be sent to the Tavoliere plain, maintaining its identity firmly rooted in farming, or if these signs indicate that most of the assets pertaining to herds were in the hands of the clergy and the nobility, often not appearing on the records of the tax authorities. Both scenarios are possible. However, it is certain that animal husbandry did not require much of a workforce and offered few employment opportunities.

Outside the three specific areas mentioned above, both transhumance and sedentary flocks had little impact on the local economy, with small flocks and few breeders (Piccioni 1989–90, 172–6). This information brings in to question the myth that the mountainous Abruzzo Region was a pastoral universe and shows that the unfavourable ratio between the population and resources in this region cannot be balanced thanks to the agro-sylvo-pastoral system alone, with which the mountainous Abruzzo region has for centuries been summarily identified (Piccioni 1993, 195).

2. Seasonal work

So what activities were carried out to supplement the mountain agrarian economy? The first point of reference is the integration between mountains and plain which has already been highlighted with regard to transhumance. The mountains provided cattle and labour, while the plain, espe-

cially around Foggia (in the Puglia region), offered winter pastures and a wide range of markets.

Seasonal work was also to be had moving towards Puglia and the Roman countryside. These activities served to increase the income and lighten the demand for food, keeping men away from the mountains for whole months along the same routes as the transhumance, but in opposing time-frames, descending in the summer towards the plains of Puglia and the Roman countryside when the demand in the fields was greatest (Farinelli 1973, 153–64). The Tavoliere plain in Puglia served as winter pastures for livestock, especially sheep, then it provided work at harvest time, serving as a market for pastoral products ever since the Sheep Customs had been established by Alfonso d'Aragona in the 1440s. But this was not all. Whatever the season, workers also used to move to the Roman countryside to saw timber, make charcoal and lime, hoe the vineyards, dig ditches and carry out any other manual jobs as necessary.

It was not solely a question of general manpower on an as-and-when basis in various sectors where there was a demand. Not only can individual skills be observed in these activities, but also those of entire communities still identify today with the work they have carried out for centuries, such as the ropers of Corropoli, the woodcarvers of Castel del Monte, the charcoal burners of Pettorano sul Gizio, the carders of Cerqueto and Petra Camela, the stonemasons of Secinaro, Capistrello, Lettomannoppello, Pretoro, Pennadimonte and Pacentro, the chair makers of Pietracamela, and the sieve makers of the Peligna Valley. The Apennine area appears especially marked by a high level of mobility of the population towards the Papal State and the Kingdom of Naples.

There were also pedlars who went from place to place by mule to restock the outlying locations, finding the best opportunities for trade in the weekly markets. Street market retailers knew every inch of the territory and were able to overcome obstacles, take advantage of opportunities, know the right time to work and to open up passages across the border. Laurence Fontaine provides a good history of peddling in Europe and identifies its heyday as the period between the late 15th century and the end of the 17th century. There was a real wide-ranging commodity system which the author shows to have originated in the mountain environment (Fontaine 1993; Salvemini 2006, 229–43). Acting within or outside the law, most of the commerce in the area and the period in question was in the hands of an itinerant trade system that did not depend so much on fixed sales out-

lets, but on periodical opportunities such as fairs and markets and practically ubiquitous peddling.

This was also an area bordering with the Papal State, over which it was impossible to exercise control, especially on the side marked by the mountains of the north-western slopes of the Gran Sasso and the southern slopes of the Monti della Laga. Many openings were available to those wishing to secretly get to the other side to expatriate either for trade or other reasons. Smuggling ran parallel to regulated activities and involved enormous numbers of offenders (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006, 116–22). It is well known that the *Via degli Abruzzi* connected Naples and Florence by way of the Apennines, but by the 16th century it now appeared resized in comparison with the Middle Ages, however many paths flanking it both longitudinally and transversally, thus helping to connect not only the major centres, but also those of lesser significance, and sheep tracks and paths (*tratturelli*), mule tracks and every other kind of path able to meet the needs of the Apennine area (Berardi 2005, 313–4; Di Stefano 2007, 12–6.).

3. Secondary and tertiary sectors

Mountains and plain were connected throughout the whole year and this was fundamental to the economic system of the area. Transhumance and seasonal emigration were based on this connection, but could not universally meet the constant search for additional means of sustenance on the mountains, nor could they ensure the self-sufficiency of families.

There were strategies of diversification in the manufacturing and service sectors, favouring a plurality of rural activities and proto-industrial initiatives that were tested and practiced anywhere to different degrees of intensity and in different ways from place to place.

Costantino Felice notes that “the mountains were able to give rise to and consolidate a variety of economies that, despite the changing economic conditions, managed to maintain the equilibrium of the delicate relationship between man and the environment in such difficult terrain over the centuries” (Felice 2007, 89).

The first censuses carried out in post-unification Italy (that is in the second half of the 19th century) revealed that as many workers were employed in manufacturing (45.2%) as in agriculture (45.5%) in the mountainous areas of Abruzzo (Felice 2000, 285; Id. 2008, 89). Of course, this production mainly involved craftwork and other work from home that would prove inadequate to the needs of modern industrialisation and would inex-

orably decline in the space of a few decades. Nevertheless, for centuries up to that time such activities had provided a valuable supplement to the economy of the region.

Here, as elsewhere, a varied world of arts and crafts serving the needs of the community was accurately recorded in the descriptions of governmental and feudal agents. Even the smallest settlements were never without a number of craftsmen (blacksmiths, carpenters, stonemasons, masons, cobblers, tailors, bakers, millers, butchers, a barber, an apothecary and the *mandese*) whose presence served to ensure a degree of local self-sufficiency. But it is not necessary to go into this here.

Rather, we aim to focus on the activities that allowed communities to be part of distribution circuits of all sizes and which were, therefore, able to bring in a return (Bulgarelli Lukacs, 1998, 255–93; Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006, 45–55).

The goods produced in mountain areas, that were able to ensure a supplementary income for the resident population, came from the raw materials available locally, especially leveraging the female workforce that remained in the village and the driving force of waterways.

Produce was sold in the medium to short physical range, also crossing the boundaries of the Kingdom in the direction of the Papal State. On the other hand, raw materials from the mountain (wool, leather, silk, timber) and saffron were distributed across a wider range, reaching the north of the Italian peninsula as far as, depending on the century, Tuscany (Middle Ages), Venice (13th–14th centuries), and the valleys of Bergamo and Brescia in the Lombardy and Veneto area (16th–17th centuries). Saffron in particular followed international routes, as there was demand in Germany, Switzerland and France.

3.1 Textiles

The primary finished or semi-finished products were textiles: lower quality woolen cloths (*bassi* and *carfagni*) and cloaks made in the areas with large herds (Leonessa, L'Aquila, Scanno, Taranta, Palena, Montorio, Pietracameila, Isola del Gran Sasso), reeled and spun silk (San Valentino, Caramanico, Sulmona, Pacentro), and spun and woven linen and other mixed fabrics. But there was also pottery (mainly from Castelli, but also Palena, Anversa degli Abruzzi, Rapino, Tagliacozzo), tanned and packaged leathers (soles and shoes), timber (Castiglione Messer Marino, Pretoro and Arischia), wrought iron (Pescocostanzo, Guardiagrele, Tossicia and Scanno), gold

jewellery (Sulmona, Pescocostanzo, Scanno and Guardiagrele), worked copper and bells (Agnone), and confectionery (sugared almonds from Sulmona, Aquila liqueurs, preserves).¹ What little information is available largely refers to the textile sector.

In all cases, it is difficult to identify the internal organisation or distinguish between handicraft, home-made manufacturing (pluriactivity), proto-industry or a putting out system.

We may assume that the presence or absence of external contractors supplying financial capital and/or raw materials while bearing the trade risks, seems to be a very important element that marks the difference between pluriactivity, whose purpose was essentially self-consumption and short-range trade, and proto-industry. While the former was almost exclusively the province of women, who produced unrefined output entirely within the home, the latter involved skilled male workers with a clearly defined division of labour and evident integration with the urban and artisanal environment from which the merchants who commissioned the work mostly came, dictating the conditions and distributing the raw materials or semi-finished products, while the tools of the trade were worker owned (De Majo 1990, 319–31).

The urban environment was the most suitable market for the sale of finished products and the supply of raw materials. The wool industry is best known for its wide distribution within the mountain environment and had been considered the prototype of the industry from medieval times (Maitte 2004, 16). The dynamics of the proto-industrial model are well known thanks to the theories developed through the work of Mendels, the Göttingen group (Kriedte, Medick, and Schulbohm), Levine, and the subsequent innumerable works on a regional scale that have allowed scholars to verify the postulates of the model, establishing new variables, revising and criticising it. At its most basic, it involved a shift of manufacturing from the cities to the countryside, with farmers driving the manufacturing activities. This phenomenon brought about some significant changes, the first of which was related to the demographics of the population involved, recording a significant increase thanks to the end of dependency on the land and the limitations on the formation of new families (Ogilvie 2008).

Recent studies have shown that southern European proto-industry came into being as the result of a crisis in the 17th century and the major

1 This is partial information, because so far the mapping of the manufacturing activities in the Abruzzo Mountains still remains to be done.

changes in urban manufacturing due to competition from new products arriving from England and other north-western countries in Europe. The production, which had moved from the major cities to the small towns and villages, took root in some areas that began to specialise in the production of clothing, thus obtaining significant revenues that contemporary observers did not fail to detect and quantify. It has also been pointed out that manufacturing development was favoured by the intervention of the feudal system and the Church while the link with urban corporations was never severed, at least for the wool industry, which developed earlier than others (Cirillo 2002 and Id. 2012). In 17th and 18th century Abruzzo, crafts, pluriactivity and proto-industry coexisted. We focus on the latter because it represents an important step in the transformation of the production process. There were significant instances of proto-industry in the mountains of 17th century Abruzzo. The production of woollen cloth was of particular importance. In the late Middle Ages, the cities of L'Aquila, Teramo and Leonessa were the major production centres. In the 17th century, the activity appears localised in the foothills of the Maiella and especially in the high Aventine valley with the communities of Taranta, Palena, Gesso and Lettomanoppello, a location whose specialisation gave the name 'tarantole' to the cloth produced there. There was also a division of labour between the communities, since only yarn was produced in Lettomanoppello, and there is evidence for the presence of entrepreneur merchants practising a division of the profits, one third of which went to the local operators (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1989, 154–55). This area, located along the L'Aquila – Salerno route already mentioned by Maurice Aymard, became one of the three most important southern areas for wool manufacture (Aymard 1970, 136–9). It maintained a leading position over time, even managing to survive during the 18th and 19th centuries despite competition from products of the most advanced areas in Europe, with government protection until the unification of Italy (1861).

The Aentino Valley is not the only case of widespread textile production in the Abruzzo foothills. There is still no map of the manufacturing activities in the mountainous region, but it is certain that the Teramo area counted several mountain communities (Montorio, Isola del Gran Sasso, Pietracamela, Tussicia, San Giovanni a Scorzone and especially Campli) located in the Gran Sasso and Laga Mountains, which supplemented the meagre income from farming with the production of woollen cloth for centuries. The raw material coming from the sheep remained in the Abruzzo

pasturelands (Doganella d'Abruzzo), being of lower quality than material produced from the transhumance, and was used in the widespread manufacture of rough fabrics (*panni bassi*, *carfagni* and *neri*) (Pierucci 1988, 893–908). These products were not only meant for local consumption, but were also intended for export in the neighbouring areas coming under the Papal territories (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2013, 106–16). There were also corporations in the cities of the area, whose existence is documented in Campli as well as in Teramo (Statuto Municipale della Città di Campli 1973, cap. 17; Savini 1889, 134). But there was no single specialised production – in the same area there was also linen (Campli) and silk (Teramo) as well as paper in Sulmona (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1998, 322).

We can also speak of a proto-industry in Abruzzo silk entering the market in a semi-finished state. In the Middle Ages, the city of Sulmona was known for a long, fine yarn used by manufacturers in Florence (Hide-toshi 1986, 73). In the 17th century, an increase in silk consumption was reflected in the import/export flows to and from Abruzzo (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2013, 102–4). Production was decentralised over rural areas, and yarn was provided by the foothill centres in Pacentro, Prezza, San Valentino and Caramanico, where the presence of merchants who advanced capital against yarn is well documented (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1989, 132–43). The organisation of work appears to be differentiated between cocoon breeders, master spinners, and apprentices. In addition to the semi-finished product, raw material in the form of cocoons was in great demand, especially from the Marche region, and in particular from the town of Camerino, which in the mid sixteenth century was the only full cycle manufacturing centre in the Marche area (Di Stefano 2011, 147–51).

The town of Teramo and its rural area responded to that demand by supplying the spinning mills with cocoons and allowing them to intercept and possibly rake the entire output in the area. Information on the silk sector in Abruzzo and links with the manufacturers of the Marche region is still very poor, with only a few clues coming down because of direct supply mechanisms from the source evading government control. However, it can be observed that the development of manufacturing in the Marche would be a decisive factor in a process that would characterise Adriatic Abruzzo for centuries. The demand for cocoons led to the relegation of this area to a subordinate position compared with the Marche region, and its commercial physiognomy would remain largely hidden. This meant obeying its rules, carrying out only the initial processing stage, slipping more and

more into the role of raw materials provider (silkworm eggs and cocoons) and reducing its function as yarn suppliers, despite the quality that had been very much appreciated on the Italian market during the Middle Ages (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2000, 523–9).

3.2 *Ceramics*

Ceramics production also seemed to be divided into two different forms of organisation: proto-industry and handicraft work. Pottery was produced in several settlements, but only one of them was able to expand its products out of Abruzzo, namely Castelli, which became the most famous production centre. It was a small settlement perched on the rocky soil and the hazardous roads of the Gran Sasso massif, and owed its fortune to the presence of clay, water and timber, as well as the ability of its population to produce ceramics – in all likelihood by a community of Benedictine monks. Thanks to its pottery, Castelli reached fame in and outside the Kingdom of Naples from the beginning of the 16th century to the end of the 18th century. The finest specimens can now be admired in the museums of Europe, and the names of some potters are well known, as are their styles (see Picture 7.1). The organisation of work into masters and workers appears typical of the workshop, a place of production and marketing of the finished product (Pierucci 2005, 20–7; Ead. 2007, 251–67). The most important workshops managed distribution directly in the big cities where they also found the necessary raw materials (white clay, lead and tin). Sometimes, when market success was particularly remarkable, as in the case of the de Pompeo family, the production stages were divided up, and the semi-finished clay phase was commissioned outside the master's workshop (*'a centenario'*) providing the raw material and payment for piecework (Pierucci 2005, 23). Great demand from the Neapolitan aristocracy also induced the family to open another workshop. The commercial outlet in the Kingdom's capital city enabled a horizontal increase in activity, with the distribution of raw materials throughout Castelli, making this workshop a reference point for other craftsmen. The organisation of production forms was therefore also diversified in this branch. There is documentary evidence from the 1570s of merchants commissioning batches of pots for the Rome market and providing workshops with raw materials in exchange for pots (Güll 2005, 28–29). Perhaps it is from this date that the figure of the merchant-entrepreneur fits into the organisation of distribution thus far in the hands of the craftsmen themselves.



Picture 7.1: Example of Castelli pottery

4. The resilience

Our long-term view allows us to grasp another characteristic of the mountain economy besides the integration of economic activities, namely resilience, that is to say the economic system's ability to adapt and change to preserve livelihoods, to cope with the crises and to raise the threshold of its vulnerability (Hallegatte 2014). Daniel Curtis has underlined the equitable distribution of property and the well-balanced distribution of power between social groups as resilience's main indicators (Curtis 2014). In our case-study, two aspects can be observed, the first of which relates to versatility and flexibility in production. Supplementary activities were practi-

ced according to market demands, and mountain communities addressed their commitments in one direction rather than another and were ready to change strategy, abandoning those already practiced in order to introduce new ones. The case of Pettorano may serve as an example of this ability of the mountain communities to be flexible in their use of resources. Set at 625m above sea level in the foothills of the Maiella, it is a typical agropastoral community constantly present in the customs records at Foggia Customs (Marino 1988, 463). However, it boasted a modest contribution to sheep transhumance, and a varied range of other activities were required for subsistence (Mattiocco and De Panfilis 1989, 133–6). Between the 16th and 19th centuries this small centre produced raw materials such as charcoal, hemp, linen, cocoons and saffron; semi-processed products such as silk yarn, and finished products such as ceramics, tiles, and bricks. The Gizio riverside became home to mills, fulling mills for cloth, and a copper foundry (De Stephanis 2008, 43). All the products were meant for market, and activities were combined in various ways to preserve livelihood. The fact that there was a greater number of variables to bring into play, allowed the mountain dwellers to face crises, gaining an advantage over the other non-mountainous areas.

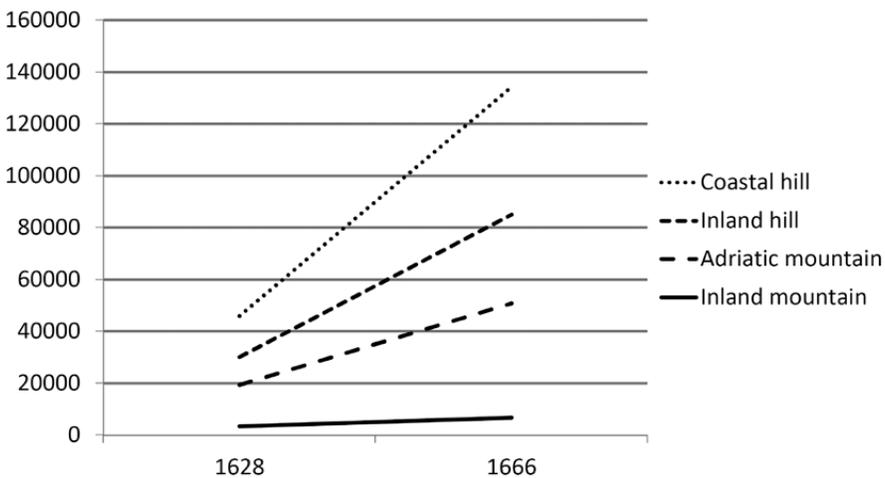


Picture 7.2: 'Veduta di Pettorano dalla consolare' (De Stephanis 2008, 48)

The second aspect concerns the possibility of assessing resilience at a time of economic crisis. An indicator of the degree of resilience can be

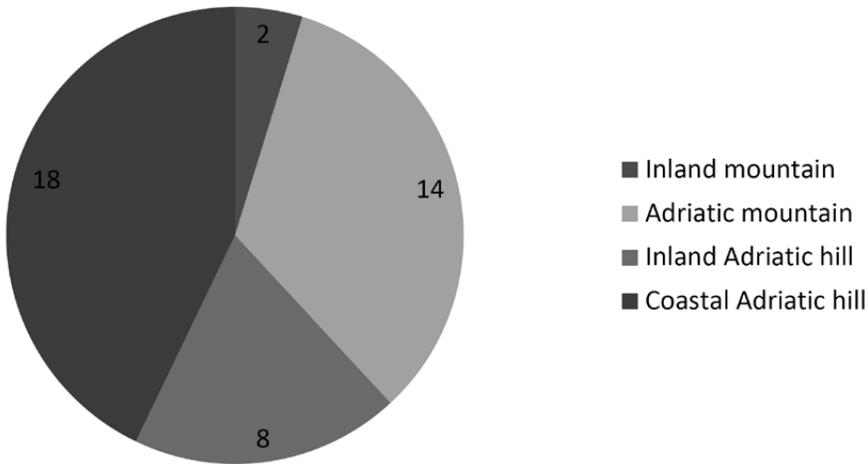
found in the state of equilibrium of local finance and especially in the debt position of local communities in relation to the royal treasury. This indicator is influenced by a number of factors, first and foremost the distribution of the burden from the centre to the communities, with a tax base attributed according to the number of hearths/households, often remote from the real situation and, as such, cause of default (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1993b, 94–7).

Having said that, analysis of the sources allows us to detect clear differences between the performance of the mountain communities compared with that of the hill and plains communities, due to some extent to their environmental and economic frameworks. To make this comparison, the province of Abruzzo Citra (Chieti/Pescara) has been chosen because of the more complex environmental context compared with Abruzzo Ultra I and II. This area allows a comparison of the performances of inner mountain areas (Sulmona and Castel di Sangro) with the hill and coastal plain areas (Chieti and Pescara). The number of communities with arrears and the amount of arrears in relation to the current debt were considered (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1993a, 180–5). As can be seen from the graphs, the tax default of the province had been growing over time by the middle decades of the 17th century. By 1666 the number of *universitates* with arrears had more than doubled (from 42 to 90) and the total number of communities (172) accounted for 52% compared to 24% in 1628. The accumulation of arrears rose from 1.2 to 8 times the current tax debt.



Graph 7.1: Local communities in arrears with the tax authorities. Abruzzo Citra, 1628–1666

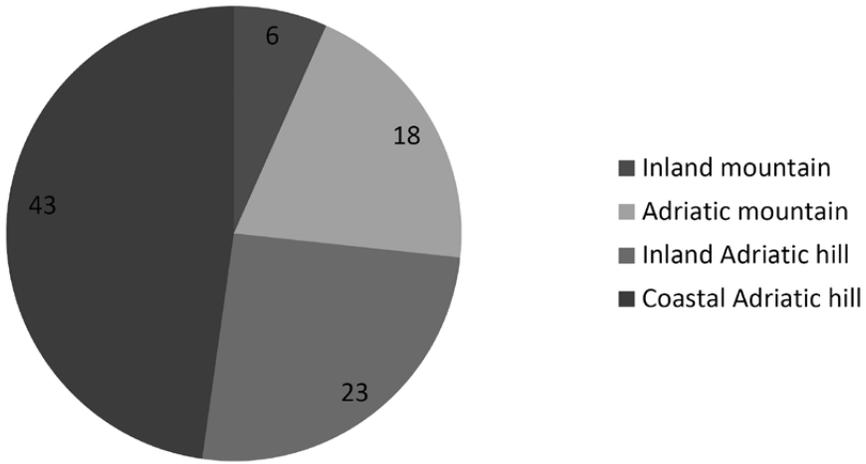
A breakdown of the overall data per geo-altitude area (inner mountainous, Adriatic mountainous, internal Adriatic hill and coastal Adriatic hills) reveals the significant soundness of the inner mountain area with just two communities in arrears in 1628 and six in 1666, with their fiscal duties amounting to 7% and 5% of the total respectively.



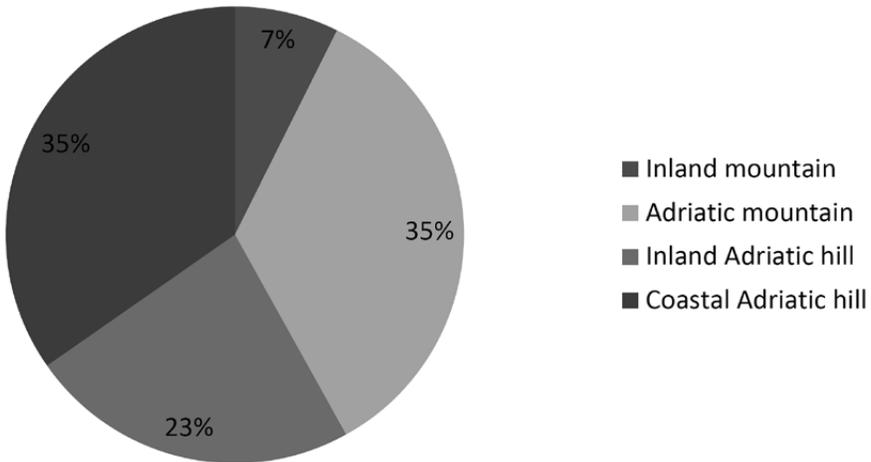
Graph 7.2: Number of local communities in arrears with the tax authorities. Abruzzo Citra, 1628

On the other hand, the Adriatic coastal hills, making up around half the centres, accrued arrears amounting to 37% of the total. This area, boasting a rich agriculture and produce surplus for export (grain, wine and oil) was dependent on external demand and was affected by the crisis earlier and to a greater extent than the others. Dependence on demand from outside lay behind the area's vulnerability.

The inner mountain area owes its extraordinary resilience under adverse economic conditions to the transhumance/fine wool combination that seems to be a decisive variable to cope with the crisis through the economic climate of the 17th century. Focus on this strengthens its presence on the Tavoliere, where the number of flocks and mountain settlements proliferate (Marino 1988, 72–4, 126). On the other hand, the centres on the hill and plains left the wool market. The concentration process can be read not only on the territory but even in the configuration of producers among which the disappearance of the minor ones due to aggregation was record-

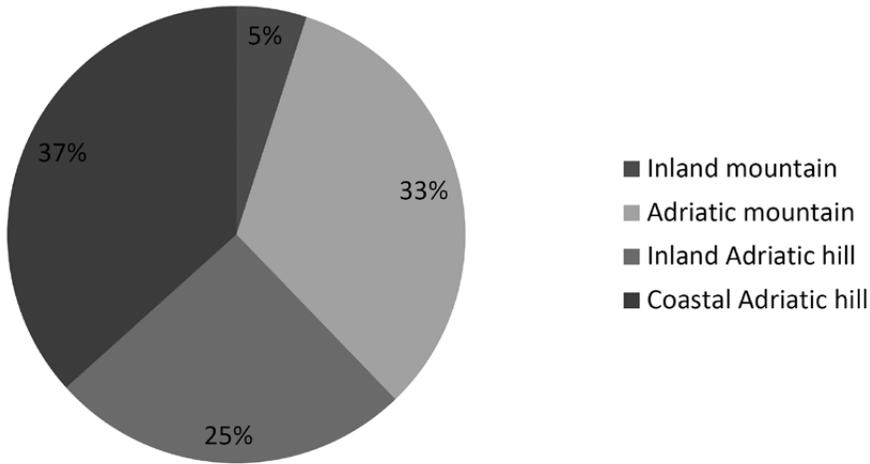


Graph 7.3: Number of local communities in arrears with the tax authorities. Abruzzo Citra, 1666



Graph 7.4: Local communities in arrears with the tax authorities (amounts in percentage). Abruzzo Citra, 1628

ed (Piccioni 1989–90, 181–2; C Rossi 2007, 60–70). The wool market was expanding, and the demand for raw materials was growing; the price went up, doubling in just over 10 years (1623–1635), and after a period of stagnation (1660–1675) it continued to grow throughout the last years of the centu-



Graph 75: Local communities in arrears with the tax authorities (amounts in percentage).
Abruzzo Citra, 1666

ry, tripling its initial value (Rossi 2007, 40–1). Wool as raw material was in great demand from European garment manufacturers after the technological transformation that was able to produce new fabrics. The resulting sudden increase in production in the proto-industrial direction thus explains the expansion of the wool market with increased production and prices. Taking advantage of the gradual disappearance of the expensive town-produced Italian shoes, wool factories sprang up in rural centres almost everywhere in the peninsula, including those areas of Abruzzo that we have already mentioned. Also, as we have already seen, the wool manufacturers strengthened their position, experimenting with the division of labour and organisation.

These production sites presented, to a mid-17th century visitor crossing the area on behalf of the government, a more comfortable standard of living than the average for other centres. Furthermore, from the fiscal point of view, the area appears to have been able to handle a large part of its tax debts (Bulgarelli Lukacs 1993, 185).

5. Integrated peasant economy and social capital

After these brief remarks on the Apennine Mountains' ability to balance its economy, it may be useful to recall some findings following on from what Panjek said about the integrated peasant economy model.

Throughout the Early Modern Age, the economy of the southern Apennines, here examined only in relation to the Abruzzo area, appears to have been defined by the following features.

The agro-sylvan-pastoral system based on the widespread availability of forests and pastures did not fully correspond to the reality of the southern Apennines, as it was unable to guarantee the required self-sufficiency. Transhumant breeding, a sector in which the Abruzzo region was the main producer in southern Italy and provided significant revenue, was carried out in only a few areas with only a limited number of people involved full time.

It was necessary to have recourse to market, as may be seen from the significant number of regular events (fairs and markets) that thrived up to the eve of WWI. Internal and external demand drove the supply offered by the mountains and even grain, although insufficient, was destined for the market due to its high monetary value.

The region primarily provided the market with labour in the form of seasonal workers, sometimes also skilled workers, as shown by the names of the communities specialising in specific activities. Abruzzo also supplied the market with products manufactured mostly under the pluriactivity system (in the sense used above, that is income integration for subsistence only) with a view to short range trade, but also under the proto-industry system with a larger distribution even sometimes including high quality products (e.g., pottery from Castelli). Abruzzo also provided intermediation services at the lowest levels thanks to a large number of pedlars and smugglers able to exploit their knowledge of the region and the opportunities offered by its territory as a border area of the Kingdom.

It is not possible to quantify the contribution of market-oriented activities in providing sources of income rather than subsistence agriculture in the Early Modern Age. But it can be said that orientation toward the market made the system dynamic and flexible, able to adapt to changes in the availability of sources of revenue and market conditions among the population and in family structure through time. During times of crisis, the mountain area was better able to demonstrate resilience than the hill and plain areas due to its ability to reorganise the economy and balance the local finances.

Based on this reconstruction, we may observe that the integrated peasant economy concept is applicable to the mountain economy in the Abruzzo Apennines. The model described by Panjek is completed by the significant role played by the commons as producers of income. Their collective

nature makes it possible to also highlight the role of social capital as an additional perspective for a reading of the integrated peasant economy.

Social capital of course concerns the characteristics, properties, and quality of the social networks through which social actors pursue their activities. Essentially, it consists of the ‘institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions’ (Bourdieu 1980; Coleman 1988; World Bank 1998). Analysis in this sense focuses on the processes that connect people and social groups to each other and how they generate net benefits and the possibility of achieving otherwise unachievable goals, or those achievable only at higher cost. There is broad agreement that the presence of social capital facilitates beneficial collective action, which is a prerequisite for adaptation to change, especially where the formal institutions are still poorly developed.

Applying the category of social capital to southern Italy is no easy task. The south of Italy has in fact been taken as a key scenario showing how its backwardness depends precisely on the lack of social capital and an inability to act for the common good. Banfield’s notorious category of “amoral familism” that he produced in the 1950s highlights the crucial role of the family and its pervasive presence in hindering the development of civil society, intermediate institutions and forms of collective identities, allowing the proliferation of economic and political deviance (clientelism, lack of political participation, forms of organised crime) (Banfield 1960; Putnam 1993). Forty years later, Putnam’s research on civic spirit in the Italian regions strengthened the thesis of the absence of social capital through comparison between southern and central/northern Italy. The medieval tradition of the city-states as they developed in central and north Italy – tightly-knit urban communities facilitating the transmission of information, law enforcement, a sense of belonging and collective action – made the author’s perception of the moral, civil and economic failure of the South even more evident. These ideas led to strong debate on the need to provide a historical basis for such conclusions and avoid falling into generalisation and stereotypes (Griboaudi 1993).

Without adding to the debate, I would like here to just simply draw attention to the need to question the presence or absence of social capital in the Apennine Mountains from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Ogilvie stressed the importance of nonfamilial and nonmarket institutions (corporations, communities, religious institutions) in the Early Modern Age because of their ability to generate rich social capital in terms of rules, information,

penalties and collective action. The author has also noted that the societies of the past had greater social capital compared with the contemporary age. Her attention has particularly focused on two institutions: local communities and merchants' associations (Ogilvie 2000).

We may well start precisely from this path in order to shake off the stereotype of a southern Italy crushed by feudalism. The space available here allows only some brief discussion of local communities. Regarding the merchants' associations, it may be useful to consider the literature on the largest association present in the Abruzzo Mountains, namely the breeders association (the *Generalità dei Locati*). Like other communities, it was referred to as a *Università*, in this case that of the *padroni di animali* (masters of animals) and included all activities related to sheep transhumance towards winter pastures, enjoying civil and fiscal privileges and transit and pasture rights (Marino 1988, 159–211).

In the case of the Kingdom of Naples, it is necessary to underline the importance of the village communities (*universitates*) as an institution with an endogenous matrix. Nor should we forget the political nature of the feudal monarchy in which the Kingdom was embedded. Monarchy had developed early and the feudal system wielded pervasive and extensive power from which only a very small percentage of the population was free. However it should also be borne in mind that even a settlement made up of only a small and informal group of families (minimum 10 hearths/households) owning shared resources, acquired separate legal personality from its members upon attaining the status of *universitas* and thus obtained self-governing powers. With them came the right to hold meetings, to make decisions, to enact rules and sanctions, to have a representative body, to assign tasks, to levy and collect taxes, to be party to legal proceedings and sometimes to hand down judgments. Rules were written in the statutes, and the jurisprudence of the Kingdom considered local customs superior to any other law. From the age of Frederick II of Swabia (13th century), and for about six centuries afterwards, the term *universitas* remained in constant use and the functions with which it was tasked were carried out. As an institution it was anything but static, and was capable of showing flexibility in adapting rules to changes in the economic system (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2012, 34–44). Written statutes fixing customary rules that had been passed down in oral form, and agreements concluded with the feudal lord, main holder of power in the locality, were milestones in the definition of community identity (Calasso 1929, 229–65; Caravale 1986, 191–211; Spagnoletti 2002, 25–40).

In terms of social capital, at least two aspects that reveal largely unknown elements of community identity and solidarity are deserving of mention, namely the role played by southern Italian settlements both in the functions of withholding agents for the population on behalf of the royal tax authorities and the management of collective resources.

For the royal tax authorities, the *universitas* was an intermediate institution between the government and the taxpayer. It was tasked with numerous functions such as ascertaining and assessing the wealth of householders, assigning the amounts due, collecting them and sending them to the provincial tax authorities.

The principle of fiscal solidarity whereby the *universitas* was liable for the entire amount regardless of the degree of solvency of the individuals is an important feature (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2012, 34–44). We should also observe that collective action was constantly implemented by the communities in the form of continuous dialectic with the authorities to protect and maintain levels of tolerable taxation, denouncing embezzlement by the tax agents or any attack on collective resources by powers within the territory. With this ongoing defensive action, the community showed on the outside its unity and solidarity where the internal conflicts could find at least an apparent settlement.

Reference to collective resources allows us to also consider another aspect of the formation of social capital, namely their management by the community. This is the other important role played by local communities where social capital assumes importance and visibility.

The *Universitas* was the holder of various kinds of collective resources (woods, streams, pastures, land and buildings and much more) whose presence in the Apennine Mountains was more significant than elsewhere in the Kingdom. The *Universitas* ensured that they were used only by ‘citizens’ (not all the inhabitants but only those who could boast local roots, membership and acceptance) and guaranteed their sustainability over time. It also worked to maintain the rights currently in force regarding any kind of assets (mostly ecclesiastical bodies and the feudal lord). All decisions concerning their target, development or assignment were entrusted to the municipal regiment, or the local parliament made up of all the householders, or else a council of a few select families only (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2015, 123–131). The question of common goods was particularly important in the charters and statutes of the communities, where detailed rules especially governed collective use and the conditions for access to properties and

terms of use, determining sanctions for offenders and informing the local judiciary (the *bagliva* or bailiff) of actions to be taken on a day-to-day level to oversee and monitor the observance of the laws.

The presence of shared norms, well-defined sanctions, and collective action taken as a defence against the strong powers in the area, but also against the surrounding communities, as well as the compilation of information for the government in the capital, made it possible to identify signs of the existence of social capital in the Abruzzo Apennines. But was it always a resource everywhere? To what extent was it able to produce benefits for the economy? This remains an open question, and while it is possible to respond in the affirmative in some places and in reference to the Early Modern Age, it remains to be asked with Sheilagh Ogilvie whether and how social capital was later able to adapt without rigidity and closure to the varying stimuli and challenges arising from changes in the political and economic context (Ogilvie 2000).

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8

Woodlands as a Source of Income Integration in Peasant Economies: the Pontifical State (18th–19th Centuries)

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Map 8.1: Case study area

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyse some strategies of household income integration implemented by the rural population of the Pontifical State, with particular reference to the present area of Latium, between the 18th and 19th centuries. The examined strategies used forest products as an integrative resource. The contrast between conventional woodland management, in force until the 19th century and based on a wide variety of usages, and a market-oriented management, that tends to exclude the traditional consumers of the woodland, has already been defined in detail by Diego Moreno (1990). This paper aims to show, using court records, how it is possible to reconstruct, in detail, a particular form of income-integration in peasant economies, based on the exploitation of forest resources.

The use of the forest resources joined and integrated in to the daily agricultural activities. In the case studies, the peasants who went into the woods, sometimes of public property, sometimes of private property, acted outside their daily activities. The obtained products were not used exclusively for self-consumption, but they were often introduced into local trade networks. This trade provided the peasant family economy with a monetary integration. Moreover, timber could become a bridge between the conventional activities within the rural world and the secondary sector, although the latter remained in large part craft-based.

1. Court records as a source

At the end of the 18th century, the Pontifical State adopted a forest law valid for the entire state territory. It followed the example of other Italian States that, between the 18th and 19th centuries, promulgated a series of regulations aimed at protecting the forest heritage. The laws could conform to liberalistic principles or to restrictive regulations. Beyond the differences, the primary aim of these laws was to safeguard specific economic and social interests, related to the profit maximisation of the woods in favour of the big merchants of timber or charcoal, through restriction or exclusion of the forest traditional usages. The necessity to optimise the yield in wood led, as in the case of the Pontifical State, to the enactment of very restrictive forestall laws that prohibited any cutting without permission.

Table 8.1: Table of the Italian forest legislation (18th–19th centuries)

Kingdom of Sardinia	1770	1822–1833
Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia		1811
Duchy of Parma and Piacenza		1842–1853
Duchy of Modena		1846
Duchy of Lucca		1821–1839–1845
Grand Duchy of Tuscany	1776–1780	
Pontifical State	1789	1805
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies	1759	1811–1819–1826

Source: Sansa 2000, 3. Note: The Republic of Venice is not included in the list as it represented an early case of forest legislation, starting from the late Middle Ages (Di Bérenger 1863; Cacciavillani 1984; Appuhn 2010)

In the Pontifical State the first forest law, also known as the Boncompagni edict, was promulgated in 1789, and was followed by the Consalvi edict in 1805. These laws provided that all cutting in the forest should be approved by the Pope himself. Such a statement was of a more formal than substantial nature, because the Pope just assented to the decision previously formulated by the Secretariat of State for internal affairs. The exercise of the *jus lignandi* by rural populations should have been limited exclusively to the harvesting of wood that had fallen onto the ground, the so called “dead wood”, Sansa (2000; 2003). After a first stage of uncertainty concerning the procedure for implementing laws, also due to the transfer of the papal territories into the Napoleonic empire, it was stated that the *Tribunale della sacra consulta* (Tribunal of the holy consult), the highest State court, which judged political offences and, on appeal, the main criminal offences, became the competent court dealing with forest offences. Several trials for illegal tree cutting can be noticed in the collection of the court’s sentences, from which information about forest offences have been provided.

The matter of rural population’s rights restrictions, concerning the possibility of supplying timber, met with Karl Marx’s drastic stance. Marx, in one of his first political-economical writings in the *Rheinesche Zeitung*, protested harshly against what he defined as a criminalisation of peasants’ customs:

Even the pilfering of fallen wood or the gathering of dry wood is included under the heading of theft and punished as severely as the

stealing of live growing timber [...] it would be impossible to find a more elegant and at the same time more simple method of making the right of human beings give way to that of young trees. On the one hand, after the adoption of the paragraph, it is inevitable that many people not of a criminal disposition are cut off from the green tree of morality and cast like fallen wood into the hell of crime, infamy and misery. On the other hand, after rejection of the paragraph, there is the possibility that some young trees may be damaged, and it needs hardly be said that the wooden idols triumph and human beings are sacrificed! (Marx 1842).

In other contexts, as in the case of the Ariege or the Franche-Comte forests, Marx's disconcert about the decisions of the Rhine Diet turned into valiant resistance to the 1827 French forest code by rural populations accustomed to living in a quite autonomous regime (Sahlins 1994; Matteson 2015). These events remind us of the conflicts within English forests, caused by the introduction of the Black Act in 1732, between two differing points of view on property, one in line with big agrarian capitalism, while the other, that of the poachers, was linked to traditional rights or customs (Thompson 1975).

Table 8.2: Impact of professional categories on forest offences

Category	Number	Percentage
Peasants	777	71
Landowners and timber merchants (<i>proprietari, commercianti di legnami, amministratori di tenute</i>)	100	9
Loggers (<i>boscaioli, lavoratori del legname</i>)	107	10
Artisans	62	6
Cattle farmers (<i>allevatori</i>)	27	2.5
Priests	18	1.5
Total	1,091	100

Source: ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, bb. 801–809, old numbering.

By the analysis of about four hundred sentences from the Tribunal of the holy consult, that have allowed us to reconstruct the professional identity of 1091 individuals, it has been possible to determine the impact of the different professional categories of whom had been accused of forest offences.

Through the analysis of the information that can be gathered by the sentences, it is possible to reconstruct a sort of social “identikit” of the subjects that most frequently appropriated the forest resource, breaching regulations: the individual in question was a peasant who lived in the same area where the offence was carried out and who tended to act with other members of his social group.

2. Case study locations

In the sub-Appennine-mountain area near the town of Rieti there were some interesting events in the middle of 19th century. The inhabitants of S. Elia village, during the winter of 1847, went repeatedly in to the wood of a private property, and cut down high-trunk trees with assessed losses amounting to 167 *scudi* and 43 *baiocchi*,¹ the proceeds of which would be sold in Rieti.² To have an idea of the amount, it is to be noted that the monthly needs of a Roman family, composed of four people belonging to the working class during the 19th century, has been estimated between 6 *scudi* and 80 *baiocchi* and 14 *scudi* and 50 *baiocchi*, Fritz (1980, 319–21).³ Rieti, about seven kilometres from S. Elia, was the capital of the homonymous province. With a population of over 13,000 inhabitants, it constituted a market to which country products could be addressed. On the contrary, S. Elia was principally an agricultural centre with a population of 875 inhabitants, of which only 320 lived in the village, while the remaining 555 were scattered in the countryside (*Ministero del commercio e lavori pubblici*, 1857, 222). The housing structure justifies the repeated appropriation of the resources available in the territory. In 1854 a group of S. Elia inhabitants cut down an indefinite number of oaks in the wood belonging to the local church, worth about 40 *scudi*; in the same year 15 “countrymen” (*campagnoli*) cut down 134 oaks, worth 41 *scudi*, on a private property.⁴ The previous year 3 other “countrymen” were found guilty of a forest offence of more limited

1 The definition ‘wood value’ during trials, refers to the assigned value by the court’s expert to the cut amount of wood, not to its commercial value on an eventual market of destination.

2 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 806 o.n., 8th April 1856. The period for the sentence was very long: 91 months.

3 The monetary system of the Pontifical States established the *scudo* as the unit, divided into 100 *baiocchi*. After the monetary reform of Gregory XVI, in 1835, the value of a *scudo* corresponded to 24 grams of silver.

4 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 806 o.n., 1st February 1856, for the first offence; b. 805, 13rd November 1855, for the second offence.

proportions, because they cut down and branched 19 oaks in total, with the assessed worth of 6 *scudi*; the local church's forest property was targeted twice, causing esteemed damage of about 46 *scudi*.⁵

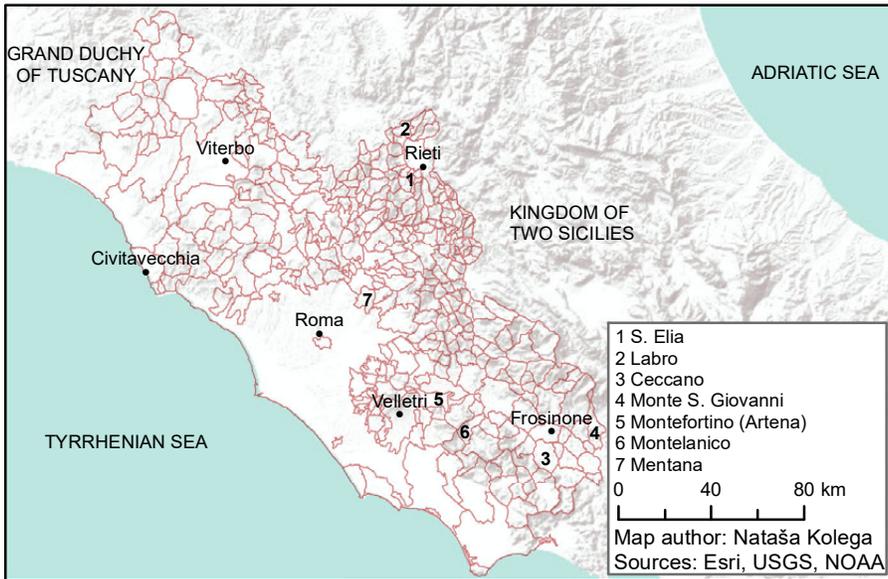
In Labro, a small village in the territory of the Rieti province, starting in 1849 and during the following year, the inhabitants, abusing the right to exercise the *jus lignandi* "legitimated the cutting of high-trunk trees to the prejudice of property [...] to make spokes, stakes, or charcoal in order to sell it to gain a profit".⁶ In this case as well, Rieti, about twenty kilometres away, represented a market of reference. The court's survey testified that 190 long-stemmed plants had been cut down, for an esteemed damage of over 53 *scudi*. A few months later, in the same village, a similar trial involved further inhabitants, self-confessed offenders to have felled oak trees, worth over 27 *scudi* in total, "to make beams", and to "make spokes for cart's wheels".⁷ The accused were peasants who used forest resources to integrate their budget. In this case as well, the housing structure of the settlement accounted for a wider dissemination of the population in the countryside: out of a total of 1,237 inhabitants, only 257 lived in the village, while the other 980 were spread out in the surrounding rural area (Ministero del commercio e lavori pubblici, 1857, 220). During the trials, the peasants accused of forest offences gave some clear and essential arguments: the propensity to offend was supported by "the need to live". So said the indicted of an offence committed around Rieti, where, during the winter of 1853–54, some people "almost every day, now together now individually" went into the forest to cut down oak and chestnut trees, then carried and sold them in Rieti. Also during the trials, the people under investigation, although declared to be guilty, added "to be really miserable, to make a living [...] by selling timber, and they were all industrious in cutting trees" (*d'essere tutti industriati nel taglio, e diramo di alberi*).⁸ In this case the offenders were all loggers, so the idea of income integration can be challenged, as the income deriving from their activity was a result of their primary occupation. Anyway, through their activity, they contributed towards the total income of the rural component of the village.

5 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 805 o.n., 15th May 1855, for the first offence; 10th April 1855 for the other two.

6 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 805 o.n., 2nd April 1853. This note and the following ones indicate the date of the verdict, to which the examined events are referred.

7 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 805 o.n., 13th May 1853.

8 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 805 o.n., 10th April 1855.



Map 8.2: Case study area⁹

In the south area of Latium, neighbouring the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the town of Ceccano can be repeatedly traced in the trials of the Tribunal of the holy consult. Between 1850 and 1857 nine trials were launched for forest offences, in which some local peasants had been found guilty of cutting down trees within public properties, properties of aristocratic families, like Colonna and Torlonia, and local church properties.¹⁰ In many cases timber was used to make lime, and it is clearly mentioned in one case in which timber had been sold at the urban market of Frosinone.¹¹ In the nearby town of Monte S. Giovanni, also involved in a series of trials between 1856 and 1859,¹² it is remarkable to note the event of the 37 beeches that, after being cut down and transformed into timber and charcoal, had been carried over the nearby border with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The accused peasant, who had cut down trees on a municipal property, during his interrogation “admitted that to make a living he was industrious also

9 This map is based on the map published in Sansa 2006 and Sansa 2009.

10 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, bb. 805-806 o.n.

11 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 806 o.n., 22nd September 1857.

12 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, bb. 806-807 o.n.

in making charcoal” (*ammetteva che per vivere industriavasi anche a fare il carbone*).¹³

The commercialisation on longer, and more expensive, distances could be justified by the arrival of the goods in particularly demanding places of consumption, as in the case of the State’s capital city. The market in Rome expressed a demand which level, in terms of quantity and prices paid, could amortise the cost of transport. In Montefortino, today’s Artena, in the province of Velletri, over 50 kilometres away from Rome, the municipal prior ordered, without the legal permission of the central authorities, four workers, including a cooper, to cut down some turkey oaks “to make some hoops to be sold in Rome”.¹⁴ A load of timber, cleared out from the municipal woods of Montelanico, a town in the province of Velletri, about 70 kilometres from Rome, had been stopped on the way to Rome on 23rd February 1854. The offenders were three locals: two peasants that had acted together and a “smith mason”.¹⁵ In 1855, an amount of timber, cut down from the woods belonging to the noble Borghese family, located in the town of Mentana, had been sold in Rome, not much more than 20 kilometres away.¹⁶

3. Profit versus self-consumption

The official sources are full of critical considerations about the peasant’s use of forest resources, motivated only by what was then defined as “greed for profit” (*avidità di lucro*). A survey entitled “On the destruction of mountain woods”, submitted in June 1850 by Pietro Lanciani to the Minister of commerce and public works, identified, without fear of contradiction, peasants as guilty of forest destruction. According to Pietro Lanciani, who became chief engineer within the corps of pontifical engineers (also known as father of the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani), the peasants, in order to find new places for sowing, cut down wide portions of forest without getting any significant-benefits. In fact, due to the poor soil fertility, immediately scoured by rain, the crops never grew there for more than two years consecutively. None of the rural activities were free from responsibility: craftsmen, who chopped high-trunk trees coarsely for their manufactures, and

13 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 805 o.n., 21st April 1857.

14 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 807 o.n., 19th April 1859.

15 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 806 o.n., 29th January 1858 (date of the verdict).

16 ASR, *Tribunale della sacra consulta*, b. 806 o.n., 5th March 1858. The offence was committed on 10th June 1855.

let a great part of the log go idle; the charcoal makers, who cut down young plants in large amounts; farmers who, in order to supplement their animals' pasture, snapped branches to use the leaves, compromising the good growth of the entire tree. In all the cases, according to the opinion of Pietro Lanciani, it was remarkable, a significant negligence into their finished works, because peasants, in chopping trees, were only interested in their own convenience and their profit.¹⁷

Some years later, Mariano Gajani, who presented himself as a surgeon, health officer and editor of a pharmaceutical journal, addressed the Minister of commerce and public works in his own writing entitled: "About reckless freedom of tree cutting and in particular about the chopping of plants in the woodlands". The pamphlet included a critical analysis of the customs of rural inhabitants concerning their relationships with wood. In his opinion that relationship was characterised by two distinctive features: bad local customs and the greed for profit. None of the inhabitants could claim innocence of the "horrendous oakcide".¹⁸ The analysis of the pontifical health officer took on a particular significance also in light of the scientific texts cited in support of his own thesis, which showed signs of a wide circulation of issues related to forestry. Although the provided descriptions seem to be realistic, they did not consider the economic and social reasons at the root of the offences committed by peasants. According to a sclerotic view of reality, that tended to confirm the stereotype of the rough and ignorant peasant, the sole reason that could be admitted for "the destruction of the forest" was negligence for its own sake in getting possession of forest goods and the so called "greed for profit".

The negative image of peasants who destroyed the forest for their greed for profit was partly in contradiction with the regulations established by the papal government who, within another regulative context, hoped for the promotion of a greater industriousness (*industriosità*) among the peasant population. Promoted by Pius VII in 1816, there launched the compilation of the first particle land register of the entire Pontifical State, known as the Gregorian cadastre. The procedures concerning the elaboration of the cartographic materials were quite fast and ended in about 1822. All other operations, related to the elaboration of reference values, on the basis of which the calculation of registered land valuation were done, took more

17 ASR, *Ministero del Commercio, belle arti, industria, agricoltura e lavori pubblici*, b. 585 o.n., 11st June 1850.

18 ASR, *Ministero del Commercio, belle arti, industria, agricoltura e lavori pubblici*, b. 586 o.n., pamphlet sent on 12nd March 1859.

time. A wide series of surveys and statistics, aimed at knowing in depth the rural reality, is included in the archives of the institution that supervised these operations, the *Presidenza del Censo* (Presidency of Census). For example, in the early forties of the 19th century (1843), the Presidency of Census, sent a questionnaire to the heads of local governments to find out the state of agriculture, by asking for information about every sector of agricultural activities, geological conditions and infrastructure. In particular, question number 15 referred to “the main improvements in lands cultivation from 1810 to the present day”. The answers provided by the local institutions, and the time taken to provide them, emphasised meaningful differences. The answer from the province of Macerata revealed that the improvements lied “in the subdivision of many farms, reduced in medium and small, with an increase of farmhouses and, consequently, of families and individuals assigned to agriculture”.¹⁹ As regards the adjacent province of Ascoli, it was reported that the improvements had been similar to those executed in the other territories within the Marche region: “new plantations of trees with vines, olives and mulberry [...] the most extended farms have been divided into small land tenure so farmhouses, families and individuals assigned to agriculture were increased”.²⁰ Otherwise, in the province of Viterbo it was noted that “agriculture in this province has remained unchanged for a long time”. Only two main systems of agriculture were in use in this province: small tenures, “practised in the neighbourhood of the villages with industrial plantations” (*esercitata nei luoghi prossimi all’abitato e vestiti di piantagioni industriali*), and extensive agriculture.²¹

The purpose of the papal government, during the 19th century, was to increase sharecropping cultivation already present in some regions of the State. To define this kind of initiative, the expression “to cover industrially” the soil was often used. The presence of the so called “industrial” cultivations referred to the image of “vertical cropping,” as the promiscuous sharecropping cultivation has also been defined, Moroni (2003). The specialised woody crops (olive, vine, mulberries, and chestnuts) were defined as industrial because they increased the value of farm production and because, as in the case of the mulberries, they represented a bridge between the primary and secondary sector. Moreover, such cultivations improved the industriousness of the rural population, by increasing farm activities,

19 ASR, *Presidenza del Censo*, b. 1914, September 1843.

20 ASR, *Presidenza del Censo*, b. 1914, February 1845.

21 ASR, *Presidenza del Censo*, b. 1915, October 1851.

the work in the fields and the total income that could be obtained. According to such a view, the farmer, as a simple labourer only active during certain periods of the year, would be transformed into a member of the sharecropping system (*mezzadria*), an always active production unit.

An aspect that can explain the purposes of the papal government is the initiative to reward the new plantations of trees, which started in 1830 and perpetuated with more funds during the 1850s. Between 1831 and 1842, 308,000 olives and 205,000 mulberries were planted. In the decade between 1850 and 1859, 243,000 olives, 362,000 chestnuts, 240,000 poplars, 57,000 mulberries and 10,000 almonds were planted, in addition to citrus fruits, walnuts, pines, firs and oaks (Pescosolido 1994, 103–4). On one hand the initiative of the peasants, who acted autonomously to integrate their income, was subjected to the penalty of forest laws, while on the other hand the papal government wanted to increase the industriousness of the countryside, promoting a market integrated farming system.

Some conclusions

The activities carried out by peasants to integrate their income have been traditionally included by historiography in the interpretative category of pluriactivity. The researches inspired by pluriactivity had a particularly ‘fertile’ time about the end of the 1980s. Within Italian historiography they had the chance to specify in which way this idea had to be understood as a “strategy pursuing new income and job opportunities for some members of the [peasant] family”, instead of a “pure and simple occasional income integration” (Cazzola 1988, 83). Paolo Villani, in the introduction to the special issue of the journal *Annali dell’Istituto Alcide Cervi* dedicated to pluriactivity, distinguished between the value of this interpretative category in French historiography, which speaks of “pluriactivité” or “multiactivité”, only in the presence of another activity in the secondary or tertiary sectors, and the Italian historiography, in which the term is referred also to the “additional employments” within the agricultural sector. However, “the very definition of pluriactivity in the rigorous French meaning of a second, off-farm activity seems insufficient to account for multi-professionality or job insecurity among the inhabitants of the Italian countryside” (Villani 1989, 16–7). The reference was constituted by collected essays published in France in 1984 and 1988 (Association des ruralistes français 1984; Garrier and Hubscher 1988). Recently, starting from Gauro Coppola’s considerations on the early modern Alpine economy as an “integrated economy”

(Coppola 1991), and focusing on Slovenian preindustrial peasant activities, an interpretative category, defined integrated peasant economy, has been proposed (Panjek 2015). In the integrated peasant economy, the activities of peasant society mixed different sectors, they were market-oriented, and gave the chance to integrate their income by improving the local economy's flexibility. As integrated peasant economy activities cross through boundaries between the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, it reveals itself as a concept that can include and resolve the issues of the historiographical debate about pluriactivity. The debate of the eighties, in fact, concerned with the implications of the Mendels' model of proto-industrialisation, trying to give alternative interpretations to the relationship between proto-industry and agriculture that in Mendels' model remained unclear.

At this point, one can legitimately wonder whether peasants' forest activities can be involved in the notion of integrated peasant economy. As specified in the above-mentioned examples, wood cutting and its sale were market-oriented (in a period in which timber and wood fuel demand was increasing in urban markets). Moreover, this activity bridged the gap between different sectors, also because some timber was used to make products for the secondary sector, even if this process was still led by artisanal small producers. It remains unclear how much this activity improved "peasant flexibility", that is if this kind of integration was structural or occasional, and, consequently, how much it contributed to increase the carrying-capacity of the environment in which peasants lived.

The notion integrated peasant economy represents a step forward that encourages a renewal of the studies on peasants' economy. Moreover, it seems to be in line with the analysis that, within recent studies carried out through a new theoretical approach which joins rural sociology and the sociology of development, refers to pluriactivity as one of the factors that reduce "dependence upon banking circuits and moneylenders" and provides further resources, also in terms of major autonomy, the peasants societies in the age of globalisation (van der Ploeg 2008, 33).

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9 Peasant Population and Income Integration: The Case of the Trieste Port-Town Hinterland (Karst, 16th–20th Centuries)

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Map 9.1: Case study area

Introduction

This article investigates the demographic development in the karstic hinterland of Trieste from the mid-16th to the early 20th century. The Trieste territory was the rural district (in It. *Territorio* or *Distretto*, their inhabitants were called *territoriali* or *distrettuali*) of the Triestine municipality. It surrounded the port city of Trieste in the north-eastern Adriatic region stretching from the north-west towards the south-east and was divided into two areas, differing by settlement typology, land property structure and agricultural features. The plain and hilly area close to the city was characterised, until the mid-19th century, by sparse peasant settlements and was then progressively penetrated by urbanisation. The external part of the municipality instead consisted of a series of peasant villages distributed on the karstic plateau at a height ranging from 290 to 350 metres above sea level. Here the peasants were small farmers, organised in village communities. The villages were mostly of medieval origin. They were the result of the colonisation undertaken by the city bishops. The villages Lonjer, Bazovica, Gropada, Križ, Prosek, Opčine and Trebče are first documented in the 13th and 14th centuries. Their origins supposedly date back to around the year 1000 when the Triestine diocese was held by German bishops, who promoted the settlement of Slavic peasants in the city karstic surroundings. The village of Kontovel was established in 1413, while those of Padriče and Bani respectively, in the first half of the 15th century and in 1619. These villages were not faced with urbanisation. However, their economic, social and demographic development were tightly connected with and influenced by the city.

The study of the demography of the Trieste rural district in the long run is quite a problematic matter because of very sporadic and uncertain population statistics prior to the second half of the 18th century. For the Early Modern times the so called *perticazioni* (measurements) are the only known sources with this respect. They consist of two cultivated plots' censuses conducted by the Triestine municipal authority in 1525¹ and in 1647–48.² They also include a list of the farmers, on which the population number can be estimated (Montanelli 1905, 89–96; Merkù 1994).

1 BCT, AD, *Libro di perticazioni di S.ta Croce, Proseco e Contovello fatto nell'A.no 1522* (1525).

2 BCT, AD, *Perticazioni di tutti li Terreni esistenti nel Territ.o della Città di Trieste* (1647–48).

The first detailed and reliable population data referring to the rural territory date not before the 1770s, when the conscription system was introduced in Austria to keep the evidence of the population for military and civic needs. In 1773 the first conscription of the Trieste rural area took place along with the numbering of the houses. In 1777–78 it was followed by a more detailed census based on the upgraded conscription system. For both censuses the nominative registers of the population are preserved, while for the conscriptions conducted in the following decades only summary aggregated data are available (Montanelli 1905, 42; Kalc 2004). Conscription population data disaggregated by single villages are available for the years 1800, 1810, 1818 and 1846. At the mid-19th century starts the data series of the modern censuses, which were taken in 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910.

The focus of this contribution is on the demographic development in the karstic area of the Trieste rural district. For this area the longest series of population data are at our disposal and the vital statistics can also be involved. Indeed, the area mostly coincides with the church administrative borders and the census data can be combined with the vital statistics. Instead, in the rest of the rural territory such a comparison is not possible because of discrepancies and discontinuities in the church administration geography.

1. The population in numbers

The first reliable population data referring to the whole area under our scrutiny dates back to the years 1647–48. This census, that the municipal administration took to measure the peasants' crops, listed 309 farmers in the karstic villages. Assuming that all of them had a family and each family had an average of five members, it is possible to imagine a population of 1545 people, while the population by single villages is displayed in Table 9.1. On the same assumption the villages of Križ, Prosek and Kontovel should have had, in 1525, about 300 inhabitants. These three villages, the only ones taken into account by that earlier census, were the most populated in those times. Their best land consisted of vineyards in a terrace system located on the slope decreasing from the edge of the karstic plateau towards the sea. Here viticulture already existed in Roman times.

The other, major part of the karstic area, partly wooded and mostly stony and desolate, was sparsely populated. Here there were no land and climate conditions suitable to bear fine crops. The temperatures are quite a

lot lower than in the area between the shore and the karstic edge. The land is exposed to a strong and cold north-eastern wind called *burja* (Slovene) or *bora* (Italian), the earth's layer is thin and the cultivating plots had to be obtained by removing the rocks and delivering extra soil. They also needed to be walled in order to prevent wind erosion. Another problem was the lack of water. In these conditions the peasant agrarian economy was limited to field crops and livestock production, while the wine production was mostly aimed at satisfying local popular consumption (Panjek 2015).

Table 9.1: Population of the Trieste Karst villages 1525–1910

Year	Križ	Prosek	Konto- vel	Opči- ne	Bani	Treb- če	Padri- če	Gro- pada	Bazo- vica	Li- pi- ca	Lon- jer	Sum
1525*	75	150	75									500
1648*	375	280	280	155	5	100	25	65	205	5	50	1545
1778	487	414	396	413	96	245	98	112	299	58	157	2775
1800	566	482	328	478	112	295	97	135	355	51	174	3073
1810	620	533	475	635	113	283	107	146	370	51	231	3564
1818	724	629	518	779	130	332	116	160	421	51	223	4083
1846	1032	980	801	1387	161	479	182	247	674		509	6452
1869	1223	1136	852	1458	183	630	182	330	701		589	7284
1880	1372	1135	897	1392	215	693	217	366	757	57	579	7680
1890	1503	1102	931	1441	211	718	246	390	742	74	592	7950
1900	1721	1007	936	1442	206	722	254	394	745	80	651	8158
1910	1778	1148	1003	1977	235	792	301	422	872	93	754	9375

* Estimated population

The period from the mid-15th to the early 17th century was a very troubled one. Trieste had to face the hostilities of the dominating power in the Adriatic, the *Serenissima* (Venetian Republic), whose periodical attacks and destructions heavily damaged the Triestine economic infrastructures under Austrian rule. Over this long time span the Trieste economy and especially the trade was also suffering because of Uskoks' piracy in the Eastern Adriatic, while from 1600 to 1602 the plague raged the area. Only after the peace treaty with the *Serenissima* in 1617 the conditions for economic growth became more favourable, although maritime and commercial activities continued to suffer because of Venetian impositions and disturbing



Map 9.2: The Trieste district villages on the Karst

strategies. As a consequence the agrarian economy, especially vine production, and salt panning, which constituted two important pillars of Triestine economy, received great attention and impulse (Montanelli 1905, 16–22).

After 1617 the population of the city increased, registering two phases of decrease at the middle and at the end of the century followed by stagnation until the city was granted the status of free port in 1719 (Montanelli 1905, 26–33). This point marks the beginning of a new era in the development of the Trieste population, characterised by a continuous increase, deriving especially from mass immigration (Breschi, Kalc, and Navarra 2003; Kalc 2008). Favourable conditions for immigration and settlement also arose in the agrarian district of the municipality (Navarra 1993; Kalc 2009).

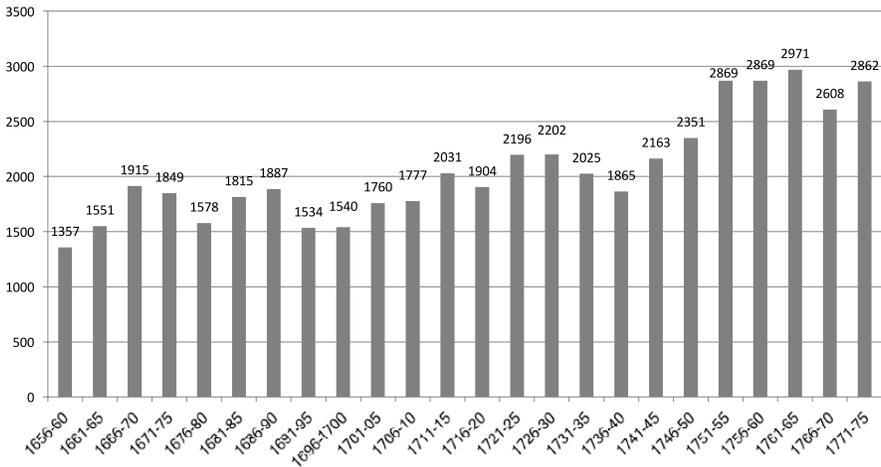
Let's look at the development of the population in the villages of the karstic area in the same time span. As mentioned, in the first half of the 16th century the population here was very few in number. Its concentration in the villages of Križ, Prosek and Kontovel, in the western part of the area, was supposedly even higher than in 1647–48, since the village of Bani did not exist at that time yet while that of Padriče received its first peasant settlers. Adopting the ratio of the distribution in 1647–48 it is possible to evaluate the population of the central and eastern part of the karstic district at about 2000. In spite of several negative factors, however, the population in

the whole karstic district had registered a very significant growth until the middle of the 17th century. Indeed, according to the *perticazione* of 1647–48 it tripled. New peasant settlers from the hinterland immigrated in that period in the karstic as well as in the flysch area. As chroniclers' reports prove, they tended to introduce livestock also in the part of the agrarian area under the edge of the karst plateau. This was in contrast with the communal statutes and sometimes brought about expulsions (Montanelli 1905, 34–35). A considerable demographic growth took place over this long time span also in the broader hinterland of Trieste. It occurred in the second and third quarters of the 16th century in terms of repopulation and further colonisation of the areas, which had been devastated during the greatest Turk incursion at the end of the 15th century (Panjek 2015, 100).

The next, and the first exact figure on the number of the population in the area under the consideration dates just in 1777–78. The census (military conscription) of that year noticed in the karstic villages a population of 2775 (Kalc 2004). By involving the birth series, available since the mid-17th century (Montanelli 1905, 80–7), it is possible to evaluate the extent and trace the dynamic of the demographic growth in this more than one century long phase. The birth numbers or natality, which fluctuate around quite constant averages in the long run, constitute a useful basis to approximate the number of the population and especially to observe the tendencies of the development. This dynamic from the mid-17th to the second half of the 18th century appears along with the population estimates in Graph 9.1. It has been calculated on the basis of a five year birth average and a ratio of 1 birth per 27.59 inhabitants, in other terms a birth rate of 36.25 per mil. The coefficient has been obtained comparing the population number of 1647–48 and the birth average of the years 1658–1662, the closest with the reliable birth data (previously the birth data seemed clearly too low).

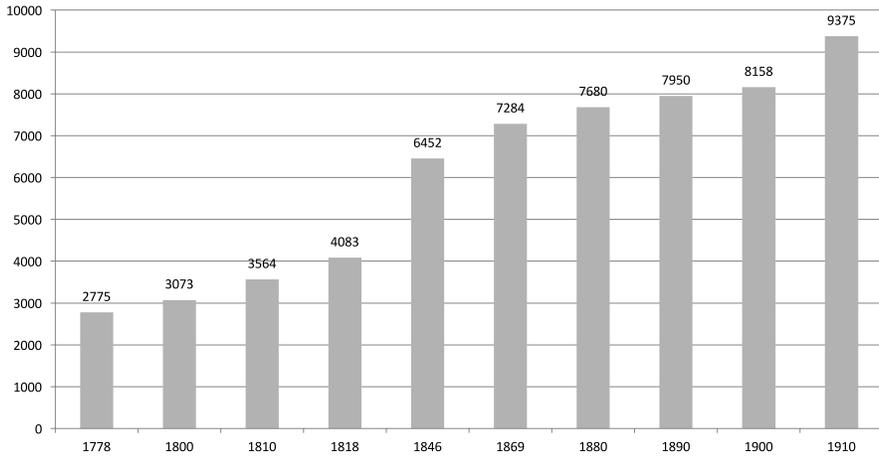
The dynamic of the first half of the century cannot be displayed because of missing birth data. It is nevertheless possible to infer that after the peace with the Venetian republic, signed in 1617 in Madrid, the population of the karstic district increased as that of a city until the middle of the century. The year 1650 was marked by a famine, which entailed a drop in population. A positive growth tendency followed until the end of the 1660s, when it became uncertain and very oscillating. In the 1670s there was a drop, in the next decade an increase and in the 1690s a new fall. At the beginning of the 18th century the number of the population was more or less the same as in the middle of the 16th century.

A stronger impulse in the growth is evident in the first decades of the 18th century, especially after the proclamation of the free port in 1719. In the first half of the 18th century the population average annual growth rate was 8.5 per mil. In the late 1730s and early 1740s, however, the implementation of the free port project faced with a crisis, rooted in institutional and organisational issues, that negatively reflected in the demography. With the reformation of the regional administrative system (the establishment of the Austrian Littoral region), the legislation improvements and the introduction of a governance for mercantile affairs in the 1750s (Faber 1995) the port city started to take off and the population growth of the entire municipality became livelier.



Graph 9.1: Population of the Trieste Karst villages 1656-1775 estimated on the basis of the birth rates

In the mid-1760s another crisis influenced growth. Just in the 1770s the demographic rise became more evident. The estimations on the basis of the birth rates give a higher population number in the 1770s compared to the conscription data. Presumably the numbers in the former decades too, were lower than those displayed in the figure, because the birth rates changed within that period. Indeed, according to the quite trustworthy conscription data, a ratio of 1 birth per 22.75 people can be observed. This corresponds to about a 44 per mil birth rate. The coefficient for the 17th century has been adopted in Graph 9.1 until the 1770s only to give an idea of the long run growth dynamic.



Graph 9.2: Population of the Trieste Karst villages 1778–1910 (conscription and census data)

The further discussion is not hypothetical anymore, it is based on real data, until 1846 on those of the conscriptions, from 1869 onwards on modern censuses. In the last three decades of the 18th century the average birth number steadily increased, rising almost 60% (from 103.8 to 161.6). However, this trend did not translate into a comparable population growth. The population rise was only of 11% or an average annual growth of 4.6 per mil.

The causes of this discrepancy are to be searched for in the troubling events and negative factors that occurred at the end of the century. From 1789 to 1800 (for this period aggregated vital statistics for the municipality are available) the deaths surpassed the births by 16%. In 1791 and 1799 only the natural increase was positive. The mortality peaks occurred in 1794, 1796 and especially in 1800, when the surplus of deaths amounted to 50%. In this decade Trieste witnessed a very troubled phase. In the first half the city suffered because of the war between Austria and France, in the second because of the French occupation. The mortality increase was nevertheless especially due to smallpox, which reached its peaks in 1789, 1792, 1796 and 1800. In the last two years they provoked respectively 485 and 439 deaths, while in the time span 1789–1800 the illness took away 1404 lives.

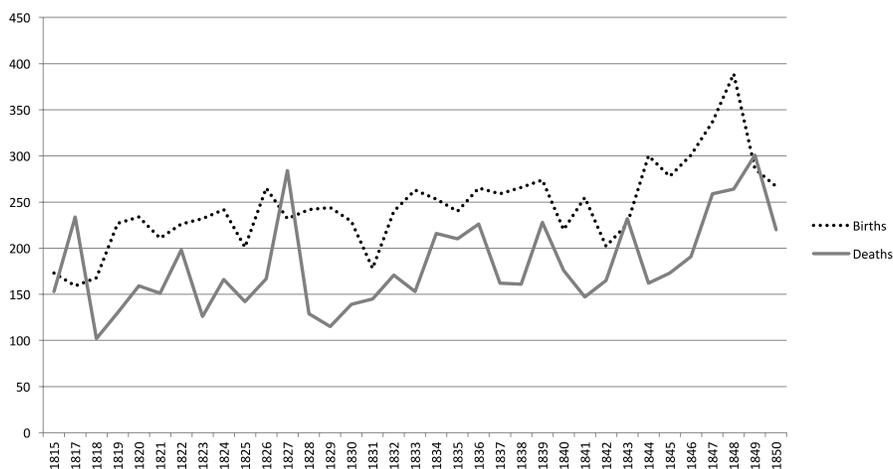
What about the karstic district? Specific birth and death data referring to the whole area is not available for the 1790s. Anyway, the vital statistics of one of its church administration districts show that the mortality had not such a negative influence on the natural rates as in the city. The

births considerably exceeded in number. The growth of the population was nevertheless affected by emigration. In this phase the city evidently attracted besides others, also the inhabitants of the closer surrounding areas, who left their villages due to economic needs or in search of better life and work opportunities.

Table 9.2: Population and annual growth rate (per mil) in the Trieste Karst villages 1648–1910

Year	Population	Annual growth rate
1648	1545	
1700	1540	-0.1
1750	2351	8.5
1778	2775	5.9
1800	3073	4.6
1810	3564	14.8
1818	4083	17.0
1846	6452	16.3
1869	7284	5.3
1880	7680	4.8
1890	7950	3.5
1900	8158	2.6
1910	9375	13.9

The first two decades of the 19th century were also marked by exceptional political and warfare events that directly or indirectly affected the economic conditions. On one hand Trieste took advantage of the fall of the *Serenissima* in 1797 and strengthened its maritime and mercantile position. However, the growth of the city saw some standstills during the second (1806) and especially the third French occupation and the period of the Illyric provinces (1809–1813). In that period maritime activities diminished because of the continental and navigation blockade, which led to a demographic collapse with between one third and a half of the population of the city temporarily left (Kalc 2011). Despite these events and some peaks of super-mortality the population registered a considerable increase over this period, which continued further until the middle of the century (Breschi, Kalc, and Navarra 2001, 95).



Graph 9.3: Births and deaths in the parish of Opčine and the chaplaincies of Prosek, Bazovica, Križ and Kontovel 1815–1850

In the karstic district, this was the phase of the fastest population growth of the whole time span considered. In the first two decades of the 19th century the pace of growth (14.8 per mil) was three times as high as in the previous phase and was still increasing. The changes of rule and the administration systems, the unfavourable economic conditions, the war taxes and duties imposed as well as the obligations and services requested by the French administration to the peasant population and several other factors had a negative impact on economic life. For instance, the peasants were involved in cartage for the administration and military needs, not only within the Triestine area. Their journeys often lasted several days and had to reach destinations as far as Ljubljana. However, in the times of the Illyric provinces the inhabitants of the villages did not leave, since as peasants they were rooted to their land. At the beginning of the Restoration an agrarian crisis and a rise in mortality also had a negative demographic impact. It reached its peak in 1816 and especially in 1817, after the second consequently very poor harvest caused by the eruption of volcano Tambora of 1815, which brought about extraordinary climatic disturbances. In 1817 the number of deaths in the Triestine commune increased by 76% compared to 1816 (Brodmann 1821, 102). In the karstic district, however, the natural growth rate was considerably positive in these decades, with only a few cas-

es of death surplus (Graph 9.3). This and a positive migration rate as well contributed to an annual average population rise of 17 per mil.

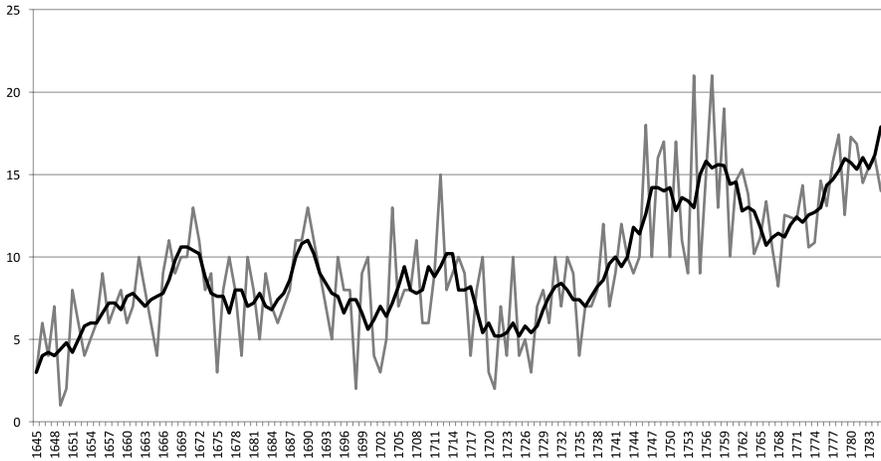
After 1818 growth continued with almost the previous pace (16.33 per mil) until the mid-19th century. In this phase the natural rate was also considerably more positive, despite several crises of mortality in the years of epidemics. Mortality highly surpassed natality in 1827 and less in 1843 and 1849 (Graph 9.3). The cholera epidemic of 1836 did not have such tragic consequences as in the city, where it took away 1700 lives (Breschi, Kalc, and Navarra 2001, 109). Between 1818 and 1846 the population of the karstic district increased by almost 60% in number, while from the beginning of the century by 110%.

In the second half of the century the growth continued to be positive, but considerably lower, as is evident from Table 9.2 and Graph 9.2. From 1846 to the second modern state census in 1869 (data by villages are not available for the first census of 1857) the average annual increase was of 5.3 per mil, while in the following three decades it steadily diminished. The 1870s saw a general crisis of the agrarian economy. A new phase of fast growth took place in the first decade of the 20th century with an annual average rate of 13.9 per mil. The fluctuations observed partly reflect the general state of the economy in Austria, but they are especially connected with the specific development of the city. In the second half of the century, the economic potentiality of the free port institute, that had allowed the expansion of maritime and the commercial city, started to decline and to show its inappropriateness in facing the challenges of the Modern Era. That's why in 1891 the free port was abolished and transformed into an entreport. This and the rise of industrialisation led to a new phase of economic expansion and livelier demographic growth (Breschi, Kalc, and Navarra 2001, 161).

2. The case of Bazovica chaplaincy

The outlined demographic development of the karstic district can be analysed a bit more in detail in the case of the Bazovica chaplaincy. This included the villages of Bazovica, Gropada, Padriče and Lipica (the imperial stud farm) in the eastern part of the karstic district. For the years from the mid-17th century to the 1780s, when the area was ruled by the parish of Dolina and more precisely by its curacy in Gročana, only the birth series is at our disposal (Montanelli 1905). From 1785 onwards, when the Bazovica church became a chaplaincy and got its own priest, the complete original data from registers have been involved. The demographic development of the Bazovica chaplaincy mostly coincides and is representative of the development of

the entire karstic district with some exceptions in which it differs and presents specific traits.



Graph 9.4: Births in the chaplaincy of Bazovica 1645–1800 (absolute values and 5-year mobile average)

The period from the mid-17th to the end of the 18th century is analysed by means of the birth statistics, which are displayed in Graph 9.4. The estimation of the population by adopting the birth coefficient is not appropriate in this case, because it generates excessive fluctuations. The movements of birth events can be nevertheless considered as a good indicator of the growth's tendency. In the second half of the 17th century and in the first two decades of the 18th century three waves of rising and falling of the births are observed, which undoubtedly correspond to an oscillation of the population number. At the end of this period, however, the population number seems not to have been significantly more than at the beginning, this is about 300 or something more. Then the population considerably increased in the 1740s and 1750s. Adopting the ratio between births and the population number occurring in correspondence with the conscription of 1777–78 its number can be estimated at about 530. The 1760s again were a period of depression coinciding with the crisis affecting the city. A new phase of increase followed in the 1770s and continued until 1810.

Until 1800 Bazovica also witnessed some years of negative natural balance, this is in the years of smallpox epidemics 1789 and 1797. However, natality was much higher than mortality in the long period and the annual

natural increase was of 9.5 per mil. As observed in the whole area, this increase did not correspond comparably to the growth of the population due to the emigration, which diminished the natural increase effect by 4.1 per mil yearly (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Population, growth, natural and migration rates in the chaplaincy of Bazovica

Year	Population	Growth rate	Birth rate	Death rate	Natural increase rate	Net migration rate
	a	b	c	d	e = c-d	f = b-e
1648	300					
1778	567	4.9				
1800	638	5.4	38.2	28.7	9.5	-4.1
1810	674	5.5	42.7	39.6	3.0	2.4
1818	748	13.0	35.9	31.5	4.4	8.6
1846	1130	14.7	44.9	30.2	14.8	-0.2
1869	1213	3.1	39.9	34.9	5.0	-1.9
1880	1397	12.8	41.9	34.2	7.7	5.2
1890	1452	3.9	39.7	29.3	10.4	-6.5
1900	1473	1.4	35.5	30.2	5.3	-3.9
1910	1688	13.6	38.4	22.0	16.5	-2.8

The Bazovica territory differed from the rest of the karstic district because of a delay in the faster growth. This started only after 1810 to strengthen after 1818. Until then the rise was supported by the immigration, while in the following years until the middle of the century the population increased thanks to a considerably higher natural surplus. In the first two decades of the century the population growth was presumably boosted by immigration in the entire area, especially in the largest villages. The discrepancy in the growth between Bazovica and the other district zones reflect different development potentialities of some villages especially, which benefited from a more favourable geographical position and many more opportunities of involvement into the city economy, as will be further discussed.

In the second half of the century the development in the Bazovica chaplaincy again differed from the rest of the karstic district. In the 1850s and 1860s the increase of the population was lower, while it exceeded in

the 1870s. This was probably connected with the fact that in 1872 Bazovica became the administrative site of the eastern kartsic district before it was moved to Opčine in 1885. This seems to be also proven by the immigration that contributed 40% to the rise in population. In the 1880s and 1890s the growth steadily declined in line with the general tendency. In the new century it became livelier again and equalled the district level. From the 1880s onwards the growth was driven as between 1818 and 1869 by the natural increase. Both periods were also characterised by the emigration, which took place after phases of augmented natural increase and in compliance with crises, as a consequence of imbalances between the population number and the economic resources. After the highest rates in the 1880s the emigration steadily dropped even though natality reached its highest rate in the first decade of the 20th century, determining one of the most relevant population growths.

Returning to the development dynamic during the entire time span considered, a relatively low natality rate can be observed still in the first few decades of the 18th century in the urban and rural parts of the municipality. Pietro Montanelli in his seminal work of 1905 estimated it at an average of about 33 per mil, which is confirmed by the most recent studies (Montanelli 1905, 29; Breschi, Kalc, and Navarra 2001, 93). In the karstic villages it amounted, according to our estimates, to about 36 per mil. In the first decades of the free port era it started to increase reaching 38 per mil by the middle of the century, 43 per mil at the time of the conscription of 1777–78 and more than 50 per mil in 1800.

In the Bazovica chaplaincy natality was considerably lower than the average. It amounted to less than 30 per mil in 1778 and rose to 44 per mil by the end of the century. This discrepancy derives in part from the population of Lipica, which mostly included single servants and labourers, and the presence of a permanent squadron of border guards in the village of Bazovica. The contribution of Lipica to the natural increase started only in the 1880s, still remaining very scarce. As the data of Table 9.3 shows, the natality in the Bazovica chaplaincy in 19th century oscillated around 40 per mil. Only in the new century it more evidently entered a phase of transition. Mortality also maintained high rates in line with the pre-modern demographic regime. On average it was higher than 30 per mil and in some periods reached 40 per mil. During the 19th century it peaked above natality many times, the most considerably in 1807, 1817, 1835, 1855, 1866, 1870 and 1894. This was in coincidence with several epidemics, but did not affect the

positive though variable growth of population very much. This was the result of high birth rates especially, since the transitional mortality decline occurred only at the beginning of the 20th century.

3. The influence of the city expansion

In the demographic development of the whole karstic district over the long term there were, as seen, several distinctive phases. Despite several troubles in the 125 year long period prior to the mid-17th century, the growth can be estimated to an annual average of 9 per mil. We can imagine a very fluctuating real dynamic and suppose that the rise was considerably as a result of settlements of immigrant peasant families of diverse origin, but mostly coming from the Slovenian hinterland. Moreover, many elements let us suppose that the rise was particularly strong in the first half of the 17th century, especially after the end of the conflicts with the Venetian republic in 1617, when Trieste benefited from a period of peace. The second half of the 17th century was a troubled phase too, by the end of which the number of the population did not change significantly. A new period of increase started in the 18th century after the city was granted the status of free port and started to expand as the maritime emporium of the Austrian empire. The whole municipal area was under a special tax free system and the population of its rural part was also exempted from several duties (including the compulsory military service). The new demographic trends become evident in the second half of the century with the considerable rise in birth rates. Natality remained firmly above the insidious mortality in the long term supporting a positive natural balance. Its effect, however, was eroded by emigration, especially in the final decade.

The favourable ratio between natality and mortality led to better results in terms of growth of population in the first half of the 19th century. This was the phase of the fastest rise, which coincided with the trend in the whole Slovenian area, especially in its western and eastern parts (Zwitter 1936, 86). In the karstic district of the Triestine municipality growth was also supported by immigration. From the middle of the century until WWI, conversely, it was affected (save the 1870s) by negative migration rates. Until the end of the 19th century the population system was that of the old regime demography with high natality and mortality rates. The interplay of these two factors was very intensive, however, in the long run natality prevailed contributing to a constant though variable population growth. The signals of the demographic transition became evident only at the end

of the 19th century, before it came about in the 20th century with a considerable drop in mortality while natality still remained at the previous levels.

Table 9.4: Distribution of the population (a) and annual growth rates (b) in the Triestine karstic district in the period 1648–1910

a)

Year	Western area	Central area	Eastern area	Sum
1648	60.5	16.8	22.7	100.0
1778	46.7	27.2	26.1	100.0
1800	44.8	28.8	26.4	100.0
1810	45.7	28.9	25.4	100.0
1818	45.8	30.4	23.8	100.0
1846	43.6	31.4	25.0	100.0
1869	44.1	31.2	24.7	100.0
1880	44.3	29.9	25.7	100.0
1890	44.5	29.8	25.7	100.0
1900	44.9	29.1	26.0	100.0
1910	41.9	32.0	26.0	100.0

b)

Year	Western area	Central area	Eastern area	District
1648	9.2			
1778	2.5	8.2	5.6	4.5
1800	2.7	7.3	5.2	4.6
1810	16.8	15.3	10.8	14.8
1818	17.4	23.2	8.8	17.0
1846	14.6	17.5	18.1	16.3
1869	5.8	4.9	4.8	5.3
1880	5.3	1.2	8.4	4.8
1890	3.8	3.0	3.4	3.5
1900	3.6	0.0	3.8	2.6
1910	7.0	23.7	14.0	13.9

The demographic development of the Triestine karstic district followed the general demographic trends over time. At the same time it was influenced by the development of the port and the Trieste urban agglomerate. One aspect of this incidence was the change in the distribution of the population in the 18th century (Table 9.4). As stated, in the previous phases the population was concentrated in the north-western part of the district. At the mid-17th century 60% of the population lived in the villages of Križ, Prosek and Kontovel, though the settlements in the central and the eastern part of the district had risen compared to the 16th century. In the second half of the 18th century the population of this part increased to 55% of the district. This change can be defined as a structural one.

The population in the karstic district of Trieste were peasants and farming was for the majority the primary economic activity over the whole period considered. The peasants were mostly small landowners and their farms were constituted by different plots of land. The farms were mostly conducted by involving the family labour force. The relatively richer households had servants (in 1778 only 13% of the families, which employed on the average 1 male or female servant, Kalc 2009). The western villages included, as mentioned, land on the karst plateau and especially on the terraced slope declining towards the sea, where intensive viticulture was traditionally present. The vine and partly the olive oil constituted the basis of a lively market economy. The wine here was the finest produced in the Trieste territory, it was sold in the city and exported abroad. Moreover, Trieste wine benefited from a regime of protection, aimed at supporting the local producers because of higher production costs. No imported wine was allowed until the wine produced in the Trieste municipal area had been consumed or sold (Kalc 2005). The three western villages had also a very favourable location along the road towards Friuli and Italy. In addition, in Križ and Kontovel a traditional source of income was fishery (Volpi Lisjak 1995).

The peasant economy in the central and eastern part of the karstic district of Trieste did not include more profitable agrarian cultures. Some villages had small viticultural areas and some villagers cultivated hired vineyards in the lower flysch area. However, the vast majority of the land at their disposal was karstic and the agrarian economy was limited to field crops and livestock. In older times this consisted primarily of sheep-breeding, then of cattle farming for milk production. Thanks to the proximity of the city, the peasants also had the opportunity of selling products and integrating their income by offering services or participating in the urban la-

bour market. The increase of the population during the 18th century is to be considered in connection with the expanding demand for foodstuff in the city and opportunities in non-agrarian activities (Kandler 1846; Dorsi 1989; Kalc 2009; Panjek 2015, 90, 101–2).

With the booming of the maritime emporium the central and the eastern karstic area of Trieste gained a favourable position because of being passed through by the main traffic routes between the city and its wider hinterland. This is particularly true for the villages of Bazovica and Opčine. Bazovica was situated on the road to Rijeka, which was built in the 1760s. The village became a rest station for cartmen and their yoke animals, the place of the customs house and the seat of the border guards. In the mid-1780s the chaplaincy of Bazovica was established while in the 1790s an elementary school was opened. Bazovica had the biggest territory among the karstic villages including crop fields, meadows and extensive grazing lands, all also combined with scattered trees, typical for the karstic landscape as a whole, and an area of wood. The location of Opčine was even better and more favourable for taking advantage of the traffic. The village laid on the crossing between the road to Carniola and the central Austrian provinces and that heading towards Italy. The position of the village improved after the opening of the road section directly connecting it with the city and shortening a lot the travel distance for merchandise and people. This offered new income opportunities for the locals from Opčine and Trebče: they were engaged with their oxes as a supportive traction force for the carriages traveling up and down the very steep new road connection between the karstic plateau and the city underneath. This activity lasted until a new gentle sloping path was built in 1830s (Zubini 2007).

With the expansion of the city, the villagers of the karstic area had been offered opportunities for extra-agrarian income also in the construction of infrastructure, especially for the transportation of materials. They were involved in this and in road maintenance in the framework of the duties they owed to the public interest. Once finished the *corvée* they continued to provide paid service and to get involved in other construction activities. Some richer peasants became contractors of road maintenance employing their fellow villagers as labourers. With the urban agglomerate and the request for construction materials rapidly expanding in some villages they opened stone quarries, and were engaged in preparing, transporting and selling stony material and in other services (Panjek 2015; *Krajevni leksikon* 1990).

The expansion of the city and its population in the 19th century also brought changes in the agrarian economy. In the areas closer to the city, an intensive vegetable production for the city foodstuff market took place. In the karstic district, instead, the cattle breeding for milk production developed a lot. Livestock was a traditional specialisation in the karstic area, which transformed in accordance with the city market. In the first decades of the 19th century sheep-breeding still represented an important branch, while cattle-breeding consisted especially in breeding oxes to be employed as work animals in agriculture and to provide transportation services. Soon sheep-breeding diminished a lot and cattle-breeding became the basis of the peasant economy with the cows for milk production and the meadows, obtained by the time consuming work of removing rocks, steadily increasing in extent. Cattle-breeding was of special importance in the eastern part of the karstic district of Trieste, where it became the leading activity. In the western part, in Prosek especially, a new culture entered the agrarian economy thanks to the appropriate climate and land morphology besides livestock and viticulture: the floriculture (Krajevni leksikon 1991). In both the milk production and the floriculture the women had a prominent role, for the selling of flowers and milk in the city was within their domain.

In the western villages the peasant economy was more articulated than in the eastern one and during the 19th century it became even more heterogeneous. In Križ and Kontovel the fishery gained increasing importance transforming from a supplementary into a primary economic resource for a rising number of families. On the one hand this process was connected with the modernisation of the economy and its adjustment to the city market demand. On the other hand it was a consequence of the social segmentation, the fragmentation of the land property and the proletarianisation of those with few or without land. Indeed, the fishermen class itself was an even more segmented one. It included the boat owners with a leading entrepreneurial elite, who managed to put its activity on capitalistic level, and fishermen employed on the village fellows' boats. The differentiation between farmers and fishermen reflected also in the architecture, with the fishermen's houses smaller and without outbuildings (Semerani, De Rosa, and Celli 1970). However, the entire network of villages participated in certain forms of fishery and a part of the catch was divided among all the families. This is the case of the tuna catch in which a massive labour force and a complex organisation were needed to take the shoal of fish in the net and pull it ashore (Volpi Lisjak 1996). Besides the fishermen the vil-

lagers were employed as seamen and in other maritime activities and the women in selling the fish in the villages of the hinterland. In Križ also the extraction of stone and stonemasonry developed (Brecelj, Legiša, and Vogrič 1989). This was fostered by the construction of the Austrian Southern railroad (Vienna-Trieste) in the 1850s and the urban expansion. Not least it was connected with the construction activities in the same villages, where not only the number, but also the standard of housing increased in line with the standard of life.

Thanks to the economic diversification and the participation in the urban labour market as well, Križ was the most populated village until the end of the 19th century. Then it was surpassed by Opčine, which, besides the growth of the activities connected with the traffic, became the residential area of the Triestine bourgeoisie. From the 1860s, indeed, Opčine was also a rail crossroad with its station and service area, while from the end of the century a new neighbourhood of rich residential houses was in the making around the historic peasant village. A funicular railway inaugurated in 1903, connecting Opčine with the city downtown, had a relevant impact on the growth of the village and contributed a lot to its economic integration with the city. The smaller villages such as Gropada, Padriče, Bani and Trebče remained more dependent on agrarian resources and the income from salary work in the city.

Some concluding remarks

Aleksander Panjek stresses in his study on the Karst that the cultural landscape of this region and the economic system staying behind its shaping, at least since the Middle Ages cannot be understood just in light of the agrarian use and exploitation of the land. It is necessary to consider the non-agrarian economic activities of the karstic population and their structural role in an integrated peasant economic system (Panjek 2015). Among the most influential external factors of this system was the city of Trieste, both as a marketplace of the agrarian production and as a generator with its commercial, maritime and other economic sectors of opportunities for non-agrarian income. The potentiality and influence of the city on the development of its hinterland steadily increased after the establishment of the free port in early 18th century. The development of the population, its dynamics and social structures also need to be analysed in this light.

The villages of the karstic district of the Triestine municipality took advantage of a privileged position in the economic interrelations between

the city and its hinterland. They were situated at a short distance and within the same administrative territory. The villagers benefited from the free port tax exemptions and legal privileges and the protection of the most profitable agrarian production. The integration between the agrarian economy and non-agrarian activities met very favourable conditions to develop in several forms and combinations, depending on the natural resources, the geographic position of the villages and other determinants. Thanks to the integration of the agrarian economy with the income opportunities offered by the city the population exceeded in number the land's agrarian resources sustainability. In this regard, what the Triestine police director Antonio Pittoni reported to the government in Vienna in 1786 is meaningful. He wrote, that "the peasants in the Triestine rural district take full hands from the city wealth" and that "some houses in Križ and Prosek look like noble rather than peasant" (Dorsi 1989, 143). As we saw, the expansion of the city entailed some restructurings in the agrarian activities, while its proximity and the new traffic communications allowed a dynamic interplay of the agrarian and non-agrarian income. The demographic growth was regulated by the migration movements, which also reflected both the general trends of the population development and the specific phases of the Trieste history. When the city increased, its closer karstic surroundings attracted newcomers too, who contributed to the rise of the population. This was true until the mid-19th century, when the immigrants also fulfilled the demographic losses because of extensive negative natural rates. In the following phases, when the mortality crises lost their precedent impetus and the natural rise became more stable, the communities saw emigration to the city and several other continental and overseas destinations of the members bound to live on the edge of society or those in search of alternative perspectives. The progressive decrease in emigration from the 1880s onwards and especially in the first decade of the 20th century, when the population considerably increased, shows, however, how the growth of the city made the peasant integrated economic system more sustainable. Even though the non-agrarian activities tended to spread as the primary economic resource in this phase and proletarianisation was increasing.

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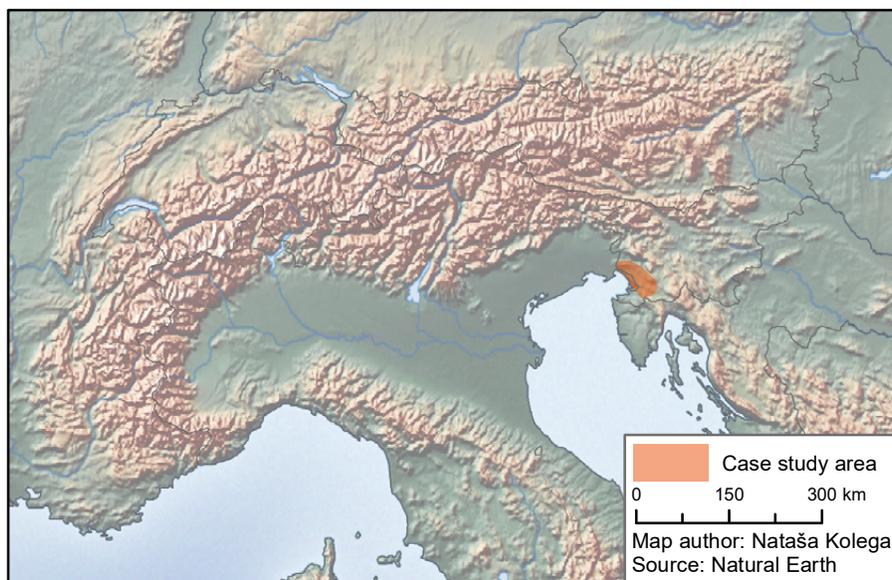
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Intangible and Material Evidence on the Slovenian Peasant Economy: Custom and Land Market in the Karst Highland (17th–18th Centuries)

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Map 10.1: Case study area

Introduction

The main purpose of this contribution is to lay some quantitative foundations for a more steadily based, easily verifiable, and better comparable evidence and interpretation about the peasant economy in Early Modern Slovenian lands. Peasant living standards, material culture, inclination to consumption, as well as economic agency and industriousness are often researched through probate inventories, debt and credit activity, and land markets.¹ We also took this direction in our attempt too, in particular by concentrating on the peasant land market.

There are a number of reasons why the peasant land market and the information we can derive from it may be of interest when addressing the integrated peasant economy. A preliminary observation is that in economic theory and historiography, the land market is connected to the ownership rights of its participants and to the possibilities of growth (Béaur and Chevet 2013, 19–23). This implies that the existence of a land market between peasants may bring evidence about their right of (more or less free) disposal of their farms and land, and therefore about their capability to actively respond to market opportunities, their chance to “use their own initiative” and participate in – or even be agents of – agricultural and economic growth. Apart from the chance and capability only, the land market can even show this kind of peasant’s response and participation in action. This is the first aspect, since the connection between market-related activities and the integrated peasant economy is of fundamental importance.

The role of the land market in peasant income integration practices has also been well demonstrated through another aspect. It is widely known how in the Alpine area peasants frequently used their land as a warranty (or pledge) that allowed them to get access to credit. The purpose of these loans was not only overcoming temporary subsistence problems, but also to obtain the financial means necessary, for example, for peasant’s commercial activity as pedlars. The relatively high prices of small plots of feebly productive mountain land may be interpreted as functional to this mechanism in the local peasant economy (an example: Fornasin 1998). Again, we are fully within the integrated peasant economy.

1 Only a few more and less recent, as well as more or less geographically distant examples: Malanima 1990; Fontaine 1996; Fornasin 1998; de Vries 2008; Béaur and Chevet 2013, Broad and Schuurman 2014. Some dozens of probate inventories dating from the end of the 16th to the late 18th century have been collected for the Karst area: their presentation and analysis will be published among the “Integrated peasant economy in Slovenia” project results in Slovenian language.

Further information of interest for the integrated peasant economy, obtainable from documents related to the land market, are the dimensions of holdings, the ratio between arable land and meadows, as well as the incidence of real estate transactions within the family. In fact, holdings too small to grant the household's survival from subsistence agriculture alone, are often the frame in which non-agrarian income sources play a major role, and in which scarce arable land further accentuates such patterns. If holdings are 'too' small, it means the population is 'too' numerous for the area: this signals again that we are in the presence of an integrated peasant economy, since it raises the demographic carrying capacity of the territory. On the other hand, a relevant prevalence of meadows and pastures indicates a major role of animal breeding, which is likely to be (at least partly) market oriented. Large commons represent a widespread characteristic of the integrated peasant economy environment too. Apart from its central role in peasant economic strategies in general, the family is important also with regard to the question of the social unit at whose level we shall search for and observe the peasant income integration practices: is it an area, the village community, the single household, or perhaps also the network of related families?

We may spot the family in another relevant role to our end, which is somehow related to the land market (especially to the right to dispose of the farms and to the dimensions of holdings) – in the inheritance practices and the existence of a partibility (or impartibility) system. It has recently been stressed how household formation patterns “cannot be explained by inheritance customs alone” and that “there is a need for a reassessment that takes into account [...] also cultural values, the land market, agricultural changes, proto-industry and openings away from the farm” (Head-König 2012, 17). These considerations go exactly in our direction, but we would add that peasant household formation must be explained, also taking into account that the peasant economy was in many cases an integrated one. This means that inheritance practices allowing the fragmentation of farms were economically rational because other income sources were expected (in a wider range of opportunities than proto-industrial activities only, which are, anyway, part of our model). In this sense farm division practices may be understood as an indicator of the fact that we are in the presence of an integrated peasant economy (Panjek 2015a).

A relevant difficulty we encounter in addressing economic issues in early modern Slovenian history, and even more so in presenting interpre-

tations or attempting comparative approaches at an international scale, is represented by the quite discouraging quality of the sources. Until Maria Theresia's reforms in the mid-18th century, the weakly structured and rather poorly ramified administrative system of the Austrian Habsburg hereditary lands (where most of the ethnical Slovenian population lived) at central, regional, and local levels, produced and preserved written sources that are quite modest in comparison to other early modern European states. This is especially true in the case of our research which has ambitions in the field of quantification in rural history. That is an important reason why not only the sources, but also the prevailing narratives in Slovenian historiography about Early Modern peasant economy and market-activities are mainly descriptive in nature, as already 'classical' Slovenian historians have pointed out (Gestrin 1982, 207). For this reason, in our attempt to illustrate and overcome such difficulties we are going to analyse two very different kinds of documentary evidence.

A trial about the ownership of a wine-cellar will lead us to the discovery of a custom regulating oral real-estate transfers: it will allow us to get an innovative insight into the local peasant land market in the first decades of the 17th century, into the economic rationality staying behind it, and into the ownership rights in practise. At the same time we'll be able to find an additional answer to the lack of written sources, and to sketch a time frame of their emergence. After that, a series of registrations of real estate transfers between peasants, mostly comprising purchase & sale, inheritance and endowment transactions registered by the manorial administration in the mid-18th century, represents our gateway to a first quantification attempt on fundamental aspects, such as the dimensions of holdings, the extension and ratio between arable land and meadows, the prices of land and the reclamation of commons, as well as the transfers within the family. An introductory presentation of the environment and the (integrated) peasant economy in the Karst area will give us the framework for the concluding interpretation of the more material (transaction registrations) and the quite intangible (oral custom) evidence on the peasant economy that we'll gain.

1. The environment, landscape and peasant economy of the Karst

A rationale of the chosen territory for the present case-study might not be out of place. The Karst is a limestone plateau stretching for some dozens of kilometres in length and width (amounting to around 650km²) along the

northern shores of the Adriatic Sea, mainly reaching from 200 to 500 metres above its level. The conditions here are quite unfriendly for agriculture. The Karst suffers from lack of surface waters and an abundance of fiery winds, affording little cultivable land along with plenty of rocks and stones scattered all over the grasslands and woodlands and even in the cultivable earth. People here had a common saying stating that “stones grow.” At the beginning of the 19th century the Karst peasants agreed they had “no real woods:” in fact, the cultivated land consisted of small fields to tiny plots, meadows and wide stony pastures with scattered trees and patches of wood here and there. Around 1830, 38% of the surface consisted of bare pastures and a further 7% of treeless meadows. Pastures and meadows with trees amounted together to nearly 23%. Pastures with or without trees covered nearly half of the surface (48.5%), while meadows with or without trees another fifth (19.5%), and since coppice woods covered a scarce 8%, not even a quarter of the whole surface remained for arable land, village buildings and lanes (Panjek 2015b, 98–9).

Since we are investigating the integrated peasant economy, characterised by a combination of agricultural with extra-agrarian activities, a land with poor agricultural conditions might be an appropriate case study: this is the first reason why the Karst was chosen. The second reason consists of the fact that the area was situated along the commercial route connecting the central-eastern European flatlands (Pannonia and surroundings) with the northern Italian plains and the Adriatic Sea. A couple of small towns and seaports (Gorica/Gorizia, Trst/Trieste, Koper/Capodistria) added to the opportunities of market related activities for the local peasants, always bearing in mind the (potential) for an integrated peasant economy. The last reason, but not least, is the relatively good quantity and quality of the archival sources regarding the Karst area under the manorial administration of Devin (it. Duino) whose lands we are going to analyse more closely. It covered the part of the Karst highlands reaching from the sea coast to about a dozen kilometres inland and comprising about 30% of the Karst territory.

The Karst area was organised in feudal manors, whose owners combined landlord, jurisdictional and administrative functions, and to which the peasant population was subject. In this institutional framework, a relatively simple way to detect the extent of peasant market related activities is to check the manorial rent structure by dividing it into money and kind and labour services. The manorial rent in money can act as an indicator of the peasant’s connections with the market, based on the assumption that

they had to gain the cash before paying their monetary fees (this is an established method in Slovenian historiography). Although the data we get this way are not completely satisfactory, because part of the manorial income in money was paid at toll stations by ‘foreign’ peasants and tradesmen, it can still serve as evidence. In the first few decades of the 17th century, the rent in money of the five manors covering most of the Karst ranged between 22% and 67%. In the Devin manor, whose documentation and peasant economy are the object of our analysis in this paper, the share of money rent was as much as 51.3 % (in 1637, Panjek 2011, 298). Even if such a share represents an overestimation of the local subjects payments in money (also because the wheat tithe was sometimes leased out), it still constitutes a glaring sign that we are in the presence of peasants who have market relations to a remarkable extent.

The structure of holdings presents a picture of the same reality but from a different angle. We have it for the two largest feudal manors on the Karst, Reifenberg and Devin. The Reifenberg manor in 1624 comprised 249 *hube* (farms of medieval origin: *Hube, mansus*) and 524 *kajže* (cottages, farm units of Early Modern foundation: *Keuschler*), while the Devin manor in 1637 counted 273 *hube*, plus one third and one quarter of *huba*, and “around” 100 *kajže*, to which 35 more *hube*, owned by other landlords but subject to the Devin jurisdiction, can be added. A first observation regards the high number of more recent farms (the *kajže*), which in general had quite little land. While for Devin their number is only estimated (and likely underestimated), in the Reifenberg territory they are very numerous and seem to outnumber the old farms (*hube*). We can understand this as an indicator of the level, reached by the first decades of the 17th century, of the growth in number of peasants with scarce land. But the picture is still incomplete and even misleading, since all those older and larger farms are somehow a fiction. The state chamber’s commissaries evaluating the Reifenberg manor in 1624, in fact, stated that many of the *hube* were “occupied by four, five, and more subjects,” meaning peasant family heads. The same applied for Devin in 1637, where “an increase of the subjects and residents of the jurisdiction in these last years” was detected, and the *hube* were occupied by “four, five, and more” peasants too. Similar comments were to come about from other manors in the Karst area as well (Panjek 2015b, 64). This means that we are confronted with a significant fragmentation process that was creating progressively smaller farmsteads out of the old holdings too;

at the same time the real number of holdings was quite a lot larger than the above mentioned figures would imply.

In order to avoid the risk of overestimation due to possible exaggerations of the contemporary observers, we may assume an average division of each old *hube* into two parts. For the Devin manor that would double their number from 273.5 plus 35 to 547 plus 70 *hube*-portions, whose total would be 617 'larger' holdings. A less prudent estimation, based on a more literal understanding of the commissionaire's observation, would imply multiplying the number of *hube* by three, totalling 925.5 holdings. In both cases at least 100 cottagers must be added. On this basis we may roughly estimate a total number of about 700 to around 1,000 peasant holdings in the Devin jurisdiction in 1637.

This information seems to confirm the hypothesis that the Karst could represent a good environment for an integrated peasant economy. We'll be looking for confirmation further on through the analysis of the local real estate market. But first we'll sketch some examples of non-agricultural and market related activities of the Karst peasants in the Early Modern centuries, based on the existing literature.²

As early as 1552 the provincial estates of Carniola claimed that "in particular in Carniola and the Karst the peasants could not remain on their farms without trade and their carrying activities."³ In a report from a customs officer dating back to the year 1567, we may read that the transit of cattle coming from the duchy of Carniola and directed to the Venetian territory transformed into widespread smuggling when crossing the Karst. In 1589 "pedlars" (*Krämer*) and "tradesmen" from the Karst were reportedly used to sell "the most diverse fabrics, intended for subsequent marketing" in the town of Gorica. Among the fees paid by the peasants to the Devin manor in 1637, we may find "all kinds of products from animal hair and spinning" (*allerlei Haar- und Spinnwerk*). At the end of the 17th century the commercial flows on the Karst were largely out of control, thanks both to the local peasants and landlords, who backed their subjects in avoiding the payment of any duty when introducing livestock or "other merchandise" they had bought in Carniola. A toll agent in the area in 1691 complained that the peasants opposed him "with arms in their hands, mistreated him, beat him, and continually threatened his life" (Panjek 2002, 162-4; 2004,

2 For more examples and types of activity on the Karst see Beguš, Kalc, and Kavrečič in this book.

3 Gestrin 1991, 252, as cited in Panjek 2011, 306.

33). This means the local peasant population traded and smuggled on their own and imported produce on local, interregional, as well as cross-border routes.

Information on this theme becomes quite richer and more precise in the second part of the 18th century, both due to a wider range of descriptions and because of the contemporary growth of the Trieste urban market. Some qualified contemporary observers, such as public administrators and visitors may come to our aid with their reports about the agriculture and peasant economy in the Karst villages at that time. Pasquale Ricci in 1769 wrote how “much of the land has such a stony ground that just produces a sparse grass, which never reaches the degree of hay.” He expressed the opinion that it was “an admirable thing” to see “the hard work, and art, with which the peasants make good use of every inch of land susceptible of cultivation; here sprouts wheat, and there comes up wine, where before the rocks have been giving birth to stones; [...] and these small plots of stony soil converted into fields multiply daily” (Lago 1980, 499). Because of the low fertility of the land, G. P. Baselli in 1775 meant that the Karst peasants “do not have a constant work from their activity, nor do they derive sufficient food” from agriculture only. That is why “they are forced to live distilling coal and raising livestock, which provides them with butter, cheese and a bit of wool. [...] They produce the butter and cheese with which they supply the province” (Cavazza, Iancis, and Porcedda 2003, 175–7). A traveller named B. F. J. Hermann in 1780 left notice of the fact that “the sheep and goats of the Karst have a very tasty meat, because they graze the thousand alpine herbs; almost all of the lambs are sent to Venice, where they are sold at surprisingly high prices.”⁴ A general of Napoleon’s in 1797 wrote that “it is amazing to see how people have been able to turn that land to agricultural use [...] with care and diligence they have tilled the rocks making walls out of them, so that pieces of land a few steps long, form fields large like the palm of a hand” (Davis 1986, 12). The Trieste police chief P. A. Pittoni in 1786 left a very vivid description, concentrating on the villages nearest to the town, emphasising both the close connection of the Karst peasant economy with the contemporary growing urban market opportunities through diverse activities, and the relevant fact that income integration was not simply a matter of subsistence and survival, but also a path that enabled peasants to raise their living standards. That is why we’re quoting him more extensively:

4 Shaw 2000, 79, as cited in Panjek 2015b, 29.

In the suburban settlements, and especially in the villages of Škedenj, Križ and Prosek many houses built of walls may be seen, which can be said to be more gentlemanly than of peasants. [...] If one gives a look at the farming of Trieste so painful, because the earth must either be supported with walls or forced by hoe and shovel to produce; and if one reflects that these plots may be scarcely worked, since they have little more than a palm in depth and the manure must be carried by men, it can only be an industrious people [popolo industrioso] who works this land. This cannot be said to be poor, on the contrary, among them there are many wealthy, but their wealth is not a result of agriculture, which could not provide them with sufficient subsistence, but the particular industry: the villages of Križ, Kontovel and Prosek, as well as the adjacent coast [...] apply themselves to fishing especially tuna. Opčine and Trebče earn from supplying draft animals and freight wagons, Bazovica and Gropada from the excavation and transport of earth-coals [...]. All of them and especially the suburban settlements provide the city with their animals and earn with the transport of goods from the customs-storehouses to the boats, and from these places to the storehouses, and they derive from it such a great profit that they quite neglect the agriculture. [...Nevertheless] agriculture and the rural economy, as much as a sterile territory allows it, is blooming [...], everything possible to cultivate is cultivated [...] and new plots are being reclaimed] so to speak, between the rocks (Dorsi 1989, 137–85).

Although self-consumption was present too, of course, from these depictions it emerges very clearly how the Karst peasant economy was rather market oriented, and that the laborious reclamations mainly had the same goal, at least in the second half of the 18th century. Apart from commercialising wine and wheat, especially animal husbandry was very much directed to the market through dairy products, wool, and meat, with the lambs finding their final commercial destination as far as Venice, almost 200 kilometres away. Then there were fishing and the transport activities, which surely derived an impulse from the growing trade in the fast developing free-port of Trieste from the mid-18th century onwards.

But let us now turn to the new sources related to the Devin manor in the 17th and 18th centuries.

2. The customary real-estate purchase & sale among peasants (around 1620)

In this search for tangible and quantifiable information on the peasant economy, and possibly for evidence on the peasants' agency, I stumbled upon a process about the ownership of a small house with a wine-cellar in the Karst village of Tomaj in 1619-20. It proved to reveal a rather surprising content: a complex custom and ritual for real-estate buying and selling among peasants, that was purely oral, with no written contracts or recording. This revelation was made possible by the opposing strategies adopted by the two parties involved in the trial, both of whom claimed to be the legal owner of the house and cellar: one side sustained its ownership upon the fact that the other party did not have any written proof of their purchase, while the other on the contrary asserted its acquisition was rightful, since it happened through the use and respect of the traditional customary regulations and ritual, generally recognised among the local peasants. In the end the manorial court jury, composed by the heads of the village communities, confirmed the ownership to the party sustaining the validity of the customary oral purchase. Without going into a detailed reconstruction of the case and connected events, I'll briefly outline the custom, distinguishing between a ritual and a regulative part, before making some considerations.⁵

First of all the buyer and the seller had to reach an agreement on the price, of course, but this aspect is not depicted in our source. The ritual and regulations looked as follows:

a) *The ritual of real-estate purchase & sale*

- 1) The church bells ring, meaning the buyer is calling the village people to the village square.
- 2) The community members gather on the square.
- 3) The buyer offers his neighbours some wine to drink (and bread to eat) and they all drink together (this drinking part was named *likof*, from the ancient Germanic *Leit-Kauf*, Vilfan 1996, 364); the quantities are determined by the amount of the real-estate transaction.
- 4) During the *likof* (drinking together) the terms of the purchase & sale are made public to all the present members of the communi-

5 AST, ATTA, b. 196.1, fasc. 6. A more detailed analysis and in-depth interpretation is in Panjek 2016.

ty (“this likof serves as a document among us,” as the witnesses claimed at the process).

- 5) The buyer then throws a small coin among the village kids who struggle to catch it, and the one getting it would “comb his hair” with it (in order to preserve the memory of the transaction by transferring it onto the next generation).
- 6) In case a house was sold, one of its wooden beams under the ceiling would be marked with a cross made with a hatchet.

b) The customary purchase and sale conditions

- 1) The seller and his family had 14 days to retreat from the sale.
- 2) The buyer and the seller had 1 year to complain, in case they felt deceived.
- 3) The seller and his family had 15 years to buy back the real-estate they had sold (in case they lived within the “land”, that is the territory of the manorial jurisdiction).
- 4) The seller and his family had 30 years to buy back the real-estate they had sold (in case they lived outside the “land” – jurisdiction).

Apart from being quite interesting from a historical anthropological, ethnological and not least legal historical point of view, this case shows and demonstrates a few aspects relevant for the purpose of this paper too.

First of all, it shows the existence of a lively real-estate market among peasants. During the trial peasants testified they bought many pieces of land during their lifetime, one of them even stated he purchased everything he owned based on the mentioned custom. The very house with the wine cellar, the object of our case, went through five sales, two inheritances and one rental in the time span of seven decades, and only between 1585 and 1615 it underwent seven different transfers (in 30 years).

A second aspect regards the family. The customary purchase and sale conditions gave a great role to the seller’s relatives, recognising them the right to buy back the sold estate for a long time. Within the presented trial, but also in other cases, it is evident that the right to buy back was extended (at least) to the heirs, and even to their (later) spouses. We may understand that these customary rules expressed and supported the tendency of the peasant society to keep the family’s real-estate property as integral as possible by allowing its members to later buy back the sold items. We may also see that the family we are addressing is not a nuclear one, but some kind of cluster of inter-related nuclear families. Such larger families functioned as

a ‘financial community’ in which its different units might undergo different economic vicissitudes, but they were able to activate their financial means, when existing, in order to bring the family’s assets back under their roof.

Moreover, the option to buy-back the sold land (or house) might have been a hidden credit instrument, like it was the case in the neighbouring Venetian Friuli (Fornasin 1998). In this case the sale was intended – without going into detail – to obtain cash when needed, and then have the opportunity to pay the money back when possible: in this kind of sales-instrument (*livello francabile*) the ‘sold’ land had the role of a pledge and of an income source in favour of the buyer (read: source of interest for the money-lender); in fact, the ‘seller’ was rented back the land he had ‘sold’ and payed a yearly rent for it to the ‘buyer’, until he was able to pay back (extinguish) the original amount he had received. Of course this possibility does not exclude the role of the family in such hidden credit transactions too – rather the opposite.

The next interpretative step we may take is to discern a somehow parallel system existing and functioning among the peasants. The legal historian Sergij Vilfan (1980, 430–1) already pointed out how Slovenian peasants had their own legal understanding of their relation to the land, as far as the ownership is concerned, differing from the standpoint of their landlords. It is also already known that peasants (in Slovenia in general and in the Littoral region we’re examining here in particular) practised the purchasing, selling, endowing and inheriting of land regardless of its official status (since two main terms of land-holding existed, which allowed different levels of freedom of disposal to the tenant; Vilfan 1980, 442; Panjek 2002, 51–52; Panjek 2004, 52–4). Now, – based on the just disclosed ‘intangible evidence’ – we may see that they had their own legal custom for that, too! This means the peasants of the Karst had their own understanding of the way they owned their land, they practiced purchase and sale transactions with it regardless of its official legal status, and they possessed a specific custom defining the rules and conditions, and granting the validity and reliability of their oral real-estate transactions. Indeed a parallel system.

It may be useful to point out that the peasants we are observing were not the real owners of their land and farmsteads, although they acted as if they had been and were, (most probably) even convinced they were. The real owner was the landlord, after he bought the Devin manor from the “state chamber” (*Innerösterreichische Hofkammer*) in 1653. Before that time the real owner had been the Habsburg archduke (through his “state cham-

ber”), while the feudal landlord had possessed the manor in the form of a “pledge” (*Pfandinhaber*) that anyway gave him the right to administer the ownership rights in practice. Nevertheless the peasants could sell and transfer their land and farmsteads, the situation being similar to that in Western Bohemia (Velková 2012, 103). We may say that the kind of ownership and the legal object of the transfers was not the full property (*dominium directum*) of the land, but rather the “tenancy” (*dominium utile*).

The last consideration regards the availability of written documents allowing an insight into the peasant economy. From what we have learned about the existence and use of the oral custom, we may expect to find rare records of real-estate transactions until the first half of the 17th century, at least in the Devin manor we’re observing. Here the manorial administration’s efforts to get and keep record of transfers between peasants (and extract dues from them) can be traced back to the first decades of the 17th century, while in other areas that might have been an even later ambition. In any case this was a rather long process of gaining control over peasant real-estate transfers (and over the legal status of land, at the same time), while both the peasant practices and the official regulations still need to be researched more in depth.

Let us now turn to the other end of our time span in the mid-18th century, when written records of real estate transfers are preserved in a considerable series and constitute our quantitative (‘material’) evidence.

3. The real-estate transfer records (around 1750)

By the mid-18th century real estate transfers between peasants were registered by the Devin manorial administration, since, in its archive a series of records is preserved, covering the years between 1747 and 1758. It is not yet clear whether these serial registrations started at the date of the earliest preserved records. Moreover, there are two kinds of registration: one series regards more precisely the real-estate valuation operations, meant to establish the prices of the purchased goods, while the second series brings more information about the financial and legal aspects of the transfers. The two series do not cover the same time span but for a couple of years. By comparing the two series of records one may notice that the registered transfers are not completely the same. Furthermore, based on some notes and comments to single records, one may observe that not all purchases, sales and other transfers were registered immediately after the deal was concluded. In many cases some time elapsed and even the payments were of-

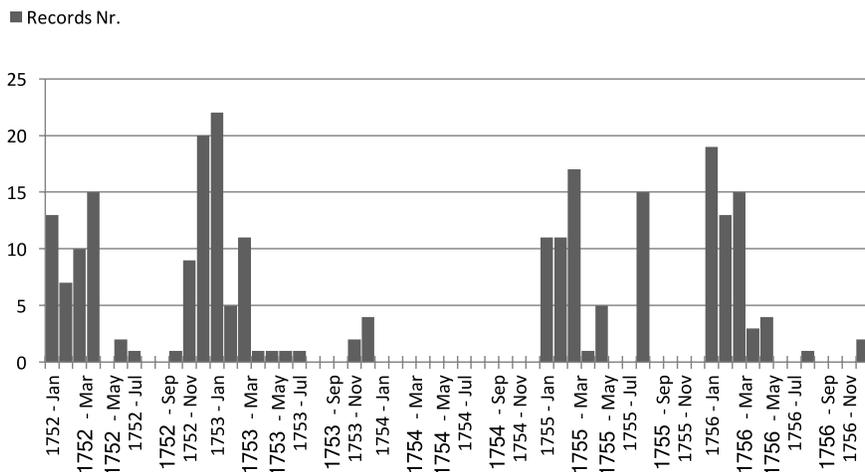
ten accomplished before the registration made the transfer an official thing (if we may believe the statements given by the peasants involved). This is to stress two aspects: first we may assume the persistence of oral practices, perhaps connected with the custom described above; secondly, we are not able to define what share of the real transactions between peasants was actually being recorded.

Here we'll present a first analysis of only one of the two aforementioned record series, the one regarding the valuation procedure.⁶ This means we can be sure we're not working on all the transfers that took place, but still cannot really estimate their share. Nevertheless the sample is relatively ample, amounting to 246 transfer records in 35 villages and hamlets, ranging from January 1752 to December 1756 (although with some gaps – especially for 1754 all data are missing – see Graph 10.1).

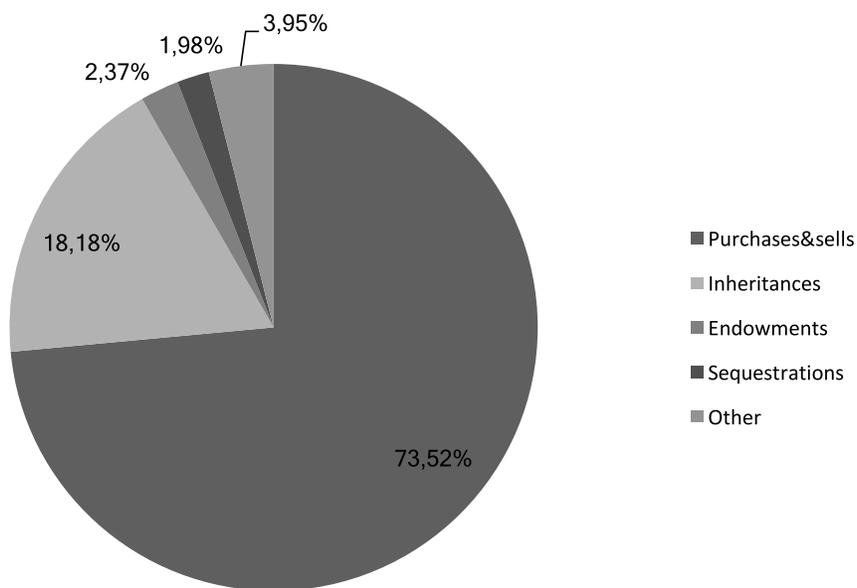
With a closer look at the years for which our data are more complete (1752–53 and 1755–56), we may notice a quite clear seasonality of the records, most of the transactions being registered during the last months of the year and the first ones of the next year, that is somehow in the wintertime, at the end of the agrarian cycle and before the beginning of the new one. Although noticeable, this feature is actually far from being surprising, but it adds confirmation to the hypothesis that in many cases the registrations could have been only a formal moment in the transfer process, which continued to be also oral and at least partly independent from the official procedure and written act carried out by the manorial officials. At this stage of the research, the question about the extent to which the peasants spontaneously made use of the written registrations (for their better guarantee), and about the role played by the administrative compulsion in favour of recording transactions (to ensure control on land holding and to collect the transaction fees, amounting to 10% of the transaction value), remains open. The impression is, although, that both factors played a role.

Another general aspect emerging from our data-set is the composition of transfer registrations by their type. Most of them were purchase and sale transactions, amounting to nearly three quarters of all records, followed by inheritances that represented nearly one fifth of the transfers, while endowments and sequestrations appear to be rarer among our data (Graph 10.2).

6 All the hereafter presented and analysed data on real estate transactions are in: AST, *ATTA*, b. 195.1, fasc. 2, subsection 6, 7, and 13.

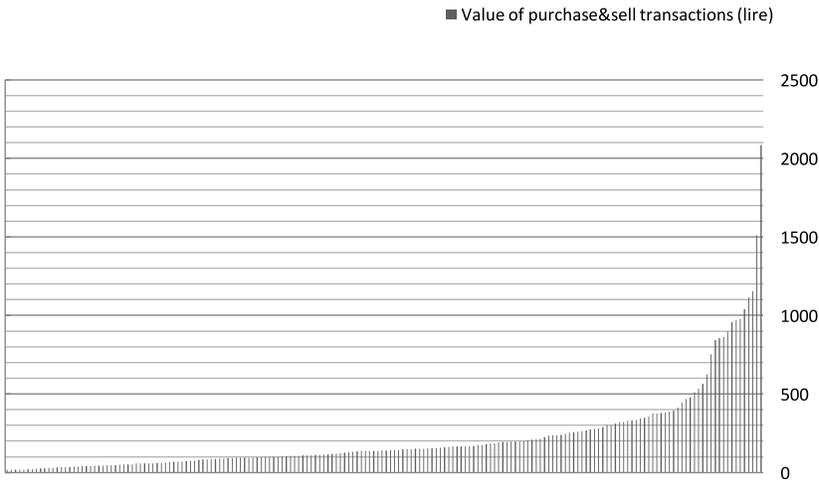


Graph 10.1: Time-frame of the analysed records (1752–56)



Graph 10.2: Type of real-estate transactions between peasants (1752–53, 1755–1756)

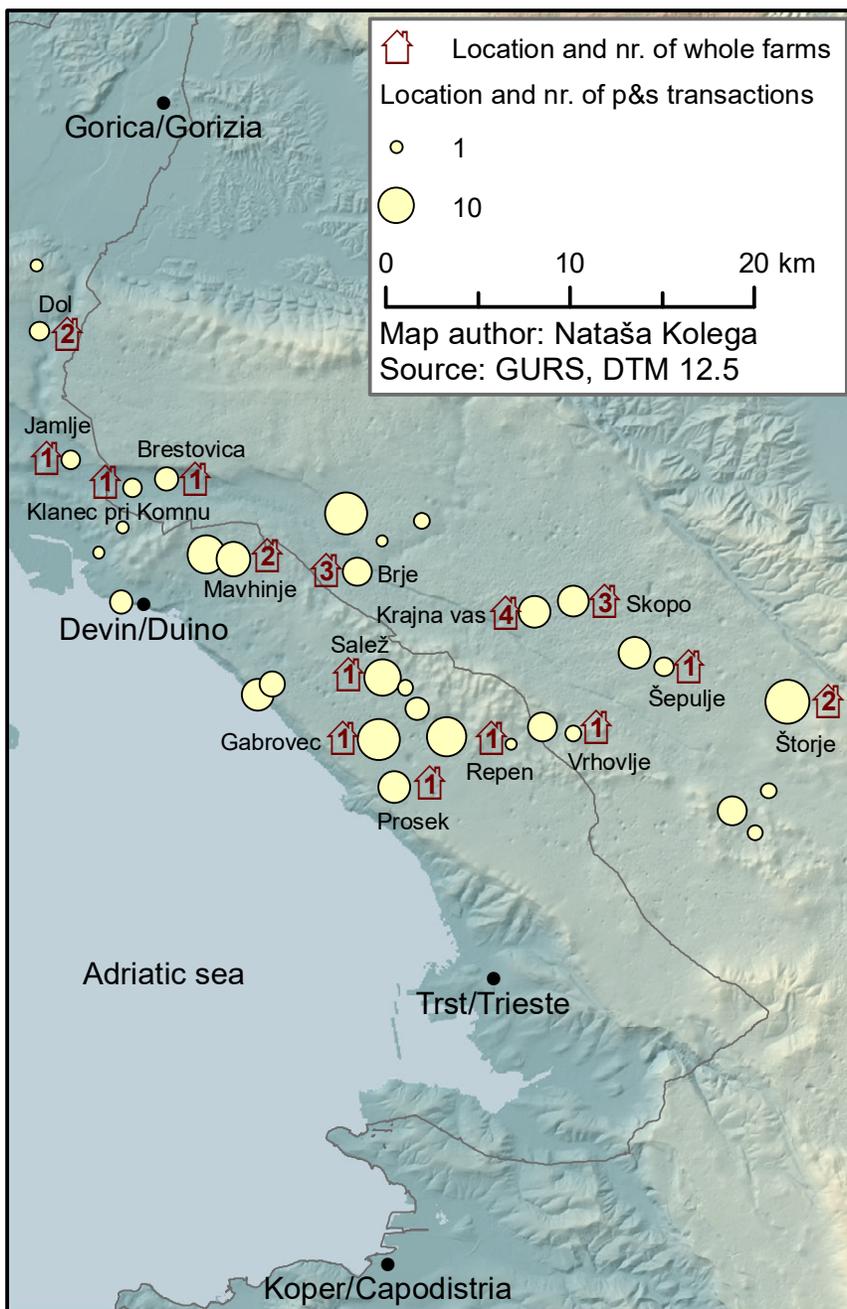
Without denying the relevance of inheritance and endowment practices, perhaps the most telling kind of data in view of our topic, that is gaining an insight into the Karst peasant economy, keeping an eye on the signs



Graph 10.3: The value of purchase and sale transactions (182 records, in *Ven. Lire*)

of their agency and income integration, are the information and figures regarding the real-estate market in a narrow sense. For this reason we are going to concentrate the following analysis on the purchase and sale transactions. Leaving aside more peculiar kinds of plots, like gardens and terraces, in altogether 186 purchase and sale transactions a total of 206 parcels of arable land and 196 of meadow were sold, while in 30 cases the transactions comprised some kind of rural building and courtyards. Already these first rough figures give the distinct impression of a real-estate market in which small-scale transactions prevailed.

We may evaluate the representativeness of our sample as well as the intensity of the peasant land market by comparing the villages and hamlets in which the mentioned 186 transactions took place with the total number of Karst villages in the Devin manor, since at present we can not rely on population data for this area at that time. They took place in 35 out of a total number of 37 villages and hamlets pertaining to the Devin manor on the Karst. The geographic coverage of our sample is nearly complete, although in some places we have only one registration, while in others they are numerous. Expressing the intensity of the land market as an average, we have five purchase and sale registrations per village in a timeframe of four (scarce) years, meaning 1.25 transaction per village, per year. Perhaps this could suggest a not very lively market, but one should bear in mind that it is quite likely to be an underestimation, because we are dealing with, most



Map 10.2: Locations of the purchase & sale transactions and whole farms

probably, incomplete recording practices and records in our sample. One might even consider the possibility that such a figure confirms a relevant persistence of oral practices in the purchasing and selling of land and houses among the Karst peasants.

3.1 Dimension and value of land and of purchase & sale transactions

Some of the mentioned 186 transaction records do not bring complete data about the plots, not mentioning their dimension or value. Complete records regard 167 purchases and sales of arable and grassland plots, and these are the ones we're going to analyse more closely. A very clear feature that emerges is the small amount of land purchased and sold in most of the transactions, the average one comprising a little over 0.1 hectares of arable land and something less than 0.4 hectares of grassland. The average dimension of the single sold and purchased plots was even tinier (that is why we expressed it in square meters, too: see Table 10.1). Small transactions and small plots then: in order to correctly understand this feature of the peasant's land-market, we must bear in mind that arable surfaces on the Karst were small in general. A further characteristic of its landscape is that arable land and meadows were in many cases forming one unit, typically an arable plot in the middle of a meadow or a small field with some grassland at its sides. But besides that it is necessary to stress that many transactions regarded only "pieces" (parts) of field or meadow, and not whole ones, which means we are confronted with a reality where at the middle of the 18th century subdivisions and fragmentation were at an advanced stage.

Such an image is completed and somehow confirmed by the share of reclaimed common-land plots in individual possession. By reclaiming commons on the Karst, at this time in history (mid-18th century) only scarce arable plots were obtainable, since all the reasonably good land had already been cultivated for a couple of centuries at least. It is known, by the way, how Karst peasants used to transport and add earth on artificially formed plots, enclosed by stone-walls that contained the earth. This is undoubtedly one reason why the sold plots of former commons were mostly meadows and also why the value of reclaimed commons was lower than that of old arable plots (see Tables 10.2 and 10.3). The coherence with the above mentioned fragmentation process may be seen in the quite clear pressure on old arable land and meadows as well as on common land, testified by the tendency to its reclamation: on the one hand we have (increasingly) small plots

while on the other (increasing) reclaimed plots. Is this a testimony of bare ‘land hunger,’ of the need for more land for survival, or was there something else behind these processes? As we have seen, contemporary observers seem to allow also a reading, implying the possible influence of market oriented activities both on fragmentation and reclamation.

Table 10.1: Land purchase and sale between peasants, 1752–53, 1755–56

	Arable land	Meadows
Transactions with full data, Nr.	109	162
Sold plots, Nr.	186	192
Total surface of sold land	12.449 ha	62.727 ha
Average quantity of land per transaction	0.114 ha	0.387 ha
Average plot size	0.067 ha 670 m ²	0.327 ha 3.270 m ²

Table 10.2: Share of common land in purchase and sale between peasants

	Arable land			Meadows		
	all	commons	commons %	all	commons	commons %
Sold plots, Nr.	186	23	12.37	192	36	18.75
Total surface of sold land	12,449 ha	1,419 ha	11.40	62,727 ha	25,185	40.15
Average plot size	0.067 ha 670 sqm	0.062 ha 617 sqm		0.327 ha 3.267 sqm	0.700 ha 6.996 sqm	

Table 10.3: The value of the purchased and sold land: old-holding land and reclaimed common land compared

	Arable land		Meadows	
	old holding	common	old holding	common
Sold plots (nr.)	163	23	156	36
Total surface (ha)	11.03	1.42	37.54	25.18
Average price (lira per ha)	1713.91	1358.00	262.25	161.22

In a further attempt to read the reality reflected by the Karst peasant real-estate market, we may verify the value of purchases and sales of not only arable land and meadows, but also other kinds of plots and rural buildings. In this case we have a sample of 182 transactions that include information about the price of the assets, and at first sight they seem to confirm the apparently small value of the deals. The average traded value is of about 225 *Venetian lira*, with around 70% of the transactions remaining below the average and half of them under 150 *lira* (Graph 10.3 shows very clearly this situation).⁷ But such transaction values were not that scarce if we take a closer look. In fact, on the Karst at that time for 150 *lira* one could buy a peasant house with a courtyard, while 250 *lira* was the possible price of a house with an upper floor, a stable, and perhaps a wine cellar or several trees in the courtyard. This means that half of the transactions amounted to the value of a house with courtyard. The cumulative gross value of all purchases and sales in our set amounted to the not very modest sum of 41,182.35 *lira*, and the prices of land itself were not low at all either. In fact, the average price of ‘old holding’ arable plots on the Karst (Table 10.3) was comparatively just a bit lower than the high prices in the Carnia mountains, but higher than the prices on the fertile Friuli plain (Fornasin 1998). The same may be said about the prices on the fertile Friuli plain on the Austrian side of the border in the same period: in the Gradišče/Gradisca area one “arable field with vines” (*campo arativo vitato* – mixed culture) was worth “about 50, 70 and even 100 *goldinars*” (Šorn 1984, 44). Reduced to hectares and *Venetian liras* these values mean from about 713 to 1,426 *lira* per ha of arable land – and that’s fairly low compared to the average price on the stony Karst highland (1,714 *lira* per ha, Table 10.3). The best land on the Austrian Friuli plain was actually worth as an average arable plot of reclaimed common land on the Karst (1,426 versus 1,358 *lira* per ha respectively).

3.2 *The dimension of holdings*

The transactions in our data-set comprise a series of farm units, but in order to get a picture of the dimension of holdings based on a bit more numerous examples, we have to include all kinds of transactions, besides purchases and sales, also inheritances and hereditary divisions. In some cases we reassembled the holdings by summing the hereditary units. Such reassembling makes sense because we do not have any information about other

7 Although the Karst pertained to the Austrian Habsburg lands, in this bordeland the use of the neighbouring Venetian account currency (*lira*) was widespread.

possible assets the single heirs might have had and to which their hereditary portions could be added (forming new farms of unknown dimension). On the other hand this means that the resulting picture we are presenting below is that of a perhaps less fragmented landholding structure than it actually was after our transactions took place in the middle of the 18th century. In any case, this way we obtain altogether 25 examples of farms in 15 different villages and hamlets located in different areas of the Karst, from close to the sea-coast to farther inland. For each farm unit we have the composition of land (field and meadow) as well as some information about the pertaining rural buildings and their value (Table 10.4).

Mostly small fields and meadows formed mostly small farm units. Only a good third of the holdings forming our sample (9 out of 25) could namely count on more than 5 ha of land, another (scarce) third relied on 2 to 5 ha, while the last abundant third comprised less than 2 ha of land, although all had some extra orchard, too. In all cases the share of meadow surfaces was crucial to reach these dimension figures, since the holdings had really little arable land on disposal: ten farm-units remained under 0.5 ha of field, another eight had between 0.5 and 1 ha, four were concentrated between 1 and 1.1 ha, and only three of them reached 2 or more hectares of field, with a maximum of just a little above 4 ha. Both aspects, the overall dimension of the farm units as well as the scarcity of arable land at their disposal, were being further exacerbated by the fragmentation process in progress, since a quarter of the holdings had just been divided (6 out of 25, although we analysed them as unities, as explained above).

Such internal structure of the holdings allows some considerations. First of all, we are confronted with a peasant society that was significantly stratified and in which small holdings strongly prevailed (at least 62% under 5 ha). The second aspect is that arable land in most cases was surely not sufficient to feed most households, since nearly 90% of the holdings in our sample had less than 1.1 ha of field. This must have been true even considering that many arable plots were cultivated with the mixed-cropping system, in which cereals were combined with vines associated with trees and some fruit-trees. The land structure in which meadow surfaces were significantly more extended than arable ones, confirms the importance of animal husbandry, which was managed combining individual meadows and the existing extensive common pastures. It seems quite reasonable to consider most Karst farm units as not self-sufficient from an alimentary point of view even without considering the various landlord dues and the taxes that

were to be paid. And in such conditions the Karst peasants continued to divide and further fragment their holdings: Were they making economically irrational decisions? Or is there a possible different answer for such an overt renunciation to make a living from autarchic self-consumption, which is seeking the peasant's economic rationality in the expectation to integrate their income with revenues obtained in a different way?

Table 10.4: The dimension of farm-units in the Devin records, 1752–53 and 1755–56

	Owner, village	Arable land (ha)	Meadows (ha)	Land total (without orchards)	Buildings	Gross value (lire)
1	Benčina brothers, Štorje	4.14	6.76	10.90	2 building surfaces, courtyard	No data
2	Luka Škrk, Gabrovec	0.55	7.07	7.62	House, kitchen, sheds, courtyard	1371
3	Lovrenc Vižintin, Dol (hered. division into 4 parts)	1.06	5.71	6.77	House and shed surfaces, courtyard	No data
4	Lovrenc Uršič, Krajna vas (hered. division into 3 parts)	1.61	5.13	6.74	House with upper floor, kitchen, a room, cellar, small cellar, shed, grain-threshing room, courtyard, charcoal-making place	No data
5	Jurij Benčina, Štorje	2.72	3.95	6.67	2 building surfaces with courtyard	No data
6	Matija Perčič, Brje (inherits daughter)	0.21	6.26	6.47	Courtyard	1332
7	Brišča brothers, Prosek area	0.54	5.14	5.68	2 house-ruins	1040
8	Urša Stančič Miller, Vrhovlje	0.59	5.03	5.62	House, house-ruin, courtyard	2085
9	Vižintin brothers, Dol (half-part of former unit)	1.08	4.16	5.24	House with oven and part of upper floor, shed, courtyard	2899
10	Štefan Legiša, Mavhinje (hered. division into 2 parts)	0.99	3.37	4.36	Building surface, courtyard	No data
11	Štefan Boneta, Jamlje	0.61	2.87	3.48	2 houses, shed, house-ruin, courtyard	2430

	Owner, village	Arable land (ha)	Meadows (ha)	Land total (without orchards)	Buildings	Gross value (lire)
12	Luka Guštin, Repen (hered. division into 5 parts)	0.78	2.41	3.19	House surfaces, courtyard	No data
13	Tomaž Šav, Šepulje	1.05	2.10	3.15	House, courtyard	2380
14	Luka Guc, Krajna vas, Skopo (merges 2 farm-units, one was brother's)	1.08	1.44	2.52	2 houses, courtyard; house with upper floor, small house, courtyard	3560
15	Mihael Terčon, Klanec - Komen (hered. division into 9 parts)	0.49	1.82	2.31	2 houses, courtyard	1573
16	Ivan Legiša, Mavhinje	0.19	1.88	2.07	No data	No data
17	Marko Sivic (q. Lovrenc), Skopo	0.43	1.44	1.87	House, oven, courtyard	No data
18	Hilarij Barič, Krajna vas	0.46	1.40	1.86	House, cellar, small shed, courtyard	2016
19	Tomaž Grljanec, later Simon Obad, Salež	0.39	1.47	1.86	House, kitchen, shed, courtyard	No data
20	Marina Sivic, Skopo (prob. hereditary portion)	0.24	1.61	1.85	Cellar with upper floor, small shed, courtyard	972
21	Melhior Perc, Brestovica (hered. division into 2 parts)	0.57	1.16	1.73	House surfaces, courtyard	No data
22	Urša Petrič, Krajna vas (farm unit or portion)	0.50	1.00	1.50	Small cellar, grain-threshing room, small shed, courtyard	1510
23	Marko Sivic (q. Ivan), Skopo (farm unit or portion)	0.28	0.92	1.20	House, stable, upper floor, courtyard	1153
24	Štefan Kosmina, Brje	0.16	0.91	1.07	Half of a house's upper floor, small stable, courtyard	445
25	Tomaž Frankič, Brje	0.23	0.61	0.84	House with courtyard, house-ruin with courtyard	470

By comparing the quantity of land forming the analysed holdings with the quantity of purchased and sold land in the transactions, we may en-

lighten a last aspect. The purchased and sold land in each transaction was indeed tiny, but if confronted with the amount of land that composed the 25 farm units we've just been analysing, such transactions, again, do not appear so irrelevant anymore in the local economy. In fact, in an average transaction about 13% of an average farm's land was sold and purchased (Table 10.5).

Table 10.5: Average land per holding and average land per transaction compared

	Arable land	Meadow	Total land
Average land per holding (ha)	0.838	3.024	3.862
Average land per purchase & sell transaction (ha)	0.114	0.387	0.501
Average percentage of holding per transaction (%)	13.6	12.8	13.0

3.3 *Family transactions*

Based on the local customary regulations attested to at the beginning of the 17th century, in the first part of this contribution we were able to deduce that the family played an important role in the peasant real estate market. The far more material evidence provided by the transaction registrations from the mid-18th century clearly confirm this interpretation and even allow us to depict such a role through the figures. Nonetheless what we are going to present here are underestimations of the family's share in the real estate transactions.

The family relations between the acting parties in the transactions are not explicitly mentioned in most of our registrations, with the exception of inheritances and endowments, in which the kinship is whether stated or obvious. In order to overcome this obstacle and define if a purchase and sale of real estate took place among relatives, we adopted a simple criterion that should leave little room for possible scepticism and virtually no possibility of overestimation. We assumed that the transactions between people sharing the same family name and living in the same village where the purchase and sale took place were relatives. Given the rather low probability that persons with the same family name in the same village in the 18th century would not be more or less closely related, and considering that within one village there was a fair chance of kinship even between people with a different family name, the chosen criterion should represent an acceptable means to our purpose. For the same reasons the approximation we get

this way is most probably an underestimation of the number of purchases and sales between family members, also considering that it excludes all the married female relatives (mostly represented by their husbands in the transactions) as well as the relatives living in different villages. The cases in which two people from the same village with the same family name were not relatives should then be outweighed by such excluded possibilities.

But let us turn to the figures. Based on the presented premises, we may estimate that in the mid-18th century, at least 28% of the real estate purchases and sales among peasants on the Karst were transactions within the family. In case we comprise our calculation of the inheritances and endowments, the family share of transfers rises to nearly one half at least (45%). Even more so for being underestimated, these figures should be regarded as a confirmation of the important role of the (wider) family in the real estate market between peasants and in their strategies related to agricultural land and infrastructure (houses, sheds, cellars, etc.). Would it be too daring to formulate the hypothesis that such a characteristic may be regarded as symptomatic of the family's relevance, also in the local peasant economy as a whole?

Preliminary conclusions

The evidence and figures on the peasant land market and the dimension of holdings we presented here are among the first of this kind and quantity in the Slovenian rural and agrarian history of the Early Modern period. For this reason some caution in their interpretation is not out of place. Considering the topic and comparative aim of this volume it nevertheless makes sense to point out how the main characters of the agrarian land structure (tiny plots and very little arable land), agricultural land prices (relatively high), farmstead dimension (prevalence of small holdings), peasant land market (quite lively with a relevant role of the wider family in it) that we have encountered on the mid-18th century Karst, recall and quite closely resemble the traits that Alessio Fornasin (1998, 51–8) uncovered in the mountain economy and society of the nearly neighbouring Carnia, an Alpine area in (Venetian) Friuli, and that are common to other Southern Alpine areas as well. It's also relevant that in Carnia such features were functionally connected with income integration (seasonal migration of skilled craftsmen and peddling in particular), the highly valued tiny plots of agricultural land representing the basis to finance, through loans, the peasant's activities in the secondary and tertiary sectors (Fornasin 1998, 67–

77, esp. 76). Turning back to the Karst, overt or covert credits and loans (for example hidden behind apparent purchase and sale transactions) among peasants will have to be further investigated, although they are very likely to be found.

A conclusion that can be proposed based on the presented data is connected to the dimensions of holdings and plots. The prevailing small farmsteads and the micro-size of their arable land in particular (90% of farms in our sample had up to 1.1 ha of arable land only), leave virtually no doubt about their incompatibility with alimentary self-sufficiency.⁸ This was very likely not even on the economic horizon of most Karst peasants, since further farm and land fragmentation was in progress – although family relations clearly worked in the opposite sense, in what seems to have been a permanent struggle between dividing and reassembling the assets. Nevertheless we face a holding structure that could only be home to an integrated peasant economy.

The other side of the question regarding the size of holdings and their land is represented by the meadows and the reclaimed plots of common land. The strong prevalence of meadows within the farms clearly discloses the importance of animal breeding.⁹ Apart from individually owned grasslands, the commons were huge and still covered most of the agrarian surface, despite the reclamations encountered in the transaction registrations. They were used for grazing too, of course. We may conclude that animal breeding played an important role among the income integration sources.

The interpretation of the reclamation of commons is uncertain at this stage of research, especially because we do not have a clear picture of the economic dynamics in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, which is exactly the period in between the two sources we used. The reading of this

8 It is possible to calculate (based on data from Šorn, 44) that in this period and area the net wheat harvest (that is diminished for the seeds to be sown in the next year) of 1 hectare of arable land could feed a five-member-family for about half a year; but detracted the landlord's duties, what remained to the peasant family amounted to less than that. This means that only two in our sample of 25 farmsteads (8%) would have been able to produce enough grain to feed their households with grain for the whole year or longer.

9 On the whole, in Karst in 1830, there were (rounded down) 37,000 sheep, 7,000 oxen, 4,500 cows with 500 veal, 3,500 pigs, and 800 horses, mules and donkeys, totalling approximately 54,000 animals on about 48,000 ha of grazing surfaces (50 % bare pasture, 9.5 % bare meadow, 16 % meadow with trees, 13.8 % pasture with trees, 10.7 % coppice wood; Panjek 2015b, 94, 98–9).

process may be at least twofold. One reasonable hypothesis, in line with the integrated peasant economy concept, would be that the decrease of income opportunities from trade, transport and other activities had led to an augmented peasant pressure on land in substitution of other income sources in order to keep the economic balance (Panjek and Beguš 2014, 51–2). On the other hand, the picture of the mid-18th century we presented might correspond to a different reading, while still remaining coherent with the integrated peasant economy model, as follows. The ‘privatisation’ of common meadow plots might signal a tendency towards a stronger individualisation of animal breeding practices. It might be a sign of an intensification of animal husbandry, not necessarily motivated with bare subsistence issues, but market oriented. The growth of the nearby port-town of Trieste during the 18th century, from around 1750 onwards in particular, could have been a driving force in this sense. Something similar may be said for the newly reclaimed fields, and perhaps also for the fragmentation of the old ones: The increasing urban demand stimulated the growth and intensification of cereal and wine growing, while the growing opportunities for the commercialisation of agricultural produce and of extra-farm income sources could explain the rationality of land fragmentation (less land was needed to reach the economic balance of the household). As we have seen in the first part of the paper, the contemporary observers themselves defined the Karst peasants as showing amazing ability and diligence, as admirable and hard-working, and even “industrious.” Such industriousness in income integration had even made some of them “wealthy” and living in houses “more gentlemanly than of peasants.”

We may therefore conclude that the quantitative evidence about the Karst represents a striking confirmation of the thesis in Slovenian historiography, asserting that the farmsteads were in many cases too small to make a living out of them only and, at the same time, that the integrated peasant economy concept fits well into the quantitative framework we were able to reconstruct. In any case the presented figures may represent a small contribution to the possibility for further comparative analyses.

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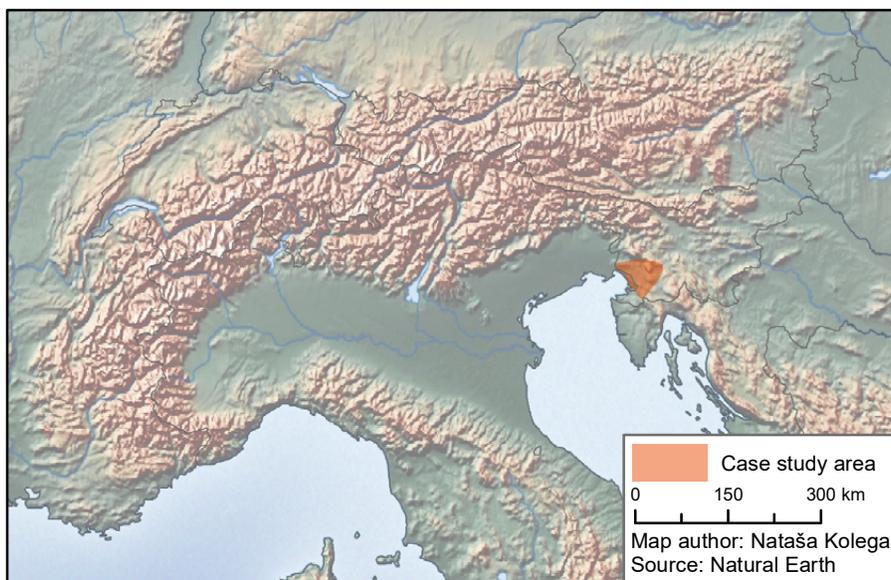
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II

Tourism as a Source of Non-Agricultural Rural Income: The Case of The Karst (16th–19th Centuries)

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Map 11.1: Case study area

Introduction

Travel, has been throughout history practiced for different reasons, such as business, trade, education, health, cultural, religious, adventures and other purposes. Travellers needed accommodation, food, guidance and other supplies while on the road, which was organised and sometimes provided by the local inhabitants of the visited places, especially in the period when the modern tourism organisation structure had not been developed yet. The sole motive for a visit to the area under discussion, the Karst territory, was not pleasure and leisure, but was mostly linked to educational or adventurous purposes. The impact of “tourism” on the local population can be identified already in the pre-industrial period. As early as the Early Modern period, many researchers, adventurers and those who made the Grand Tour were attracted to local points of interest, such as the caves, the Cerknica intermittent lake, Idrija mercury mine, and the like, for their natural assets.

Tourism and its pre-modern activities influenced also non-agricultural activities of the rural population in the areas surrounding the visited attractions and in the new tourism centres of pleasure and leisure during the 19th century. The local population explored the possibilities of new activities, such as seasonal employment in tourist resorts by working in hotels or restaurants, transporting tourists, or selling agricultural products to tourists or the resort itself. Another non-agricultural activity specific to the Karst was linked to the visiting of the caves. In fact, besides accommodation and transport, the local rural population was the main or sometimes the only contact with the visitor also offering guidance and providing lighting in the underground world.

In this article I am not going to focus on the sole visiting purposes or itineraries of the visitors in the period from the 16th to the 19th century, but my interest is to acknowledge whether the activities of travelling could have influenced non-agricultural activities in the area of the Karst region in the pre-industrial and partly in the period of industrialisation and modernisation. This kind of supply is mostly mentioned in the traveller’s diaries or similar publications, but it is not registered as a kind of non-agrarian source of peasant income. When we analyse the period of industrialisation with the development of an organised tourist service, such an activity can be better followed, since different sources (i.e. local newspapers, local tourist guidebooks and other similar promotional publications) mention the involvement of rural population in tourist transactions (food suppli-

ers for hotels and other accommodation, seasonal employees in tourist resorts, carriers etc.). But, until the concrete organisation of the tourism sector with professional schools for education in tourism (waiter, cook, hotel worker) and working profiles, we can still not exactly determine the role of these activities in the achievement of an income outside the primary sector.

The present paper analyses the involvement of the peasant population in tourism activities upon available sources, mostly diaries and similar traveller's publications, guidebooks, newspapers and literature.

1. Cave tourism

Although mostly negative characteristics were attributed to its natural features, such as its bareness and exposure to the bora wind (Shaw 2007), as described by Louis-Francois Cassas, a French landscape painter: "In these districts, highly-cultivated land is no longer to be seen: the soil is gravelly, dry, and barren, and from Senosequia to the valley of the Ruecca its appearance was melancholy in the extreme" (Lavalée 1805, 122), the Karst region attracted curious visitors, scientists and adventurers already in the period before modernisation. In fact, cave tourism firstly developed in the Karst region of the Slovene territory and represents a unique case of such a tourist activity (Kavrečič 2015b). Since the local population was acquainted with the territory, some people were able to guide visitors to the underground. A payment for this service was given to the guide or guides, who were commonly mentioned in the travellers diaries. The better known and easier to reach were the most frequently visited. This is the reason why a more detailed description of the development of the oldest "tourist" cave, Vilenica (near the village of Lokev), in the Slovene territory is going to be presented. The Vilenica Cave was the most frequented cave in the Early Modern period, which lasted until the beginning of the 19th century. It is known as the first "commercial cave" (Shaw and Čuk 2015, 397) in the Slovene territory. This means that an entrance fee, in addition to the fee for the guides through the cave and lighting, was collected. In fact in 1633, the owner of the cave, Count Petazzi left the administration of the cave to the Church of Lokev and the income from the entrance fees was divided between the Count and the Church (Habe and Kranjc 1981, 29). We cannot yet talk about a clear tourist activity, but the collection of an entrance fee besides guiding and lighting was in fact a good sign of a commercial activity. The question is why the fee was introduced and divided among them? The main reason for such a measure was not the sole commercialisation of its visits, but the

need for additional income of the cave owners Petazzi. They were in debt with the Church of Lokev and the income from the fee was used to pay this debt. Puc (2000, 22) suggests that the fee was partly donated to the church by the count also due to a (possible) accident that occurred during a visit. The church's money was actually given for the mass in purpose of greater security to people in the cave, as suggested more than a century later by Girolamo Agapito, a Triestine publicist, in 1823.

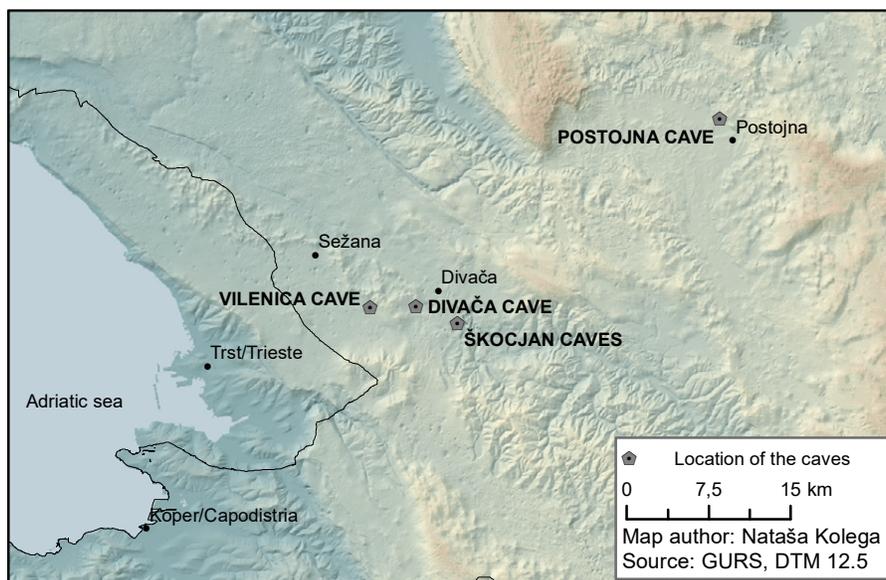
Not much is known about the prices for guides. They were probably payed directly by the visitor who also described their guiding capabilities. Alberto Fortis, a Venetian writer, naturalist and cartographer, wrote about the favourable location of Vilenica during his visit in 1777: "The first important advantage of this Cornial [Lokev] cave is that it is not far from the post road which allows easy access for a good bit of the way [...]. The entrance is very easy, the great entrance hall is light enough not to require torches to see the first two great columns" (Shaw 2008, 82). It was common to have more guides, since lighting had to be provided as well. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, an Austrian orientalist, was also very enthusiastic about the cave: "What magnificence! What splendour! What majesty!" In his opinion it was more beautiful than the one in Postojna (Shaw 2008, 90).

A good connection of Vilenica with Trieste town, as well as the vicinity of the Lipica royal stud farm, established by the Habsburg archduke Karl in 1580, increased the popularity of the cave. Its accessibility was a crucial advantage, since it was the easiest to access and located on the main road from Trieste to Vienna (post carriage from Trieste to Bazovica and Lokev, distance of two post stations; Agapito 1823, 20). In fact, other caves became more frequently visited in the 19th century, the Škocjan and Postojna Caves in particular. Their tourism-related development was emphasised at the beginning of the 19th century, when new discoveries took place in the Postojna Cave and its cave system (Otoška and Črna Caves) and when an access stairway was arranged to the Škocjan Caves. It was the construction of the railway from Vienna to Trieste (1857) that also significantly influenced the development of cave tourism especially in Postojna, where a railway station was located, which opened new income opportunities for the local population (Kavrečič 2015a).

Another cave, known and visited already in the pre-industrial period, was the one at Socerb, not far from Trieste, on which some travellers left records of their visit. It was mostly considered as being small, but easy to access and with lots of "petrification" (Shaw 2008, 78). Travelogues

which mentioned the visit do not provide information about any guiding. The cave was described also by Agapito in 1823, as easy to access: “you enter descending without any danger, nor inconvenience, through a stone stairway” (Agapito 1823, 32). The visit of the cave was also linked to the visit of the nearby castle ruins, with visitors mostly mentioning the abandonment and the religious rituals taking place in the cave, but a more touristic organisation or supply (tickets, guides) did not develop in this case.

Other caves in the Karst, such as the Črna Cave (Magdalena), Predjama, Zelška Cave, Križna Cave, Grotta Gigante-Velika Pečina (Great Cave), were also visited in the Early Modern period, but less records about them seem to have been preserved (Shaw 2008; Kavrečič 2015b).



Map 11.2: Location of the caves

2. Local guides before the organisation of tourist infrastructure

Travelling in the pre-industrial period was long, arduous, expensive and even dangerous because of bandits and thieves who preyed on travellers along the side of the roads. Furthermore, roads were bad and the journey was slow (Kavrečič 2015a). Diaries report about long journeys due to poorly maintained roads and thus required many stops for lubrication of wheels,

which was also provided by local inhabitants. Communication sometimes caused problems, if the locals did not know any foreign languages, another problem was the lack of adequate accommodation and food supply (Shaw 1997, 172). Traveller's diaries provide some information about the local peasant population as far as their language skills and acquaintance with the underground cave is concerned; in some cases we get their names. They rarely mention the amount of retribution given to the peasant guides.

More information about guiding and fees can be traced in different traveller diaries from the end of the 18th century. Fortis for example in 1777 mentioned the local peasants as guides: "The people of Cornial who are used to guiding strangers in the dark places had made a convenient staircase from broken stone." He was accompanied by at least three guides, since he mentioned a climbing of two of his guides (Shaw 2008, 82). F. L. Cassas in 1782 hired guides to lead him to the banks of the Reka River (flowing in the Škocjan caves).¹ John Russell, a Scottish lawyer, in 1822 was led by a miller's man to the entrance of the Planina cave, and in 1828, John James Tobin, an English physician, "went with a guide from Trieste to see the Vilenica cave, where they provided him with a man carrying a large lamp and some boys with candles" (Tobin 1828, 152). Tobin also explained that once, he "went to see the caves of St. Kanzian [Škocjan], with a lad, who spoke a little German, as a guide." He was also accompanied by three guides in the caves of Postojna and by guides in the Vilenica cave (Tobin 1828, 152, 154–5, 159, 168; Shaw 1997, 45). Edmund Spencer, a German Captain, also hired a guide to help him get from the village of Cerknica to the caves of Postojna and from there to Predjama castle (built in a cave) in 1836. Unfortunately these travellers left no information about the retribution given to their guides.

The first guidebooks, like the ones of Murray and Baedeker mentioned local guides too. The Baedeker's from 1873 said that "the Nanos Mountain could be ascended from Razdrto, with a guide." The guides in the Postojna caves are said to have sold the peculiar reptile living in Karst-caves, the olm, also known as the "human fish" (*Proteus anguinus*), to tourists (Shaw 1997, 45–6).

Local guides were commonly used by foreign travellers throughout the 19th century, although it was not always easy to reach for a guide. Before the discoveries of new parts of the Black and Postojna caves, some visitors,

1 The caves were difficult to access, which forced most of the visitors to stay on the surface (Kelsall, Hooper, Hornschuch, Laurent), mostly admiring the disappearing of the river.

as for example Johann Gottfried Seume, a German writer, had trouble finding one. Seume mentioned the guiding capabilities of his guides and the retribution of a few *groschen* given to them, but he was not more specific about the exact amount of the retribution (Seume 1802, 69–71).

There can be no doubt that the guiding of cave-visitors represented a source of income from non-agricultural activities to the peasants, but on the other hand it is quite clear that the amount of such income was not registered in any way in the earliest period. With the regulation of the tourist supply in the caves, like entrance, lighting, and guidance, fees for these services were officially introduced.

3. Modern cave tourism – organisation of visit and guiding

Modern tourism is characterised by the appearance of a clear inter-relationship between demand and supply for tourist services on the market (Battilani 2009). During the 19th century, in many European countries, tourism had a growing impact on economies at both local and national levels. Various types of modern tourism, such as thermal (spa), seaside, or mountain tourism appeared or were re-introduced already during the 17th and 18th centuries, but we can only follow a more significant influence of tourism on the economy of different European countries during the 19th century (Kavrečič 2015a).

During the 19th century cave tourism gained in economic importance, especially where a significant tourist infrastructure had been implemented. The development of a higher level of organisation of tourist services has also been carried out.² Investments in tourist infrastructure were encouraged and intensified: accommodation infrastructure, leisure facilities and the administration of caves. Cave Committees and Cave Sections of Alpine Societies were established in order to take care of the surroundings, infrastructure (for example railway in the Postojna Cave), arrangements of paths, lighting and guiding, etc. Tourist statistics were also introduced (guestbook, tickets). The ownership structure of the land above and surrounding the caves changed during the second half of the 19th century. Before the abolition of the feudal regime the areas of the caves (part of the

2 A structured organisation of education has been slowly introduced. In the Slovene territory the first professional schools for education in tourism and hospitality were opened after WWI in Ljubljana, Maribor and Celje (Marn 1939, 469). Before the opening of professional schools, classes and courses in hospitality were organised by the “Hospitality cooperative” (*Gostilničarska zadruga*) in 1909 (Andrejka 1926, 11).

commons) were mostly owned by feudal lords, while after 1848 they were assigned in collective property to the local village communities. The communities were then able to use the natural assets of their territory also for tourism purposes, which was since then practiced in the Vilenica, Škocjan and Divača Caves. Anyway, the most significant development of cave tourism during the 19th century took place in the Postojna caves, which became one of the main tourist attractions in the region at that time. The caves were under public administration; in fact the district governor of Postojna was also the president of the Cave Committee (Habe 1979, 177).

In general, tourist destinations represented an increasing income opportunity for the local population, since the organisation of a tourist destination required a lot of investment in infrastructure, new labour force and an offer of what could be found in the surrounding areas.

3.1 *Postojna Cave*

An accidental discovery by the local inhabitant Luka Čeč in 1818 inaugurated the Postojna cave as a very successful tourist destination. After his discovery, the entrance was closed and in 1819 the cave was officially opened to tourists (Čuk 2003; Kariž 2008). The administrative organ of the cave was the Cave Committee established in 1824 (1823) and ran by local authorities (district governor).³ The Cave Committee took over the organisation of paths, the guiding and lighting service in the cave and it introduced the entrance fee.

A crucial moment for the intensive development of cave tourism in Postojna occurred with the construction of the South railway leading from Vienna to Trieste in 1857, on which one of the stops was also placed in Postojna. The tourism development required great investments in tourist infrastructure, such as accommodation facilities, arrangements of the surroundings, guiding service, a lighting system (electric light arrived in 1884), and maintenance of the railway tracks of the small train in the cave which were laid in 1872 (Kavrečič 2007). The local newspaper *Notranjec* (published from 1904 to 1909) reported that the local population was also involved in this process, in fact, besides guiding, it also supplied restaurants with agricultural products or offered transportation for tourists (Kavrečič 2007; Čeč 2001).

Due to greater tourist visits, an increase in prices for tourist services can be followed. According to Schaffenrath's guide in 1834 the entrance fee

3 Since 1848 the cave was directly under the property of the state (Savnik 1958, 144).

was 30 *kreuzers* (*kr.*) for adults and half that price for soldiers. The prices for illumination also varied, depending on the duration of the visit: 20 *kr.* for two hours, 30 *kr.* for three and 40 *kr.* for a four-hour visit (Schaffenrath 1834, 42). A new pricelist was released by the Cave Committee in 1858 (Costa 1863, 47)⁴ indicating 70 *kr.* for the price for a single entrance ticket and 80 *kr.* for a guide (see picture 11.1). Guidebooks also provided information about the number of guides required for each visit. Two guides were needed for groups of 1 to 4 visitors; one more guide was needed for more than 4 visitors (Baedeker 1876, 341; Edeles 1869, 12–3).

REGULATION

for visitors of the Grotto.

4. The visitor of the Grotto is always attended by a guide of the Grotto, if a special illumination is desired, a certain number of illuminators too accompany the visitor into the grotto.

Each of the *guides* and *illumigators* are entitled to a fee of 80 *kr.* (cents of a flor.) for every visit. The illumination with miners' lamps, and respectively in the new Grotto with stearine-candles and candelabres are, however, at their own charge.

6 Less than two guides are not allowed, and for *every four persons* one guide more is required. A party above 20 persons

Picture 11.1: Regulation for visitors regarding guiding from Edeles's guidebook in 1869

Until the second half of the 19th century a visit to the cave was possible at any time of the day or night (Costa 1863, 48), but at least since 1869 the visit was possible only twice a day (Edeles 1869, 11). At the beginning of the 19th century one guide was paid 12 *kr.*; in 1852 the price was raised to 30 *kr.* (Savnik 1960, 103) and in 1858 to 80 *kr.* (Costa 1863, 47). After the introduction of the new currency – *krona* (*Krone*) and *vinar* (*Heller*) in 1892, the fees were sometimes still fixed in *gulden*s, however at the beginning of the new century the prices in *krona* were already introduced. The paper *Notranjec* in 1906 published the pricelist and opening hours. The cave was then opened for visits throughout the year. During winter months it was possible to enter once a day (11am), while from the 1st of March till the 31st of October twice a day (at 11am and at 3.30pm). The entrance fee was then 5 *kro-*

4 The guidebooks from the 1870s (Murray 1871; Baedeker 1876) all indicate the same prices as in 1858.

na (2.5 gulden), on Sundays and festivity days 3 krona (1.5 gulden) per person (Picture 11.2).

Koliko in zakaj mora plačati, kdor pride v jamo.

Št.		Plačilo v avst. vr.	
		gld.	kr.
1	Vhodnine: a) kdor ni vojak, mora plačati po	—	70
	b) vojak mora plačati po	—	35
2	Jamskemu strežaju in tudi za dve milini sveči, ki se namestu svetilnice rabiti v Franc-Jožefovej in Elizabetinej jami, treba plačati	—	80
3	Za nosilnico z dvema svečnikoma	6	30
4	Za voščeno plamenico	2	63
5	Če se na razgledu prižge veliki svetilnik, ki ima 27 milinih sveč	—	52
6	Za malo svečavo, ki potrebuje 4 libre lojévih sveč	2	10
7	Za veliko svečavo, ki potrebuje 10 liber lojévih sveč	5	25
8	Za vsako libro milinih sveč	1	5
9	Uradniku, ki spremlja vsako društvo, v katerem je nad 20 ljudi	2	10

Picture 11.2: Pricelist for visit, guiding and lighting in Postojna Cave from Costa's guidebook in 1863

In an attempt to assess the importance of the Postojna cave as an income source for the local inhabitants, we may compare the mentioned guiding fees, assuming them as the retribution of the guides, with the current average prices for bread and meat in Ljubljana (Table 11.1).⁵ Around 1834 a guide through the cave was payed 12 *kr.*, which means that the guide

5 Ljubljana was the major urban centre on a regional scale since it was the capital of Kranjska (Carniola) crownland, which means that the prices were undoubtedly higher than in Postojna, which acquired the status of a town in 1909. The prices were

could purchase almost three kilograms of bread for one guiding tour. Since 1858 a guide in the Postojna cave received 80 *kr.* In the same year the price for meat was 12.5 *kr.* per pound (22.3 *kr.* per kg), which means that the guide could purchase more than 3kg of meat (Melik 1981, 28–32).⁶

Table 11.1: Prices for bread and beef in the first half of the 19th century in Ljubljana

Year	Price for a kg of bread (in <i>kr.</i>) *	Price for a pound of beef (in <i>kr.</i>)
1820	3.4	6.0
1830	4.4	5.6
1840	4.7	7.7
1850	5.5	9.8

Note: The prices are in *gulden*s and *kreuzers* (*konvenkijske* valute; *Conventionsmünze*) that were used until 1858.

Another comparison can be made with the number of visitors, where an assessment of the annual income from guiding can be estimated. If we take into account the year 1869, when the population survey took place, Postojna was inhabited by 1701 people (836 men and 865 women) living within 199 households (Bevölkerung 1872). In that year the Postojna cave was visited by 3,927 tourists. Since two guides were required for one to four visitors and if we suppose that visitors mostly came in groups (in a way to share costs as also recommended by tourist guidebooks), we suggest that one guide usually guided two visitors. In this case a total earning from guiding in the year 1869 would amount to 157,080 *kr.* In order to illustrate the importance of the income from guiding for local inhabitants, the total amount of this income may be divided with the number of households in the same year. The result represents an estimate of an average annual income from cave guiding, considering that all the households would participate in this activity. In 1869 that income would amount to 789.35 *kr.*

By making the same calculation for the year 1880, when Postojna's population was 1621 (773 men and 848 women; Special-Orts-Repertorium 1884) and the cave was visited by 4547 tourists, the amount of earnings from guiding would have been 181,880 *kr.* To check what such an amount of mon-

fixed for every month – published monthly by the district office. The bread is 3/4 of rye and 1/4 of wheat flour.

6 Although the peasant population, involved in this activity was producing this kind of product at home, this comparison was still made to indicate what a person could afford to buy for this kind of occupation.

ey could have meant for the single guide, we may again divide it with the number of households in the same year (225: the total yearly income would have been 808.36 *kr.*) (Table 11.2). To make a comparison, a decade later (1891) the average annual income of a regular worker in the Idrija quick-silver mines was of 21,200 *kr.* (212 *gld.*; *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, 1. 1. 1892, 4). The 1880 annual income as a cave-guide in Postojna we estimated, (808.36 *kr.*) represents 3.81% of the annual income of the mine worker. In 1869 the income was 789.35 *kr.*, which represents 3.72%. Considering that most probably not every household in town was involved in guiding, and that visitor groups might have been smaller, requiring more guides, these figures are surely underestimations: for those who did the guiding it should have been possible to make a month or two's living out of it.

Table 11.2: Income of households from guiding in Postojna cave in 1869 and 1880

Year	Number of households in Postojna	Number of visitors in the cave	Annual income of a household from guiding (estimated average in <i>kr.</i>)
1869	199	3927	789.35
1880	225	4547	808.36

The present comparison of guidance fees with food prices, salary, number of visitors and the population does not provide completely satisfactory information about the relevance of the source of income of the peasant population from this non-agricultural activity, but rather sketch it roughly. Indeed, there are some more reasons that prevent us from gaining more precise data. In fact, the information about the social status of the guides is relatively scarce, although they are mostly referred to as locals or peasants from the nearby areas; neither is there data about the level of their involvement in the tourist process, namely about how often did a person guide, and if it was a regular occupation or only an occasional activity.

3.2 Škocjan, Vilenica and Divača Caves

As we have already said, the first important step that enabled the growth of the visits to the Škocjan Caves was the construction of stairs in 1823 (Müller 2013, 30). The rural population of the cave's surroundings was involved in the underground research activities that took place since the second half of the 19th century and especially after the foundation of a speleology division by the Primorska Section of the German and Austrian alpine Society of Trieste (*Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenverein, Section Küsten-*

land – Abtheilung für Grottenforschung) in 1884, which also acquired the lease of the Škocjan Caves in the same year from the Municipality of Naklo. In fact, a systematic penetration along the river and exploration of the caves began, where an important role was also played by the local inhabitants as recognised by the most prominent members of the alpine society (Müller 2013, 39). Tourist paths were regulated, bridges were built, guided tours were arranged and an entrance fee was collected (Müller 1887, 9–10; Pазze 1893, 207–12; Shaw 2008, 51–2). Although the involvement of the local peasant population was clear, no data about a retribution for their work was found.

Contrary to the Postojna Cave, which was under public administrative authority (district governor), the Škocjan caves and its surrounding territory were common land of the Municipality of Naklo from the second half of the 19th century onwards.⁷ The local community clearly exploited its assets trying to gain some profit from it. The alpine society acquired the lease for the cave administration, for an annual retribution of 10 *gulden*s (Pазze 1893, 166). A similar process was going on also in caves Vilenica and Divača.

With the beginning of the administration, by the speleology division of the Alpine society, a regulation was released (*Kundmachung, betreffend die Rekahöhlen von St. Canzian*) in which fees were regulated as well. Besides the entrance ticket of 30 *kr.*, the guiding service was also charged 20 *kr.* for one hour guidance per person, if there were more visitors (but not more than three per guide) they paid 10 *kr.* each. Lighting was charged extra, according to Müllers guide a candle cost 10 *kr.* The entrance was free for the members of the German-Austrian Alpine Society (*Illustirter Führer* 1897, 91; Müller 1887, 108). The entrance ticket could be purchased in Matavun's inn *Zu den St. Canzianer-Grotten* where information about the prices was provided in three languages: *der Tarif für Führer und Beleuchtung in 3 Sprachen, deutsch, slavisch [slovene] und italienisch*. In Müller's guidebook the names of the guides, local inhabitants of the village of Matavun, were published: Jože Antončič, Miha Gombač, Luka Gombač, Jože Cerkvénik (father), Pavel Antončič, Juri Cerkvénik, Jože Cerkvénik. Except for Jože Cerkvénik and Paul Antončič all the other guides spoke at least basic Italian. Jože Antončič spoke a bit of German too. Other peasants from the nearby villages of Matavun and St. Canzian are mentioned as guides as

7 Although some cave entrances were private property of the local inhabitants, who also signed the lease contract (Pазze 1893, 165–6; Puc 2015, 32).

well, but with no knowledge of other languages beside Slovene (Müller 1887, 9). Other more specific information about guides are not mentioned.

Comparing with the fee of the Postojna cave, the latter was significantly higher. Yet, in the case of the Škocjan caves a bigger emphasis was given to the research activities that were carried out and the tourist infrastructure still needed to be arranged. In this matter Postojna cave was at an advantage since these improvements started to take place decades earlier.

The official tourist guides briefly mention also the cave Vilenica in Lokev: “The Grotto of Corgnale is another very beautiful cavern, about 10 km. from Trieste. The innkeeper Mukow has the key and the Grotto Book. Fee, 15 *kr.* each person; one *hr.* sufficient” (Murray 1871, 458). Yet this was the only attention that was given to Vilenica in the guidebook. A previous edition (from 1837) was rather critical when mentioning this cave: “There is another, but far more inferior cavern, near Corneale [...] a guide with a light may be procured at the village [...] the descent is perpendicular, and in parts difficult, if not dangerous” (Murray 1837, 294). Another note of unappreciation was made in 1817 by Monson. He decided not to visit the cave due to the deceiving locals.

We at last discovered the cavern, where the peasants made a demand of five florins for showing it, the price, according to them, affixed by law. We asked for the tariffe, and they referred us to a cottage in the neighbourhood [...] here they abated the demand by one half, but would show us no tariffe, saying it was lodged at Trieste, and insisted on the money being paid beforehand.

Due to this approach they decided to return to Trieste without visiting the cave (Shaw 2008, 119). This means that along with an ‘official’ activity, a more ‘unofficial one’ was taking place too. The peasants may not have been successful with Monson and his company, but they might have had luck with someone else. The price, even the proposed half, was indeed very high, if we consider the official one, but this kind of income is even harder to trace.

As already mentioned the Vilenica cave’s entrance was closed in 1809 by its owner, the count of Petazzi. All the income from the fee was then transferred to the nearby Church of Lokev (Agapito 1823, 22).⁸ At the beginning of the century, the village inhabitants were also involved in the management and arrangement of paths in the cave. In fact, in 1815 they dis-

8 The entrance fee for a group of visitors was at that time 2 *guldens*.

covered new parts of the cave and arranged paths for the visit of these newly discovered parts.⁹ During the 19th century the community of Lokev administrated the cave with the local church, as the key was kept and guiding was provided in the local inn Muha. The innkeeper had kept the key since 1839 along with the guest book (*Jamska knjiga*). The owners of the inn administrated the cave for a period¹⁰ and also arranged for the guiding services; in fact members of the Muha family are also evidenced as guides (Vencel and Viljem) in the guest book (Puc 2000, 31–2). In 1850 Kohl complimented the guides in the Vilenica cave as: “knowledgeable guides, ready to accompany us with the necessary lights” (Shaw 2008, 196). Nevertheless the popularity and the visits to the cave diminished throughout the 19th century.

In 1886 the Cave committee of the Italian Alpine Society (*Società Alpina delle Giulie – Commissione delle grotte*) acquired the lease of the cave from the community of Lokev and soon began to arrange paths for easier access and cave lighting. Eugenio Boegan, the secretary of the cave Committee of the Italian Alpine Society, described its glorious past and its magnificent stony features, considering it as one of the most beautiful, most visited, described and widely acclaimed caves in the past, that due to the new discoveries that took place in Postojna, the recent ease of access to Škocjan caves and the discovery of the Divača Cave fell into oblivion (Boegan 1897, 10–6; Janša 1968, 30). Another negative factor was also ascribed to road connections, since at the end of the 18th century the new state road from Trieste to Vienna was redirected through other places (Puc 2000, 27).¹¹ The Slovene newspaper *Edinost* of Trieste also regretted the lack of visit: “In the centre of the cave there is a dance floor for festivities, which are not organised anymore, and lately almost nobody visits the cave anymore,” which was also attributed to the bad administration of the cave (*Edinost* 13. 4. 1881, 2).

9 AST, CF, Elaborati, Sežana.

10 Other members of the community are mentioned as administrators of the cave, as for instance the Lanthieri, which due to debts left the administration over the cave to the Muha family.

11 The railway from the port to the capital, constructed in 1857, did not pass through Lokev as the route passed through Divača. The once well-connected Vilenica, thanks to the post road, was now set off the main routes and the distance from the Divača station is supposed to have provoked a decrease in visits. However, similarly far from the Divača station were also the Škocjan Caves, yet in this case distance did not seem to affect the visiting. Reasons for the diminishing of popularity of Vilenica should be traced within its management (see Kavrečič 2015c, 553).

Besides the already mentioned ones, there are no other reliable data about the organisation of guiding. In Virgil Šček's notes about the village of Lokev, Vilenica is mentioned several times, giving also some information about the income from the entrance fee, but with almost no information about the local guides and the involvement of the local population in the tourism process (ŽAL, Šček, 1937).

Divaška jama – *Kronprinz Rudolf Grotto* was discovered much later compared to the previous mentioned caves. Gregor Žiberna along with other local peasants Alojz Obersnel, Adalbert Rebec, Peter Sila and Anton Rešaver from Divača discovered it in 1884 (*Edinost* 25. 6. 1884, 3; Puc 1999, 17).¹² The guiding in Divača cave was organised towards the end of the 19th century. The array and management was led by the community. With the arrangement of the visit (paths, guiding, lighting), the tourists could purchase the ticket and guide in the Obersnel restaurant near the railway station, as written in Baedekers guidebook from 1888. A known visitor of the cave was Sigmund Freud in 1898, guided by Gregor Žiberna¹³: “Strangest of all was our guide, pretty pickled but quite safe on his legs, gay and humorous.” He considered him as a decayed genius and a neurotic person, but he gave him a generous tip of “several *Gulden*” (Shaw 2008, 54, 292–3). In 1886 the speleology division of the Austrian Tourist Club (*Österreichischen Touristen-Klub*) acquired a ten year lease of the cave from the community of Divača (under the Municipality of Naklo) (*Edinost* 23. 3. 1887, 2). Due to the slow process of path improvement, lack of visits and irregular payments (no control from the community) the lease contract was terminated by mutual agreement in 1890. In 1904 the lease was given to the Trieste section of the Slovene Alpine Society (*Slovensko planinsko društvo*). The entrance fee was then fixed at 1 *krona* (1/2 *gulden*); a guide with lighting was paid 3 *krona* (1.5 *gulden*) (*Planinski vestnik* 1909, 99). There were only a few persons mentioned as capable guides of the cave: Gregor Žiberna, who also spoke foreign languages and actually made his living only upon guiding and also Anton Obersnel, Valentin Rešaver and Ignacij Čelik (Puc 1999, 19, 23; Žiberna 1981, 148–9).¹⁴ The supposed reason for such limited participation of oth-

12 The discovery was also reported in the newspaper *Edinost*, where a notice about the newly discovered grotto numerous impressive Stalactites, was published in May 1884 (*Edinost* 24. 5. 1884, 3).

13 He was an enthusiastic researcher of caves, also cooperated with the members of the German and Austrian Alpine Society, he was supposedly the keeper of the cave book, which was later destroyed in a fire.

14 In 1897 only the first two are mentioned as capable guides (Puc 1999, 23).

er inhabitants in the guiding activity is related to the lack of knowledge of foreign languages. According to the collected data by Matjaž Puc, author of several publications about karst caves, other earnings were more significant to the inhabitants of Divača or perhaps they did not have an interest in getting involved in this type of activity (Puc 1999, 25). Why did the locals, beside Žiberna, not have any interest in getting involved in this process? One of the reasons could be danger (i.e. accidents in the cave during exploration) or a financially relatively insignificant income. The problem might have also been the inadequate regulation of the guiding itself and the fee collection¹⁵ in the cave as may be deduced from the reported writing of the mayor of Naklo (Puc 1999, 23). The Municipality of Naklo was also in charge of the management of the caves of Škocjan, yet in this case it effectively outsourced the management activity to an external provider – the Alpine society. In that period Divača was also becoming a modern transport hub, connected with Vienna, the port of Trieste (southern railway 1857) and with the naval base in Pulj (Pula/Polj; Istrian railway from 1876), which means that also other non-agricultural activities of the peasant population were frequent. Compared to Lokev (Vilenica) or Matavun (Škocjan), the acquaintance with the underground cave occurred relatively late¹⁶ and the access still had to be organised, which might have also been the reason for the supposed disinterest from the locals.

Conclusion

Cave tourism is considered the oldest form of tourist activity in the Karst region of the Slovenian territory, referring to its long tradition since the Early Modern period. Natural assets of this area are the caves, which are a

- 15 There were no specific regulations about guiding; the only two regulated fees were the collection of an entrance and a retribution for the guide collection. The Mayor of Naklo recommended the collection of 60 *kr.* for the tour, 10 *kr.* for candles and 10 *kr.* for magnesium. Flames were not allowed (Puc 1999, 23; Žiberna 1981, 149). Other motives can also be attributed to the “unsuccessful” management of the Divača cave. One reason was probably the conflict between Žiberna and the new local authorities. Since Žiberna discovered the cave, he probably considered himself as the only or the most capable guide. He is referred to as “guardian and guide,” payed for his services from the cave administrators. Since the community did not in any way recompense his significant finding, they unofficially led him be the principal guide through the cave. Problems occurred with the onset of a new headman of Divača who was in conflict with Žiberna (Žiberna 1981, 148–9).
- 16 No traces of folk or other religious tradition is associated with the cave in Divača, which would suggest a possible acquaintance with the underground in the past (see also Hrobat Virloget 2015).

tourist attraction in itself and a possible source of income from non-agrarian activity for the local peasant population. Within the development of modern cave tourism, the influence on these activities supposedly grew. The new supply, such as accommodation, infrastructure, food, guiding and lighting service, was organised for the growing tourist industry.

In this article I have tried to determine whether the population of the rural areas surrounding the most famous caves of the karst territory had any benefit from this tourist attraction. Did these activities have any impact on the local economies or were they relevant anyhow for the locals? In the case of cave tourism, was the local peasant population involved in the process? We may agree on the latter question, since they were involved mostly as guides and light providers for the visitors. During the 19th century this involvement included also other types of supply (selling food and carriers). This non-agricultural activity represented integration with the income from the agrarian sector, although it is hardly traceable or evidenced. Based on available sources, it was not possible to quantify the income from guiding and to determine the level of its importance, since no data about the frequency of this occasional type of work, the type and grade of involvement of the local population have been evidenced. An approximate estimation was made for Postojna cave, when the prices during the 19th century considerably changed and a more structured and effective tourism growth development can be seen.

Nevertheless another activity of the local communities shows that this practice was not that insignificant. The involvement in the tourism process was more remarkable during the second half of the 19th century when the former feudal territories, where also the caves were situated, were designated to the administration of the local communities. This was also a period of greater investments in tourist infrastructure in the underground (research of new cave parts, array of paths, introduction of tickets etc.). It offered an opportunity to exploit the caves for tourism purposes, which was clear especially in the Škocjan caves, where the Alpine society acquired the lease of the caves for several years and paid an annual retribution to the community. Both scientific and tourism related development proceeded efficiently. In this case the cooperation resulted in a success involving also the local inhabitants. In the case of Vilenica Cave other factors influenced the lack of visitors and a consequently lower involvement of the local population in the tourism sector. The tenant from 1886 onwards did invest in the array of the underground, although no information about fees and guiding are appar-

ently available towards the end of the century. The cave was even no longer mentioned in the guidebooks from the beginning of the 20th century. On the other hand the Divača Cave's popularity was growing towards the beginning of the 20th century, as can be evidenced in the tourist guidebooks and local newspapers, where the cave is mentioned as worth visiting. With the involvement of the Slovene Alpine society a more structured organisation can be followed.

We can conclude that the peasant population did benefit from cave tourism in the pre-industrial, as well as in the period of its modernisation, although we have shown that the impact had a different level of relevance in the analysed cases. Guiding and lighting services were the main source of income from non-agricultural activities of the local population in the pre-industrial period. With the modern cave tourism development, other type of services occurred (research and food supply). In both periods tourism enabled the integration of peasant's revenues from the primary sector with this tertiary sector.

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12

Disaster Management and Integrated Economy in Early Modern Japan Amakusa in the 19th Century

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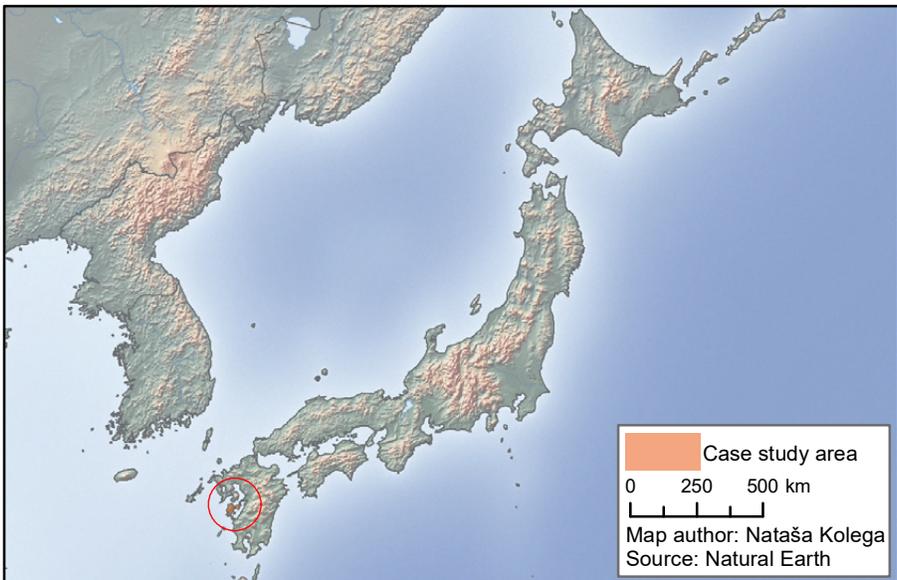
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Map 12.1: Case study area

Introduction

The leaders of the Tokugawa shogunate (the shogun¹– daimyo² ruling system, 1603–1868) had established and idealised a communal village system. Conrad Totman summarised this concept in relief measures and regulations, which were implemented in the age of harvest failures and food price crisis around 1640. According to Totman, those administrative decisions “delineated the essential characteristics of the village system they wished to perpetuate” (Totman 1993, 112).

Each village was to constitute a self-sustaining collectivity of small-holders clearly separated from merchants. They were to eschew luxuries and work diligently to produce essential goods on their own lands, while collectively paying taxes and caring for their village. They were to be responsible for one another's good behaviour, an obligation exercised through gonin-gumi, or 'five household units,' neighbourhood groups modelled on classical Chinese precedents. Overseeing these collectivities was the hierarchy of village officials, intendants, and daimyo or Edo officials, all attentive to their duties, dedicated to preserving the productivity vitality and well-being of the villagers, and effectively controlled by regulations that derived ultimately from Edo.

The peasant family farm and the expansion of new arable lands increased the productivity of rice from the 16th to the 17th century, especially in the first phase of Early Modern Tokugawa Japan. By the *Genroku*³ period (1688–1704) (Totman 1993, 184–222), in the early years of the Tokugawa shogunate, most of Japan had been naturally or artificially reclaimed and cultivated in order to grow various types of rice, crops and other agricultural products to sustain the population. According to an estimate, “paddy acreage increased by more than 70% between 1450 and 1600, and by another 140% by 1720” (Totman 1993, 149).⁴

However, over-concentration on a single crop increased the risk of famine. The first serious famine in Early Modern Japan broke out in 1732

1 Hegemonial military leader: a hereditary head of the Tokugawa family.

2 Literally “great name:” regional baron.

3 A *nengō* (a period of years as designated in the Japanese calendric system) when original Japanese recreation and aesthetic productions and cultures flourished as *ukiyo*, the “floating world.”

4 Citation from K. Yamamura, “Returns on Unification: Economic Growth in Japan, 1550–1650,” in Hall 1968, 334.

(*Kyoho* 17), mainly in western parts of the country, inducing severe shortages of rice and wheat on which the Tokugawa regime had been founded upon. For example, the *Ōzu han*, a domain located in southwestern Japan, in what is currently Ehime prefecture, had maintained a stable average of 38,000 *koku* (1 *koku* = 150kg of rice in volume or capacity) during the years 1727–1731 (*Kyoho* 12–16), but its land tax delivery dropped by approximately two-thirds, to 13,000 *koku* in 1732 (*Kyoho* 17) (Higashi 2013, 244). The damage was serious. The severity of the famine prompted a major conversion in agriculture and manufacturing from monoculture to polyculture. In the mid-18th century, many domains in Tokugawa Japan conducted research on which products were available in their respective regions. The diversification of listed local products implies the emergence of a new commercialisation scheme and the development of polyculture (Murayama 2014, 6).

Totman suggests “these large-scale rhythms of growth and stasis reflected human rhythms of polity, economy, society, and culture, but they involved far more than people” (Totman 1993, 26). Because of a ceaseless interplay of people and their environmental settings,

to explain the dynamics of this history requires [...] much more than an examination of the human record. It also requires scrutiny of farmlands, forests, wetlands, and the sea, and of the creatures living therein. Unfortunately, it is impossible at present to study this broader history satisfactorily because much of the story, particularly that of the nonhuman players, is barely recorded” (Totman 1993, 36).

Indeed, Totman successfully integrated the stories found in the biographies of the elite, cultural developments and environmental and demographic changes in Early Modern Japan on a macro level. However, we should not forget that there was tremendous regional diversity not only in ecological settings but also in the historical consequences of regionally differentiated nature-induced disasters such as typhoons, monsoon downpours, earthquakes and epidemics.

1. Disasters and the demographic regime in Early Modern Japan

European historical demography reveals that the Early Modern mortality factors were chiefly epidemics, starvation, and war (Imhof 1988, 92–102). Early Modern Europe embraced a decreasing population induced by

innumerable wars, such as the Thirty Years War, the Seven Years War, the Great Nordic War, the Napoleonic Wars and wars of independence, and the Franco-Prussian War. However, the wars were not the direct causes of mortalities, as even more threatening were “the major epidemics that even small armies spread in their wake. The plague marched alongside the armies in the Thirty Years War, together typhus carried by the lice in their clothing. More victims fell to these epidemics than to the small bands of soldiers with their primitive cut and thrust weapons, their unreliable and complicated guns, or even their burning everything in sight” (Imhof 1990, 39).

In sharp contrast, there were no mortality crises attributable to war during the Tokugawa era as Japan had no international wars for the two and a half centuries of the Tokugawa rule, and this characterises the essential mortality regime of traditional Japan. The main disasters in Early Modern Japan, in the times of the Tokugawa shogunate, were rainstorms, floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, the spread of epidemics, especially smallpox, and fires.

The Japanese population is estimated to have increased enormously over these centuries from 17 million people before the 17th century (Saito 2014, 72) to 31 million people in 1720, when the first national population survey was conducted (Hayami 1986, 6). Japan’s human population at the macro-level ceased to grow after around 1720, and stagnated at around 32 million until the beginning of the *Meiji* Era (1868–1912), although some regional differences, including population decrease in northeastern Japan and population growth in southwestern Japan (Kitou 2000), were observed. During the period of stagnant population growth, the Tokugawa shogunate initiated attempts to manage and control large rivers for acquiring new cultivation areas, but was unsuccessful in conquering floods. Until the middle of the *Meiji* Era, floods occurred nearly every year on almost all of Japan’s alluvial plains and in the delta regions, challenging the inhabitants every day with drainage issues (Ōkuma 2007, 12). The enactment of the River Law in 1896 (Meiji 29) was the first watershed event dividing Early Modern and modern flood disaster management in Japan. With the introduction of modern civil engineering technology in the last quarter of the 19th century, water management in Japan changed dramatically, as the initiative for protection against flood risk in major rivers was elevated to a priority political issue of the State.

A “farm diary of the Noguchi family of Kyushu, running from 1847 to 1865” reports “a saga of struggle against weather. Far from being entranced by nature’s rhythms, the Noguchi were ever fighting to overcome its irregularities: flood one year, drought the next, too much rain early in the summer, too little later” (Smith 1988a, 208). This can be related to Takahama, where historical sources reveal similar struggles against nature-induced disasters.

2. Takahama’s economy in traditional Japan

Until the end of the Tokugawa era, Japan had no significant overseas trade and had sustained a population of around 32 million by relying mostly on domestic resources. The formulation of the principles of the Tokugawa economy and the performance of actual economic activities had been assumed by each peasant and sustained by village autonomy, as the village was a communal taxpayer. Under this system, Japan achieved steady economic growth and relatively low economic inequality compared to Europe in Early Modern times (Saito 2005, 40–4).

Food, shelter, and energy scarcity are often understood to be economic issues, but in Early Modern Japan, natural constraints and conditions, together with political and religious ideology concerning “communal village autonomy” sustained by a small peasant economy, determined the formation of villages and agricultural-commercial settings. Reclamation technologies and commercial capital were limited, and thus aspects of the natural environment (such as the characteristics of rivers and the water supply for irrigation systems) had decisive effects on the village inhabitants’ interests, demands and commons.

The demands and desires of the people in traditional Japan were not always focused exclusively on market-oriented consumer goods, but were also centred on the continuity of households, families and villages. This was rooted in common living principles and moral reasoning.

The pursuit of a family business was the social norm in Japan. It was not the effort of individuals but the professionalised capability of the family that was responsible for the lives of family members and also for the wealth of the village. This was not only the social norm, but also the prevalent approach to business management, which could establish and change the constellation of kinship and non-kinship relations. Family members also constituted the taskforce for business. Intimate relations within the family were private matters that were not revealed. The division of family proper-

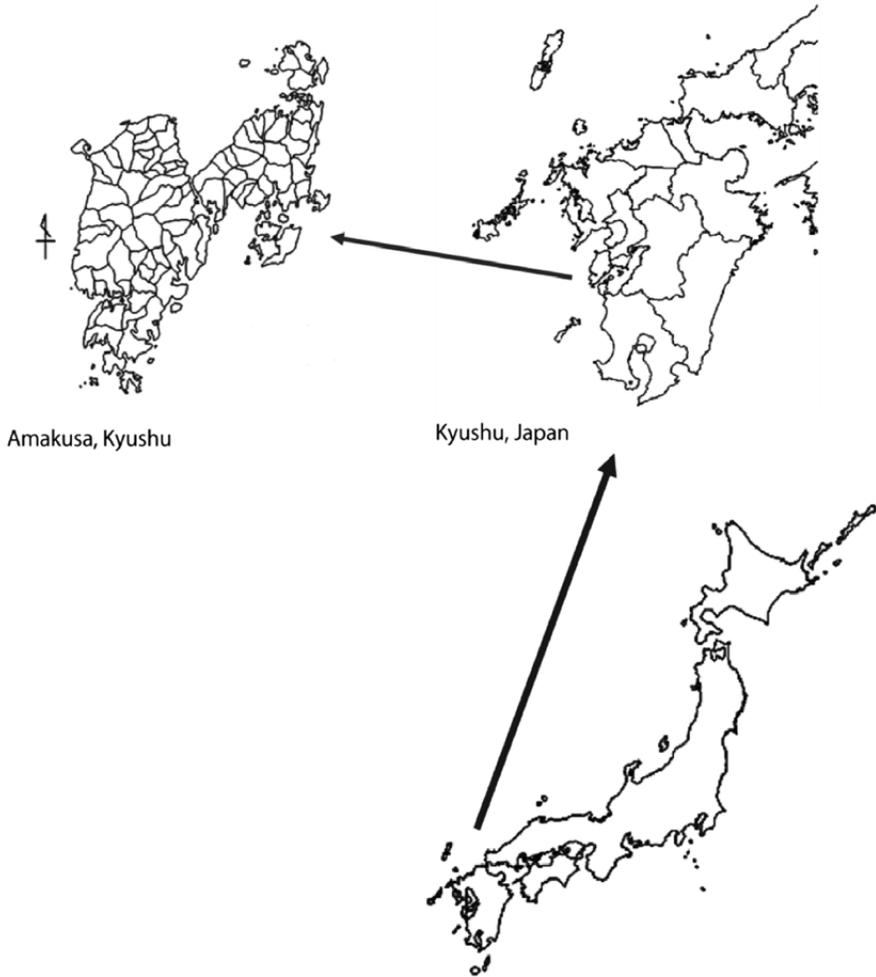
ties between individuals was unthinkable. Such family businesses protected individuals within the family, making proletarianisation the exception. “The family was a management body; and therefore, members of the family were expected to work hard within the family’s assigned professional calling” (Murayama 2014, 13).

Agriculture, fisheries, and forestry constituted the backbone of the subsistence economy and life community of most villages in Early Modern times. Some villages concentrated on rice production for tax obligations and for sale in the market, while other fresh or salt water fishing villages specialised in fishing products and mountain villages offered timber products. A complex integrated economy consisting of all three factors (agriculture, fishing, and forestry) in different compositions appears to have been a common feature of many traditional Japanese villages. Most importantly, rice production sites were located predominantly in areas with a high risk of flooding because they needed a sufficient water supply.

Under the Tokugawa system, every piece of taxable land was assessed in terms of its productive capacity and expressed in *kokudaka* (amount of *roku* = putative rice yield). Used for all agricultural yields to determine taxes payable, the *kokudaka* system begun in 1598. In the Tokugawa period it was widely held that 1 *roku* was enough yield to feed one person for one year. According to calculations by Satoru Nakamura, the agricultural output in the benchmark year of 1,700 was 169 kg, exceeding the criteria of 150 kg (or 1 *roku*) per person (Nakamura 1968, 168–74), and increased over time to reach 201kg in 1872 (Saito 2005, 86). Japan as a macro-region would be expected to have been released from the constraints of a subsistence rice economy in around 1700. However, the ratio of paddy fields to upland fields (Saito 1985, 211)⁵ varied from region to region, depending on ecological and geomorphological conditions, with agricultural output values in a wide range from under 0.5 to over 3 *roku* per capita, thus illustrating the great ecological variety observed in Early Modern Japanese villages.

In many villages, the land tax and other taxes were static or even slightly reduced, although the productivity of land was generally on the rise, and thus an increasing amount of “surplus” was generated (Smith 1988b, Land Tax, 70). The widely held notion that the land tax imposed during the Tokugawa era was cruelly oppressive is unsupported (Smith 1988b, Land Tax). *Kokudaka* did not reflect the actual productivity of a village, but

5 If the ratio is ‘one,’ paddy fields and upland fields represent the same proportion. Rice fields cover a larger area.



Amakusa, Kyushu

Kyushu, Japan

Map 12.2: Amakusa in Japan

as a criterion commonly used within a region it allows us to compare regional levels of land productivity. According to *kokudaka* comparisons in the Kofu basin in central Japan, flood-prone areas prove to have been more productive than mountainous areas, with *kokudaka* in the former as high as 3.13 *koku* per capita, in contrast to 0.65 *koku* per capita in the latter (Mizoguchi 2002, 36). Flooding was not always a calamity, because flooded areas could be used to produce surplus rice for village inhabitants in normal years and could also be altered to retarding basins to protect against

flooding. Flooding would bring new fertile soil, which is especially effective for mono-crop practices, such as the commercialised production of indigo along the Yoshino River (Kitahara 2006, 192).

Takahama, facing the East China Sea, had insufficient arable land suitable for paddy fields. Takahama's population was 3,413 people in 1816 (*Bunka* 13) and the village *kokudaka* was only 611 *koku*, amounting to merely 0.18 *koku* per capita. In comparison, Niremata, a rice-producing village in middle-west Japan with a population of 672 persons in 1812 (*Bunka* 2) had a village *kokudaka* of 1,570 *koku*, almost unchanged since 1623 (*Genna* 9) (Narimatsu 2000, 3–7), equivalent to 2.34 *koku* per capita. Niremata is located in an extraordinarily fertile but disaster-prone area, with high flood risks in the downstream area of the three major rivers, the Kiso, Nagara and Ibi Rivers, which constitute the Nōbi Plain. Unlike Niremata, Takahama could not survive as an agricultural village and its subsistence was guaranteed only by the development of a complex commercialised economy of sea transportation business and exporting ceramic stones. “Taxes moreover were not the unique cause of peasant distress. Usury, floods, droughts, immoderate spending for weddings and funerals, adverse price movements, and deeper involvement in the money economy all contributed to poverty for many” (Smith 1988b, Land Tax, 70). Floods were not unique to areas such as the Nōbi Plain embracing three major rivers, but also often brought serious damage in small river areas such as the Takahama River.

3. Disasters and population change in Takahama and a neighbouring village, Sakitsu

The *shoya* in Takahama kept diaries dealing with the governance of a village community. The Ueda house archive contains 88 diaries. Of these, we were able to investigate those kept by Ueda Yoshiuzu,⁶ who served as *shoya* for 30 years (1789–1818). Our research project has digitised these diaries, making available a total of 1,849 pages and more than one million characters in book format. This digitisation has allowed us to use the diaries analytically, because we can access the information easily and systematically. Diaries were not intended to preserve memories, but functioned as documentation, manuals for administration, and evidence for the government in order to sustain a village community safely and peacefully.

6 In accordance with Japanese custom, the names of individuals are provided in the order of surname, given name. Hence, Ueda is the surname, and Yoshiuzu, the given name.

Records of nature-induced disasters, such as earthquakes and storms, can be found at the top of each of those diary entries, as it was customary for the *shoya* to briefly keep record of the weather and any earthquakes after the date, using terms such as ‘fine,’ ‘cloudy,’ ‘rainy,’ ‘stormy,’ ‘north wind,’ ‘south wind,’ ‘severe wind,’ ‘earthquake in the afternoon,’ etc. During the twenty year period studied, there were ten earthquakes, two of which were of a large scale, and eight incidences of severe winds, but the village never experienced serious damage in these events.

Floods, in contrast, repeatedly damaged the infrastructure of the village, especially the irrigation systems used for agricultural production. The diaries precisely describe the damage caused by the floods, the disaster management learning process, and most importantly, mapping methods to visualise the damage by means of measurement, first performed after the devastating flood of 1803 (*Kyowa* 3).

The population of Takahama shifted from a stagnant phase to a gradual growth phase, and increased from 3,086 in 1785 (*Tenmei* 3) to 3,470 in 1818 (*Bunka* 15). To consider how disasters affected the village population, we must separately observe the three periods of population decline: the first period from 1807 (*Bunka* 4) to 1809 (*Bunka* 6) when the population decreased by 63 people; the second period from 1813 (*Bunka* 10) to 1814 (*Bunka* 11) when it decreased by 41 people; and the third period from 1815 (*Bunka* 12) to 1816 (*Bunka* 13) when it dropped by 35 people.

Counting the number of disasters recorded across 24 *shoya* diaries covering twenty years between the years 1783 and 1818, we have learned that during this period there were five cases of harvest failure, eleven earthquakes, ten fires, including three large fires, seven floods, and eight severe wind events, which are presumed to be storms. Two special outbreaks of smallpox were recorded from 1807 (*Bunka* 4) to 1808 (*Bunka* 5) and in 1814 (*Bunka* 11).

The diaries report no deaths induced by nature-induced disasters (e.g., floods, storms, earthquakes, fires), with the exception of smallpox. Smallpox was the cause of the first two demographic crises, taking the lives of 78 people and 52 people, respectively. A combination of disastrous effects, such as the influence of large fires on subsequent living conditions and outbreaks of diseases, must be considered regarding the third period.

In Early Modern Japan, epidemics – smallpox, in particular – and famine were the major mortality factors. Although the diaries do not refer to “famine,” the words *kyō-saku* or *fu-saku*, which both mean “harvest fail-

ure,” appear every three years or so, amounting to six times over the twenty years covered in the available diaries. In serious cases of harvest failure, the *shoya* tried to receive tax reductions from the regional government. The Takahama *shoya* also strived to plant sweet potatoes in the village in order to ensure a sufficient sweet potato harvest as a precaution against potential epidemics and other disasters.

There were no serious harvest failures during the governance of the *shoya* Ueda Yoshiuzu, who played a decisive role in nourishing the villagers by developing the village economy by putting forth initiatives to foster fisheries and the ceramic stone industry and to establish a complex commercialised economy. Hence, Takahama’s village economy changed remarkably from the end of the 18th to the 19th century. Two large commercial ships (nine-masted and six-masted) were introduced together with a large number of smaller commercial boats, which would later support the commercialised village economy. Fishing and foraging shellfishes and seaweed increased during these decades, and thus the number of fishing and seaweed-harvesting boats increased from 12 in 1789 to 58 in 1838. Substantial reinforcement of other modes of transportation also occurred; for example, the number of horses increased from 117 in 1789 to 758 in 1838.⁷ The marked enhancement of transportation is also an implication of the commercialisation of Takahama. High-quality stones for ceramic production were locally mined – a practice that continues today – and exported from Takahama to areas in Kyushu renowned for the production of ceramics such as *Arita-Yaki* through connections with Nagasaki.

In contrast to Takahama, Sakitsu, a village situated close to Takahama, suffered dramatic population losses as a result of three outbreaks of smallpox in 1801, 1813 and 1834. A fishing port whose continuity tended to rely on its commercial network, Sakitsu experienced changes in its population, which was 850 in 1690, increased to 2,466 in 1808, decreased to 1,252 in 1864, and then increased again to 1,414 in 1872. Studies of the impact of smallpox breakouts have shed light on the vulnerability of isolated Early Modern villages, such as Sakitsu, which suffered repeated breakouts of smallpox, which destroyed the commercial network that it was dependent on and thus induced rapid population decline (Murayama and Higashi 2012). This observation proves that the foundations of life during the

7 These data are derived from village registers: Ueda House Archive 4-4, -5, -7, -10, -12, -14, -19, 7-78, 12-22, 4-additional-1-2.

Tokugawa era were primarily based on paddies and fields, but were simultaneously supported by village and commercial networks.

4. Evidence derived from relief efforts after the fire disaster in 1814



Map 12.3: Fire disaster in 1814

Source: Ueda House Archive Ezu (Pictorial Map) 5-354-8

Besides nature-induced disasters, fire disasters should also be considered here, because they caused fundamental losses of inhabitants' assets, such as houses. In a fire that occurred on 1st August 1814 (*Bunka* 11) in the Hama district of Takahama, 115 houses, 107 huts, a *Hachiman* shrine, an official bulletin board, a *Kannon* temple, and a stock house were all burnt down, displacing 539 people. On 26th November of the following year, 70 houses were burnt down in Moto-mukai, another district of Takahama, displacing 173 people. On 26th November of the following year, 37 houses were bur-

nt down in Moto-mukai, another district of Takahama, thereby displacing 173 people. Later the same year on 29th December, a fire in the same district burned more than 60 houses. A total of 245 houses were burnt down during those years.

The repeated fire disasters in the centre of the village from 1814 to 1815 motivated the *shoya* and village officials, administrative subordinates, to improve district planning so as to stop the spread of fire. The diaries reveal that the widths of alleys and lanes were expanded, that a new firefighting organisation equipped with instruments for firefighting was established, and that the traditional system of mutual assistance between village communities, called *sukui* (save), effectively functioned to supply food to victims of fires and nature-induced disasters. For the purpose of recovering from the fire-induced disasters and reconstructing the damaged district, pictorial maps were drawn of the houses burned. Today, they help present-day historian's visualise the disastrous fires that occurred in the Early Modern world. Similar visualisation of disasters is also available for the flood of 1803 (*Kyowa* 3), which will be elaborated on later.

The entry for 1st August in the Ueda diaries says as follows:

- August 1, Sunny, North wind, Light drizzle just before dawn
- *Last night, at Inu-no-ge-koku [Japanese time, around 9–10 PM], fire broke out in Hama between a shed inherited to Usume and Gen's house continued to burn until Ushi-no-koku [next night around 2-4 AM] and the morning. More than one hundred houses were burnt down. Regarding the aforementioned, I have compiled the following report, delivered by the express messenger: At Hama of this village last night, at Inu-no-ge-koku a fire broke out. The fire was extinguished before dawn and more than one hundred houses were burnt down.*
 - *The haiden [hall of worship] and sessha [auxiliary shrine] of the Hachiman shrine, which enshrines the local tutelary deity were both burnt. Fortunately, theshintai [object of worship] and mikoshi [divine palanquin] were taken out and saved.*
 - *The shoya's residence experienced the same. Fortunately, the kenchicho [land survey register] and other important documents have been removed.*
 - *The kosatsu [public notice board] has been removed and saved.*
 - *There is nothing special to note about concerning the go [village] storehouse*

- *No persons were injured.*
- *One horse was burnt dead.*

The fire was a serious event in which the village shrine, the *Hachiman* shrine, was lost. The diaries reveal that the village received many visitors soon after the fire and that condolence gifts began to arrive on 2nd August. The diary entry helps us understand what the immediate necessities were:

Sir Jinsaburo of Osaka-ya sent a Cho [barrel] of soy sauce; a letter of condolence and two bundles of paper were brought by a messenger from the father and son of the Ema family; two umbrellas were brought by a messenger from Sir Michida Jinpei; five pairs of clogs were brought by a messenger from Sir Masuya Fujitarō; two hemp-palm brooms were brought by a messenger from Sir Shokuroō; one hundred rush mats and two hyos [180kg] of various vegetables from Sir Odatoko Junzō was brought in person, and a visit of condolence was paid to Omaki; Sir Sakai Kenkichirō, a toshiyori [village officer] of Tororo village, had delivered a letter of condolence, which said that Sir Hira Tahei had gone to Futae and stayed there; Mr. Michida Jinbei had five hyos of rice delivered to the village; hikyaku [express messengers] were sent to Tomioka from Nakata and ashigaru (foot soldiers) seem to have been called; straw arrived from Kozatoko village, Sir Kyosuke of Shiki delivered relief money; Sir Rinzo of Shiki delivered relief money.

By 4th August, the status of the damage was surveyed and the following documents were compiled: one drawing of the fire site; one book on the total number of people who suffered from the spread of fire; one document that recorded the *mura-daka* (an estimated amount of village productivity converted into an amount of *Koku* (taxable rice yield)) as well as the number of houses including the *kosatsu* (Governmental notice board) at the Hachiman shrine, the Kannon hall, one earthen storehouse and the number of houses and people in Hama, and storages that were burnt down, and the total number of houses and people in Hama who did not suffer damage. Officials, including the *han's bugyo* (governor) came to survey the village and all expenditures for food and drinks were assumed by Ueda Yoshi-uzu, the *shoya*. The village also purchased one *hyo* of rice and 25 *hyos* of various wheat varieties from Jokiba, On 7th August, 370 residents of Takahama were gathered as workers to level the ground of the premises of the *shoya's* residence in Hama. Furthermore, on 8th August, roles were divided

among districts of Takahama, communities to clean the premises. Workers arrived from neighbouring villages in the following days and the workers were treated to rice wine after each day of work.

According to the first record of disaster relief aid on 11th August 1814, in the Ueda diary, from Kozatoko, Takahama's closest neighbouring village, 2 *hyo* (180 kg) of *momi* (unhulled rice), 8 sheaves of *mugi-wara* (straw), 9 sheaves of *ha-nawa* (rice straw ropes) and 4 *hyo* of *nankin* (pumpkin) were delivered; from Michida-Jinpei, an individual from Tomioka town, 5 *hyo* of *Hizen-mai* (= rice from Hizen province) and from Sanchome-naka, a district of the same town, 25 sheaves of *ha-nawa*; from Fukuregi, a village, 10 sheaves of *shi-moto* (= branches) and 10 sheaves of *ha-nawa*; from Ōe, a village, 8 *hyo* of *ō-mugi* (= barley) and 75 sheaves of *ha-nawa*; and from Giichiro, an individual from Jokiba, a village, 15 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 4 *to*) of *ō-mugi*; and from Ezouta, a person of the same village, 10 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 4 *to*) of *ō-mugi*. Shimotsufukae, a village, provided 70 bundles of *cho-boku* (timber) and 7 sheaves of *ha-nawa*. Komatsukawa, a branch district of Tororo, a village, offered 13 pieces of *sho-choboku* (= small timber), 5 sheaves of *shi-moto*, and 3 sheaves of *ko-e-dake* (bamboo branches), as well as 45 bundles of *cho-boku*; and Tororo as a whole provided 4 sheaves of *ha-nawa*, 46 pieces of *matsu-taruki* (pine rafters), 1 sheaf of *shi-moto*, 78 sheaves of *mugi-wara*, and 49 sheaves of *ko-e-dake*. Furthermore, from Ichoda, a village, 4 sheaves of *shi-moto* and 5 sheaves of *ha-nawa* were delivered; from the villages of Shiki, Kamitsufukae and Uchida, *oo-mugi* was delivered in the amounts of 8 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 4 *to*), 4 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 4 *to*) and 2 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 4 *to*), respectively; and from Sakasegawa, a village, 2 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* = 5 *to*) of barley was provided. This was all delivered "for the purpose of saving the victims of the fire which occurred in the village" (Ueda diary). It should also be noted that relief goods were also delivered from areas other than the eight neighbouring villages, and thus the relief assistance network was more complex than imagined.

The second record of relief aid can be found in the diary entry of 28th September, when aid was provided by Imatomi and Sakitsu, which belonged to the same Ōe-*gumi* (Ōe village group), to which the eight villages of Sakitsu, Imatomi, Ōe, Kozatoko, Shimotsufukae, Fukuregi, Tororo, and Takahama belonged. Goods were delivered once again from farther locations such as Giichiro, an individual from Jokiba, a village, and Jinpei Michida of Tomioka town. One *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* equals 3 *to* and 5) of *Chikugo-mai* (rice from Chikugo province) from Giichiro of Jokiba, 1 *cho* (where 1 *cho* equals

100 *kin* of *miso* from Michida Jinpei of Tomioka town and 9 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* equals 4 *to*) of *ō-mugi* from Tomioka town. From Imatomi, it received 15 sheaves of *sh-imoto* and 12 sheaves of *ha-nawa* from a Kojima's branch district, 2 *hyo* of wheat from Shosuke, funds of 2 *kan* 850 *mon*, as counted under the chosen monetary system, 1 *cho* (where 1 *cho* equals 120 *kin*) of *sake* (rice wine) from Kichiemon, as well as 100 *hyo* (where 1 *hyo* equals 5 *sho*) of salt and 40 pieces of *cha-dashi* (a sort of Japanese tea) from Sakitsu village. Furthermore, neighbouring villages offered labour amounting to a total of 473 *ninsoku* (disaster relief workers).

Table 12.1: Disaster relief workers and goods supplied from personal and village networks: From 2nd August to 7th September in 1814 (Bunka 11)

Village Group	Ide-gumi	Shiki-gumi	Tomioka-cho	Oe-gumi	Ichihoda-gumi
Village Name	Jokiba (Ezota) Jokiba (Gi-ichiro)	Jokiba (Ezota) Konsufikae Uchida Sakasegawa Shiki	Tomioka town district Sancho-me Tomioka, Michida Jinpei / public officials	Takahama Kozaioko Shimosufikae Fukuregi Tororo	Tororo-Komatsukawa Imatomi-Branch (Kojima) Imatomi Sakitsu Oe
Number of Relief Workers				35 70 370 160	
Cho-sen (money) [kan, mon]					1,850(4)
Momi (unhulled rice) [hyo(1)](2)					2
Kome (rice) [hyo]	[1](3)		5		
Oo-mugi (barley) or Mugi (Wheat) [hyo]	[15] [10]	8 2 2 4	9	2(5) 8	2
Miso [cho]			1		
Sake [cho]				1(6)	
Salt [Ko(small)-hyo=9 liters]					100
Cha-dashi (Japanese Tea) [pieces]					40
Nan-uri (pumpkins) [hyo]				14	4
Ha-nawa (Yori-nawa) (rice straw ropes) [sheaves]			25	10 7 9 100	12 15
Mugi-wara (straw) [sheaves]				78	4
Shi-moto (branches) [sheaves]				1 10	15 5 4
Cho-boku (timber) [bundles]				70	45
Sho-cho-boku (small timber) [pieces]					13
Ko-e-dake (bamboo branches) [sheaves]				49	3

- (1) *Hyo* is a Japanese unit used to measure the weight of rice. 1hyo = 60kg
- (2) Square brackets indicate the unit of measurement.
- (3) [] are purchased articles.
- (4) Shinzaemon
- (5) Shosuke
- (6) Kichiemon

Table 12.1 is a compilation of all disaster relief goods and workers recorded between 2nd August and 7th September. Recovery from major fires involved support from various networks as well as that of the surrounding villages in the same *Ōe-gumi*. Although important landmarks of Takahama village, including the *shoya*'s house and the Hachiman shrine, the village shrine, were lost in the fire, they constitute only one district of the entire village, and thus workers were gathered from all over the village. As revealed below, Shiki-*gumi* donated 16 *hyo* of wheat:

The letter of receipt written to Shiki-*gumi* is as follows:

Minutes

- Tawara 8 *hyo* where one *hyo* equals 4 to gift from Shiki village
- Tawara 2 *hyo* where one *hyo* equals 5 to gift from Kamitsu-fukae village
- Tawara 4 *hyo* where one *hyo* equals 4 to gift from Sakase-gawa village
- Tawara 2 *hyo* where one *hyo* equals 4 to gift from Uchida village
- Total 16 *hyo*.
- *These relief goods coming from villages of Shiki-gumi, which were accepted with profound gratitude and distributed promptly, had been delivered for the victims of the fire in this village. I will inform the government of these deeds. Allow me to extend my gratitude to the villages. Please inform them from your governmental position sincerely: the relief goods have been received and to thank you.*

August 9

Ueda Gendayu

Sir Hirai Tamegorō

This receipt was written out for the Shiki-*gumi*, with which the village had a close relationship, as revealed in other diary entries, including the entry on 5th December 1804 about the engagement of Ueda Yoshiuzu's niece Oyen and cooperation in quarantining smallpox victims:

The shoya of Shiki has come to Kozatoko and has stayed for two days to discuss with Mr. Bunbei about Oyen, and thus a messenger was sent to ask his honour to visit my humble self. Sir Tomizo of Tomioka-cho and Motoichi of Shiki both managed to send messengers but arrived at dusk. He sent a messenger to come tomorrow. I offered dinner and Sake to the two.

The next day, on December 6, we find the following entry:

The honourable shoya of Shiki has come to Kozatoko. In order to ask that Sir Bunbee be consulted about marriage talks, Sir Tomizo sent a messenger to welcome the horse sent.

Table 12.2: Relief workers

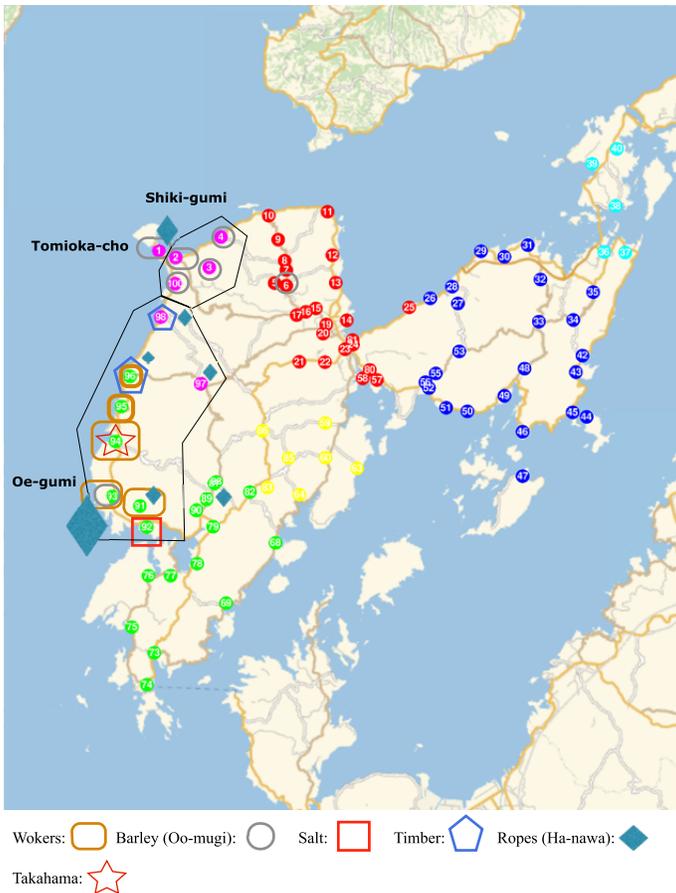
	Relief Workers in 1814	Population in 1827	in %
Tororo	0	2,344	0.0
Fukuregi	0	855	0.0
Shimotsufukae	35	782	4.5
Kozatoko	70	859	8.1
Takahama	370	3,629	10.2
Oe	160	3,290	4.9
Imatomi*	208	1,945	10.7
Sakitsu	0	1,865	0.0
Total	843	15,569	5.4

*: 170 workers of Imatomi and 38 of its branch Kojima are aggregated as Imatomi's workers.

A network of kinship among the *shoyas* underpinned the support from Shiki-*gumi*. Likewise, as revealed in Table 12.2, a relatively large number of workers were sent from Imatomi village, where Yoshiuzu's younger brother, Tomosaburo was *shoya*. In addition to such family networks, moneylenders called *ginshi*, such as Michida Jinbei of Tomioka and Shinzaemon of Takahama (Shimura 1999, 191–246), donated money in times of disaster. Also, the Michida family of Tomioka owned a vast area of property in Icchoda village, which belonged to the Icchoda-*gumi* which neighboured the Ōe-*gumi*. A great amount of relief goods were thus also sent from Icchoda village. The Michida family's property was located in the Katsura-gawa River basin. The Katsura-gawa River joins the Icchoda-gawa River and flows into the Yokaku Bay. Boats that departed from the Katsura-gawa River basin would go down the Katsura-gawa River and out to the sea via the Ichimachida-gawa River. Once they were out in the sea, they would turn westward past Sakitsu village and Ōe village to the Amakusa Sea, where they would go up the west coast of Amakusa to Takahama (Goto 1999). Hence, such financial, land ownership and commercial networks would function

effectively in the face of disaster. Moreover, the purchase of goods from Giichiro in Jokiba tells us that necessary goods had been promptly procured through a market-based network.

All of this is evidence that disaster relief had been conducted based on village self-sufficiency and a multi-layered local network encompassing mutual assistance within the *kumi* (*gumi*), mutual assistance based on family ties, goods procurement through a market network, and mutual assistance and goods procurement based on financial, land ownership, commercial and administrative networks.



Map 12.4: Village clusters in Amakusa islands, analysed by an original mathematical geographical modelling based on statistical data, and relief goods coming from those village networks

5. Flooding as an endurable disaster

Floods repeatedly damaged the infrastructure of the village, especially the infrastructure used for agricultural production. The diaries recorded the damage caused by the floods precisely. From the descriptions in the diaries, we can determine the learning process of the village administration. The most crucial point is the visualisation of the damage by means of measurements and mapping, which was performed for the first time after the year 1803 (*Kyowa* 3), when one of the most serious floods occurred.

Table 12.3: Damage due to floods in 1801 (*Kansei* 13), 1803 (*Kyowa* 3), and 1817 (*Bunka* 14)

Floods in Jun 13, 1801			Floods in May 11, 1803			Floods in Jun 6, 1817		
Type	Number	Scale	Type	Number	Scale	Type	Number	Scale
River Banks	8	234 m	River Banks	38	1411.2 m	River and Tide Banks	41	1148.4 m
			Tide Banks	2	63 m	River Shelves	14	8,424 m
						Mizu-Hane	4	81 m
						River Weirs	14	1,568 m
Shirasu Banks		360 m	Shirasu Banks	2	270 m	Rice Fields	346.5 <i>a</i>	became river
Rice Fields	99	<i>a</i> *	Rice Fields	1,118.0 <i>a</i>	became river	Rice Fields	693.0 <i>a</i>	flooded with water
			Rice Fields	1,287.0 <i>a</i>	flooded with water	Other Fileds	198.0 <i>a</i>	land slide
			Other Fileds		sweet potatoes	Houses	4	collapsed
			Houses	2	collapsed	Huts	3	washed away
			Huts	1	collapsed			
			Houses	8	walls collapsed	Fishing Boats	16	washed away

*a=100 square meter

Sources: Ueda diaries

According to the flood records in the diaries, flooding on a relatively large scale occurred three times in the time period studied. In 1801, floods damaged eight riverbanks along 234 metres and some of *Shirasu* banks along 360 metres. *Shirasu* was the name of the coast of Takahama, where banks were built for a port and a shipping line on the Takahama River, from which boats could travel both downstream and upstream. The floods of 1803 damaged Takahama much more seriously, as they damaged not only the river and tide banks and the *Shirasu* banks, but also rice fields and other vegetable fields. Also, two houses and one hut collapsed, and the walls of eight houses were swept away. However, there were no casualties due to the floods.

According to the diaries, several heavy rainfalls occurred over a period of more than ten days, which caused the floods in 1803. After heavy rain on 29th April, it was reported in the diary that on 1st May the river was swelling and seemed to exceed the banks, and several parts of the banks were

also damaged. The flooding occurred on 10th May. This information was reported on the day following the flood, 11th May. Cooperative village residents performed prompt and speedy inquiries regarding the damaged places. In the case of the floods on 13th June 1801, it took one week for people to report the damage. A new pictorial map was prepared to visualise the disaster. Such a pictorial disaster map was the first village of its kind indicating the cooperative water management system. The mapmaker was a painter of ceramics, *Takeshiro*. Ceramics were original products of Takahama, and excellent stone for ceramic production was locally mined, a practice that exists still now. Ceramic stones from Takahama were also exported to famous ceramic production areas in Kyushu such as Arita, which is known for *Arita-Yaki*.

There are two pictorial maps available. The dates that they were drawn and painted are not recorded on the maps; however, the *Hachimam*-Shrine, which was burned in 1814 (*Bunka* 11) and rebuilt in a new location, is shown in its original location, suggesting that one of them was drawn before 1814. The descriptions in the diary suggest that the map was drawn and painted after the floods but before 9th October 1803.

This map was attached to the flood damage records dated 11th May. It had been drawn and painted before the beginning of July 1803. The local government and village officer checked the construction place again, and *Takeshiro*, who was invited as a new painter, drew the other map (Map 12.5) with the help of Sahichi from 10th September to 9th October. All of the water-related structures were measured and described on the map. All of the communal water management sites were shown, and the measured lengths of the structures were also drawn on the map in their proper locations. The shapes and locations of the rivers and roads also corresponded approximately to their real sizes and locations.

The portal function of the *Shirasu* was improved for village sea transportation. The diary reported that the stone bulwark was broken down by the storm tide on 21st July 1814 (*Bunka* 11). Village members repaired the bulwark, which had been constructed after the flood disaster of 1803. This bulwark and the stone construction, *Ishi-gaki*, of the *Hachimam* Shrine were reconstructed before the autumn of 1805 (*Bunka* 2), more than two years after the flooding damage of 1803. All of the other damaged dikes and weirs were repaired before 28th April 1805 (*Bunka* 2).

In the 26 years from 1793 to 1818, there were three periods of relatively severe flooding which damaged the village infrastructure; however, the lo-



Map 12.5: Floods on 10th May 1803, drawn and painted before 9th October 1803
Source: Ueda House Archive Ezu (Pictorial Map) 18-3.

cal government supported the village population with financial aid only for the floods of 1803. In comparison with the flood of 1803 (*Kyowa* 3) with that of 1817 (*Bunka* 14), it is cleared that the flooding's in 1803 caused much more serious damage to rice production. A total of 1,118.0a (= 100m²) of rice fields broke away, and they became river, while 1280.7a of rice fields were flooded with water. The damage to the rice fields caused by the flooding of 1817 was much less significant. The total of 346.5a of broken-down fields corresponded to 30% of the damage in 1803, and the 198.0a of fields filled with water represented 54% of the 1803 damage.

It is clear that the decisive factor in governmental decisions to provide support was the damage done to the rice fields, because the floods of 1817, which could not have any governmental support, washed away 16 fishing boats, which were anchored on the river, and damaged a considerable number of water-related structures such as river shelves, *Mizu-Hane* (Construction for Changing Stream), and river weirs, but the rice fields were not seriously damaged. In principle, the village had to manage the damage by itself; however, if the disaster damage exceeded the capability of the village community, and especially if the rice fields were damaged, the government provided support. Such cases can be traced back to 1708 (*Houei* 5)⁸. Takahama received governmental relief funds in 1708 (*Houei* 5), 1709 (*Houei* 6), and 1713 (*Syotoku* 3), once between 1716 (*Kyoho* 1) and 1737 (*Genbun* 2), again in 1770 (*Meiwa* 7), and one last time from 1803 (*Kyowa* 3) to 1804 (*Bunka* 1).

The flood-induced disaster in Takahama, however, should be perceived not as an abnormal occurrence, but rather as a normal event, which can be termed a "frequent life experience" (Bankoff 2009, 265). The occurrence of repeated events had led to the existence of a reasonable framework for recovering and reconstructing damaged agricultural fields and water-related structures, not only by the village residents but also by the local and regional governments.

Discussion and concluding remarks

The principles of Early Modern disaster management in Japan were founded on community-based efforts; hence, the labour force, technologies, and financing were all assumed by individual villages. When flood damage exceeded a village's capabilities and was likely to result in land tax losses, the regional government would exceptionally support the village financially. Otherwise, the entire labour force was basically supplied by local

8 Ueda House Archive 4-additional-1-2.

inhabitants (Ōtani 1986; 1996a; 1996b). As T. C. Smith mentioned, “labour employed in the construction and maintenance of roads and irrigation works had a distinct benefit for the peasant; far from being an economic loss, such labour may properly be considered a form of involuntary investment that yielded long-run returns to him” (Smith 1988b, Land Tax, 61).

Although government aid was sometimes available in the restoration process after large floods, it would never be granted in large fires – not even in one that burnt down not only the houses of 540 people (15%) of a village population of approximately 3,600 people, but also the residence of the *shoya* and the village shrine. Unlike floods, which caused great damage upon rice and other crop fields, in disasters such as fires that imposed large damage on residential land, inter-village networks for mutual assistance functioned as lifelines. It would not be an exaggerated judgment to conclude that the decisive factor in emergency relief support and the restoration process to follow were mutual aid between villages and the kinship network of the *shoya* family. Aid and large numbers of workers (Table 12.2) came from the Ōe-*gumi*, especially from Imatomi, where the Yoshiuzu’s brother was *shoya*. Needless to say, the self-support of the villagers of Takahama contributed greatly to village restoration. Moreover, Table 12.1 and Map 12.4 show that the village was provided salt from Sakitsu village, where the population had been on the decrease due to the spread of smallpox. Rope and construction material were also offered in accordance with the supply capacity of each farming village. Wood and timber were supposedly brought in from villages where wood resources were naturally available. Such resources were bought when village funds were available, but were sometimes accepted as donations.

The mutual aid performed after fires are evidence of economic integrity in a region. Almost every village had a special product to provide. It is also evident that *kumi*-based networks comprising several administrative villages enabled the maintenance of villages. Even if, as Totman states, the political ideals of 17th century Japan had been the self-sustainability of villages, and even if this concept had been retained until the Meiji era and even beyond, villages of the later years of Tokugawa Japan could not survive disasters alone if they were isolated and excluded from the established social network of villages. An integrated economy should be considered not only within the family and a village but also within a certain regional unit of villages and village networks.

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13

Land and Labour as Resources of an Integrated Peasant Economy in a Swedish Mining District During the 1860s Great Famine

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Map 13.1: Case study area

Introduction

Since more people than usual need grain this year, the yields within the parish are not considered enough for the need, although the land-owning peasantry can support itself. For the poor landless the situation may be troublesome since each farmer, as far as possible, seeks to avoid hiring external help. (LAU, KR, Kronofogdarnas tredje årsväxtberättelse år 1867).

All pre-industrial agriculture was based on the utilisation of ecosystem resources, and cannot be fully understood without linking the ecological and the socio-economic components of the rural society. The land-use practices constitute the most direct link between humans and ecosystems, and labour was therefore essential to “colonise nature” (Landsteiner and Langthaler 2010), i.e. to create, maintain, and harvest landscape resources. On the other hand, products from the ecosystems were necessary for paying labourers in cash or in kind, as well as for supporting the working family members (Diagram 13.1). Here, we study this relationship at a micro level by using farm-specific information from Sweden. We focus especially on the period of crop failure 1867–68 (Dribe, Olsson, and Svensson 2015), when the use of alternative resources and sources of income can be expected to have been particularly important.

Labour is needed to perform various kinds of work (A) in order to utilise ecosystems. The products extracted from the land, (B & C) are the basis for wages paid as kind (B) or via the market as cash (D), as well as for the working family members.

Ideally, the farm could balance the need for work tasks to be done at the farm and the possibility to support labour. Diagram 13.1 indicates that this balance could be sensitive to reduced agricultural production, for example induced by harsh weather conditions, as indicated by the statement made by the local sheriff above. Crop failure could thereby cause a negative loop if the farmers were forced to reduce the labour and thus the use of ecosystem resources. On the other hand, if labour could be kept and used wisely, the farm could try to buffer the negative effect of crop failure by exploiting less weather sensitive income sources.

The weather in the late 1860s caused problems for Swedish agriculture. The spring and summer of 1867 were unusually cold (Jantunen and Ruosteenoja 2000), causing very low cereal harvests and regionally no harvest at all. The year of 1868 was instead very hot and dry, which affected hay

production negatively. National mortality rates were not affected but nativity was the lowest since national data series started in 1749 (SCB 1955, Nelson 1984; 1988; Lindblom 2015). As result, the number of inhabitants in the county of Kopparberg was reduced by nearly 2,000 people (1.2%) during 1867–1870 (SCB 1955).

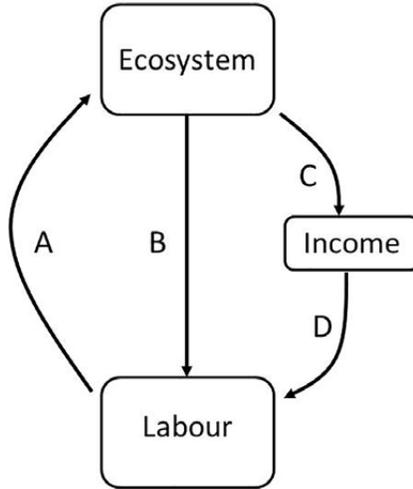


Diagram 13.1: Model of the reciprocal relationships between labour and ecosystem resources at a farm

This paper presents a micro-historic study of three farms in Folkare hundred in the south-eastern county of Kopparberg. All farms had access to the same types of ecosystem resources, depending on both family and hired labour, but differed regarding the area of arable land and forest, family size, and economic capacity.

The overall purpose is to investigate how crop failure affected and was handled by the households during 1867–68. Specifically, we ask:

- What was the significance of an integrated economy for handling the crop failure?
- How were different sources of income related to the availability of different ecosystem resources?
- How was the use of ecosystem resources related to the availability of labour?

In practice, there is often a permanent institutional mismatch between labour demand and supply in agriculture, created by the fact that some

farming households have more land than can be worked by the family itself, and other households have little or no land, but a surplus of “labour resource.” In Sweden and elsewhere in the world, this has usually been solved via the labour market, where larger farms hire labour in exchange for payment in cash or kind (Federico 2010; Gadd 2011).

The labour market (in Sweden) was partly circumscribed. According to Swedish labour legislation (*tjänstehjonsstadgan*) all persons between the ages of 15 and 64, who did not own land or possessed a bourgeois profession, were obliged to the service of a master on a yearly basis (November – October). This obligation was abolished in 1885 (Utterström 1957; Harnesk 1990). Preceding the changed legislation, population increase created an excess of available labour, not employed on a yearly basis, who could be hired as temporary day workers.

The farm-labour in our study area normally consisted of the able-bodied family members, external wage labour, relatives and neighbours. The demand and supply of agricultural labour was characterised by the seasonality of agriculture. Most of the work with crops and hay was concentrated to short periods of intense work, especially during harvest (Federico 2010; Landsteiner and Langthaler 2010). This resulted in both temporary shortages of labour-supply and long periods with a lower demand for arable work. During work peaks extra help and employment of temporary labour was needed, especially at larger farms. During low-season, under-employment was a problem on the Swedish plains where farming was focused on grain production (Utterström 1957; 1:718 ff, 2: 3–8). In our study region, a more integrated peasant economy offered work tasks also during the winter season, see below.

1. Methods and sources

This micro-historic study is based on peasant’s diaries from three farms: *Backåkers*, *Matses*, and *Hyttbäcken*, situated in three adjacent parishes in Folkare hundred (Map 13.1). All diaries cover the years of crop failure in the 1860s. Peasants’ diaries are ego-sources, i.e. unofficial documents, written on individual initiative for private use. All three diaries hold entries about weather, work tasks, travels, visits, and information about production and harvest. Explicit information about the women’s work tasks is generally underrepresented. The diaries reflect what was of interest to the writer, which is a strength for micro-historic studies (Liljewall 1995; Myrdal 1991; Lorensen-Schmidt and Poulsen 2002).

Erik Johansson at *Backåkers* (Hummelbo village in the Garpenberg parish) began writing a diary in 1861, at the age of 28. The series of diaries stretches over nearly fifty years (until 1914), and they have been transcribed and published in five volumes (Svenske 1987). The diary contains long notes with information about work tasks, location of land used for different products, economic problems, relatives, neighbours and visits. The farm was localised in the more forested part of Folkare hundred, where the area of farmland was limited for topographic reasons.

Anders Ersson at *Matses* (Norra Strandmora village in the By parish) began writing regularly in 1851 at the age of 31 (with scattered years of writing already from 1840) and continued until his death in 1894. Transcribed copies are available at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (SBD 44). Anders made daily entries and yearly summaries of weather, harvest, and notable events. He was more explicit than the other writers regarding the effects of weather on the growth and yields of grain and hay. There is also a farm account. *Matses* was situated between forest and arable lowland and had also access to wetland meadows along the river *Dalälven*.

Anders Jansson at *Hyttbäcken* (sole farm in the Folkärna parish) was 12 years old when he started writing a diary in 1840. The series of diaries, written by different authors at Hyttbäcken, stretches over 80 years, until 1920, copies are available at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (SBD 1). The Hyttbäcken diary contains very short daily entries about work done, where and by whom, visits, travel, and weather. The lack of personal reflections is compensated by studious farm records made by Anders on, e.g., income and expenditures, harvests, hired labour and their salary, cows and milk production. With the exception of milk production, the female part of the economy is, however, poorly covered. This farm was situated between forest and arable lowland.

Although we try to homogenise the presentation of the farms, we also allow strong sources of individual farms to illustrate certain aspects of our questions. The diaries and farm records are combined with a variety of official sources at the farm level, such as cadastral maps, catechetical registers, and probate inventories. The farm level is contrasted with a meso level for understanding the effect of the crop failure in the three parishes. The local sheriff compiled information about growth and yields three times during the growing season, based on observations and estimates made by the parish sergeants and the sheriff. We use the third report for each year, which shows the year's result for different crops, hay, and livestock.

Throughout the paper, we combine quantitative and qualitative information, given on the farm level and the level of village and parish, ego-documents and official documents. We apply an agro-economic and ecological perspective when interpreting the information.

There is not a “normal” year to compare with the years of crop failure. Harvests were constantly fluctuating and socio-economic conditions changed. Instead, we follow the three farms all through the 1860s in order to distinguish specific effects of the crop failure.

1.1 *The study area in the 1860s*

Folkare hundred was situated in the iron-producing *Bergslagen* district of central Sweden (Isacson et. al 2009). The land-use was, strongly determined by the geological and topographical conditions. Cultivation was restricted to fine-particle soils, situated on lower land. In 1865, around 11% of the land area in Folkare was arable, 13% was hay meadow, and the majority, 75%, constituted more or less forested outlands on stone-rich soils (till) or mires, providing pastures and forest products (BiSOS 1868). The forests were dominated by coniferous trees. Some villages were strongly influenced by the river *Dalälven* which provided fertile alluvial meadows but, on the other hand, threatened agricultural output with its unpredictable flooding.

The integrated peasant economy of the region was characterised by these geo-topographical conditions, and for centuries by the metal industry. It included both agricultural and forest products, transportation of goods, and the women’s production of textiles. Also proto-industrial manufacturing (mainly forged products for an open market) developed during the 19th Century (Isacson and Magnusson 1987).

Oats was the most abundantly cultivated cereal in Folkare (71% of the seed in 1865), followed by rye (20%; BiSOS 1868). Also in economic terms oats was the most important crop, because of the large number of horses used for transportation of goods and traction in agriculture. In Folkare hundred, cattle were the most numerous type of livestock, 42%, mainly kept for milk production. Sheep constituted 38% of the livestock in 1865 (BiSOS 1868). They were mainly kept for household use (wool and meat), as were horses for traction, goats and pigs. The outland was used for summer grazing and the trees were primarily used for charcoal burning for the mining industry. Timber for building material, and fire wood was produced for household use, and to some extent for the market.

In the late 1860s and beginning of the 1870s, Swedish mines and ironworks were affected by falling prices on the important international indus-

trial markets. That in turn affected the price the ironmasters were willing to pay for the charcoal they bought from the farmers and for the transportation of ore and other goods done by the farmers. In the county of Kopparberg the price for charcoal went down from 3.25 *rd. (Riksdaler)* per 10 *hectoliter* in 1866 to 2.75 and 2.60 the following three years. The prices for log timber was stable meanwhile the price for sawn battens decreased (Jörberg 1972).

By the end of the 1860s Sweden was on the threshold of the industrial revolution. The crop failure, however, occurred a few years before the economic and technological renewal of the mining industry and before the railroad was built through the region. During the 19th Century, Swedish agriculture went through a modernisation process through enclosure reforms, land reclamations, iron gear, new farming methods, improved breeding, and specialisation. Already before 1830, Sweden had changed from being a major importer to an exporter of grain, whereas livestock production took off later, in connection with urbanisation and new food habits from the 1870s. Production continued to rise throughout the century, as did the incomes in agriculture, however unevenly distributed (Gadd 2000; Morell 2001).

2. The studied farms

2.1 *Land, household and employed labour*

All land used by the studied farms was private, since the villages had already, in the late 18th or early 19th century, gone through the land-use reform *storskipte*, in which village-commons on outland were divided between the farms.

Backåkers was the smallest of the three farms in terms of area of arable land and hay meadow, but the farm had rather large areas of outland (Table 13.1). Erik's brother, mother, and father lived at the farm and a total of seven persons in 1866, including one farmhand and one maid, constituted the permanent (one-year basis) labour (Table 13.2). Erik Johansson occasionally hired people from outside the village or parish for cutting wood and logging for and building the charcoal kilns. More commonly, relatives and neighbours, both women and men, served as temporary labour.

Matses was a rather large farm in terms of arable land and hay meadow, but had less outland than the other two farms. Anders' parents lived at the farm and one maid was employed on a yearly basis, thus a labour force of five adults in 1866. Anders Ersson occasionally mentioned that temporary labour was hired for logging, cutting fire wood, making and watching kilns, mowing, and digging ditches. No systematic information about temporarily employed labour is available, but, when mentioned, around 20

workdays per year seems to have been normal (Diary and farm accounts, NM, *SBD*, 44: A).

Table 13.1: Land area and livestock numbers at Backåkers, Matses and Hyttbäcken

	Backåkers	Matses	Hyttbäcken
Land (hectares):			
Arable	4	10	47
Meadow	7	16	8
Outland (pasture + forest)	63	33	60
Total	74	59	115
Livestock (number):			
Horses	2	2	4
Cows	6	7	25
Heifers	2	3	7
Sheep	10	6	10
Swine	1	1	1

Sources: Land: LM, *LMA*, 20-gar-93, Hummelbo village (1872–1874), Norra Strandmora village (1858–1860) and LM, *LMA*, 20-fol-207, Stora Dicka village (1857–1865). Livestock: LM, *LMA*, U6-1:6: By sockenkarta med beskrivning (1853–1858); Svenske 1987; HB, Livestock insurance 1865 (horses), Milking journal 1866–1868 (cattle and sheep); LAU, *HR*, probate inventory 1852 (swine).

Table 13.2: Family and other household members at the three studied farms Backåkers, Matses and Hyttbäcken, in 1866

Household	Backåkers	Matses	Hyttbäcken
Farming couple	Erik Johansson Charlotta Andersdotter	Anders Ersson Stina Jansdotter	Anders Jansson Anna-Stina Enlund
Working adults in the family	5	4	2
Children	1 (1 year)	1 (10 years)	7 (0–14 years)
Farmhands	1	0	3
Maids	1	1	3–4
Working persons (and total household)	7 (8)	5 (6)	10 (15)

Sources: LAU, *KA*, Husförhörlängder Garpenberg, By and Folkärna parishes; Svenske 1987; NM, *SBD*, 1 and, 44; HB, Cash books and a Book of workers.

Hyttbäcken was an unusually large farm for the region, the largest farm of the three in terms of area of arable land and outland, and number of livestock. There was no older generation at the farm, but by 1866 the son Johan was at working age (14 years old), thus a labour force of ten working adults including three farmhands and four maids. The number of farmhands had reached three in 1865, from being two before. The maids varied between two and five during the previous six years. In addition, day workers were employed, in total more than 200 working days in the working year November 1865–October 1866 (Diagram 13.2).

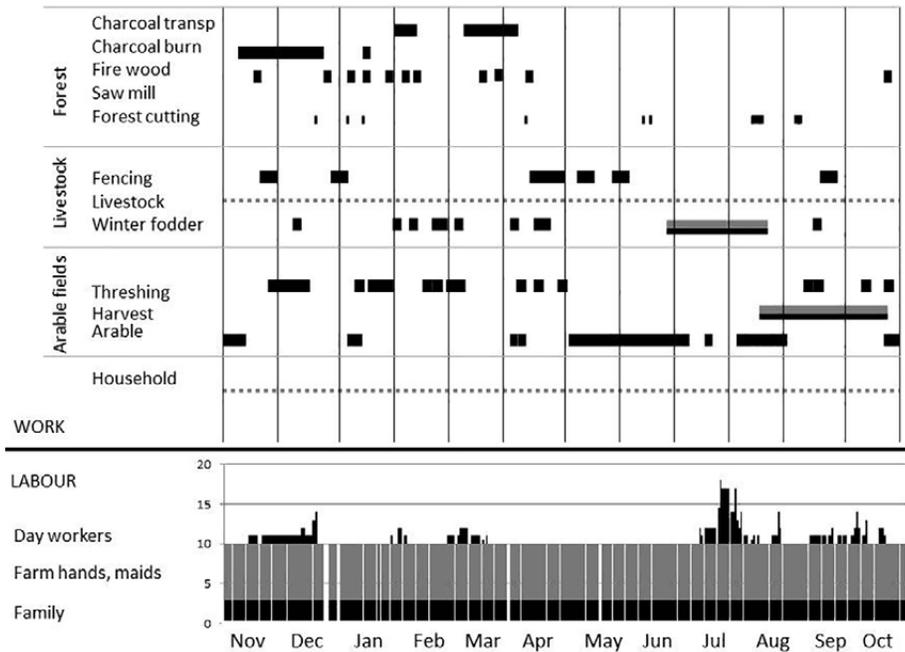


Diagram 13.2: WORK: (upper diagram) and LABOUR (lower diagram) during 12 months at Hyttbäcken, from November 1865 to October 1866 (a working year)

Note: The same time axis is used for work and labour.

WORK: Black fields denote men's work, grey fields denote women's work. Solid lines show activities explicitly written in the diary, dashed lines show work that is always present but rarely mentioned, such as with livestock and household.

LABOUR: The labour includes three family members (Anders, the wife Anna-Stina, and the son Johan), workers employed on a yearly basis (three farmhands and four maids), and day workers – upper black bars (stacked data). Sundays and other free days are seen as interruptions.

Sources: NM, *SBD*, 1, 1865 & 1866; HB, Book of workers; LAU, *KA*, Folkärna parish.

2.2 *Integrated economy and labour tasks during the working year*

The components of the integrated economy at each farm determined which type of work that needed to be done during the year. All three farms had an integrated economy, typical for the region, and combined grain production and livestock husbandry with other sources of income, especially from activities in the autumn and winter. They produced and delivered charcoal to blast furnaces and ironworks, and worked with the transportation of ore and other goods between the geographically dispersed mines, blast furnaces, bar iron mills, and shipping ports. They performed works of trust and the women produced textiles out of wool and flax. Both Matses and Backåkers farms were regularly fishing with haul seines, and fish seems to have been a substantial food source for the households. The sources of income are further described below (3.4).

The work at the farms had both seasonal and non-seasonal elements (Diagram 13.2). Some duties were daily all throughout the year, especially the women's work with the livestock, housework and children. Other work had to be done at certain times of the year for seasonal reasons, such as harvesting, ploughing, sowing, snow clearing (farmers were obliged to help clearing common roads), and transportation on snow and ice. A third category of work was given a more or less seasonal rhythm because they were done in a special sequence, such as logging for the charcoal kilns or for the sawmill, which was run during the spring flooding. Some work was done at times when there were less other demanding duties, such as wood cutting and threshing which started immediately after harvest and lasted until the work was finished. At Hyttbäcken, extra day workers were hired during busy times, in winter for charcoal burning, and in summer for mowing and harvest (Diagram 13.2). Also the other farms needed extra labour during busy times. In addition to the tasks shown in Diagram 13.2, several other activities are mentioned in the diaries, such as going to the market, repairing tools, textile work, carpentry, repairing roads, and duties of trust. Transportation of ore was an important source of income, performed mainly on winter roads and in connection with charcoal delivery. Hyttbäcken did up to 10 ore transports annually (however no transport in the winter of 1865–66), Matses around 25, and Backåkers about 10.

The work of women is rarely mentioned in the diaries from Matses and Hyttbäcken, but Backåkers Erik made 76 entries about the women's work during the working year 1865–66. Most entries mention textile work (20

days, primarily in the autumn and winter). Other entries were about shopping, washing, baking and brewing, work at the field, and slaughter.

Mowing and harvest were the most labour-intensive work tasks. In 1866, the mowing period of the three farms was between 20 and 29 days, starting in early or mid-July.¹ All available household members were engaged. At Backåkers, the entire household and temporarily engaged men and women worked with hay. At Matses both Anders Ersson and his father worked, making 40 working days. At Hyttbäcken, 200 working days were spent on hay harvest in 1866, including male family members, farmhands and day labourers of both sexes.²

In mid-August, work continued with the harvest of rye, wheat, oats and potatoes until the end of October. The work-days spent on harvest at Backåkers and Matses were 29 and 33 days, respectively. At Backåkers Erik Johansson mentioned temporary female workers (1–2) during five days in addition to the household, and at Matses only Anders and his father worked with harvest. At Hyttbäcken the harvest took 47 days, and in total 223 working days were used, including male family members, farmhands and hired labour.

2.3 *Costs for hiring labour*

The cost for employing labourers varied with gender, season, and personal skill. In the county of Kopparberg, men had about double the salary compared to women in 1866, both in the case of day labourers and farmhands versus maids. Working days during summer was paid 20%–50% more than in winters (BiSOS 1867–1872). Similar differences in salary between men and women, and between summer and winter, are shown at the farm level in the Hyttbäcken farm records.

According to the *Book of workers* at Hyttbäcken, where all payments and their monetary value was noted, the labourers at Hyttbäcken were paid primarily in cash. During the period November 1859 to October 1870, 72% of the salary depended on cash.³ 25% of the payments were in kind, as vari-

1 Mowing period at Backåkers: 26 days (17th July–1st September) Matses 20 days (16th July–30th August), Hyttbäcken: 29 days (2nd July–17th August).

2 The working days at Matses and Hyttbäcken are excluding women of the household, since they were not mentioned in the diaries. Normally, though all women participated in the intense work with harvest.

3 65% of the salary was made as cash, paid directly to the worker or indirectly (paying something for him/her). Another 7% were payments in types of goods that the farm first had to buy.

ous products that could be produced at the farm, primarily grains and other foodstuff, but occasionally livestock, wood, charcoal and labour in return. At Matses, in contrast, most of the temporary dayworkers were paid in kind: potatoes, butter, milk, grains, a sheep, firewood, planks, logs for sawing, and occasionally dayworks in return. In Backåker's diary there are notes about payments to temporary workers, but considerable work was performed in a mutual exchange between farms in the village and relatives in other villages (Isacson 2014).

2.4 Sources of income

Backåkers did not produce enough cereals for the household needs, but needed to buy these products. The income was based on a combination of charcoal production, transport, and proto-industrial work such as carpentry and forging. Large amounts of firewood and small quantities of fish, crayfish, milk, and eggs were sold in villages and the nearest town, Hedemora. (Svenske 1987, XXVIII–XXXI). Family members at Backåkers also did work for other farmers, both in return for work and as paid work. They also worked at a nearby sawmill and later on at and for, the small carpentry workshop in the village, owned by Erik's brother in law.

Matses sold charcoal from two kilns yearly, which during 1865 and 1866 accounted for 55% of the cash income from the male's work. Around 40% of the income was earned on ore transportation (25 loads), and the rest mainly on the transportation of other goods. It is likely that milk products made an important contribution, but such production was performed by the women and not described in the diary. As mentioned above, cereals were used for payment in kind, but no trading of rye or oats is mentioned in the diary.

At *Hyttbäcken* during 1860–1866, 35% of the income came from livestock, 29% from cereals, 17% from charcoal burning, 6% work of trust, 4% forest products, and 9% from hay, straw, and transport.

During 1863–1866, *Hyttbäcken* sold 90 barrels of oats, giving a total of 810 *rd*. Rye was paid more per barrel, and the 23 barrels rendered 403 *rd*. (*Hyttbäcken*, Cash book). Cows supplied the main part of income from livestock, primarily as butter and milk, but also as live animals, meat, and hides.⁴ Anders Jansson lent money to other people at a 5% interest rate, but

4 During 1860–1870, half of the income from livestock came from butter and milk, and half from selling live animals, meat and hides. Source: Farm accounts *Hyttbäcken*: Income and expenses.

also borrowed from others. Trusted work gave an important income, e.g. assisting the surveyor during land reforms and doing probate inventories.

3. The 1860s crop failure

3.1 *The effects of weather on crops*

The effects of the weather conditions on the harvest of different crops are summarised in the local sheriff's annual reports, made after the harvest in October, for each parish and for the hundred. He noted the yearly yield to seed-ratio separately for oats, rye, barley, wheat, and potato in each parish, and if a poor yield could be considered a crop failure. He also noted if there was a deficit of winter fodder (hay and straw), which was the result of the harvest of the current year in combination with what was left from earlier years.

The reports show a variation both between crops and between parishes (Diagram 13.3). Cereals and hay usually failed during different years, due to their different ecology. Cereals are affected by temperature and precipitation during several phases: germination, growth, flowering, and ripening, and spring-sown crops (in Folkare mainly oats and barley) therefore differ from autumn crops (rye) in response to weather. Hay is a perennial crop and suffers mainly from drought, which reduces its growth.

Neither the poor crop yields in 1867, nor the poor hay harvest in 1868 were unique, and we can expect the farmers to have strategies for handling occasional poor yields. It can be assumed that the conditions for the households became particularly problematic when several crops failed the same year, or when poor yields came several years in a row. The 1867–68 combination gave very low incomes from rye following the 1867 crop failure, low incomes from oats following the rather poor year of 1868, and very low income from milk products after 1868's failure of hay due to reduction of the livestock.

3.2 *Socio-economic effects*

The price of rye, the main bread cereal, rose in the county of Kopparberg following the crop failure, from 8.79 *kr.* (*kronor*) per *hectolitre* in 1865 and 9.24 in 1866, to 14.94 and 13.75 in 1867 and 1868, respectively, after which it fell to 10.92 *kr.* in 1869. The price of oats increased during 1867–1869 from 4.20 *kr.* in 1866 to a peak of 5.92 *kr.* in 1868. In 1868 a ton of hay cost 60.39 *rd.*,

which was 45% higher than the prices in 1867 and 1869. The price for butter was stable, but pork prices increased (Jörberg 1972).

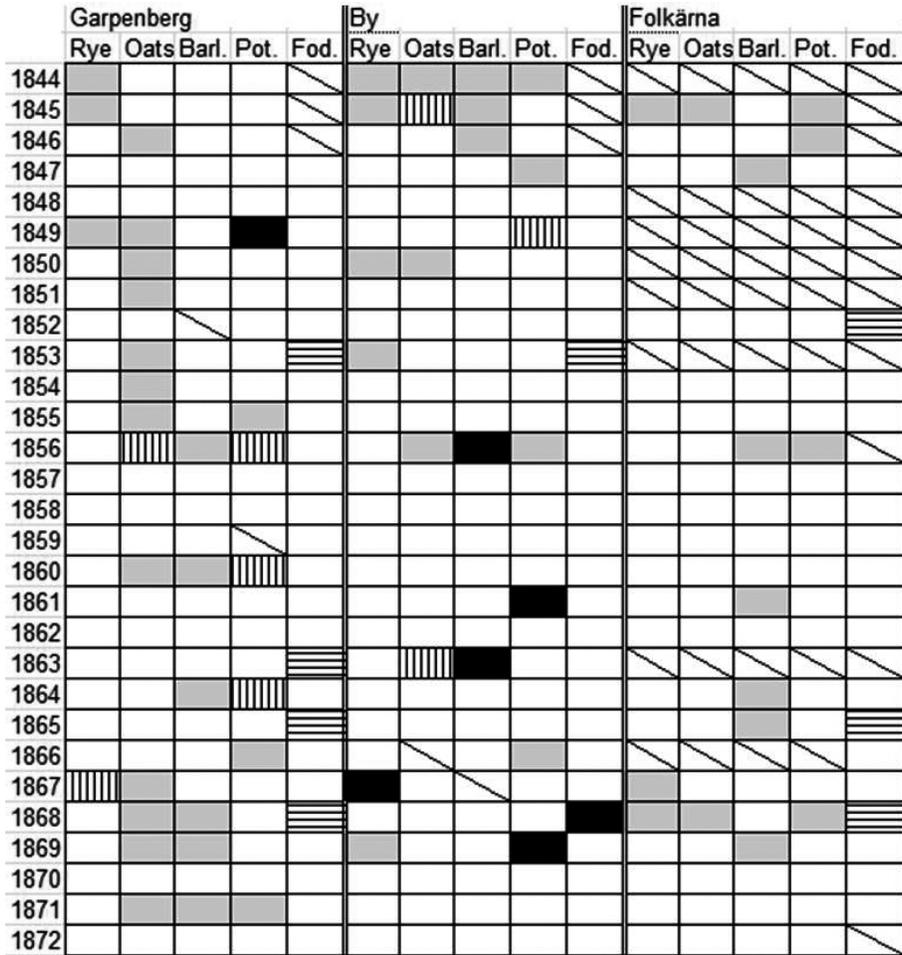


Diagram 13.3: Years with poor harvest of different crops (rye, oats, barley, potato, and winter fodder) 1844–1872 in three studied parishes (Garpenberg, By, Folkärna)

Note: Grey cells for rye, oats, barley, and potato show yields less than 30% of the average, vertical dashing shows less than 50% of the average. Black cells show the sheriff's ("kronofogde") notation of harvest failure. Horizontal dashing (fodder only) indicates the sheriff's notation of deficit of fodder (hay and straw). Cells with a diagonal line indicate missing data.

Source: LAU, KR, 1867, Hedemora fögderi.

Statistics from the county level (Kopparberg) show that the day labourer's wages decreased, but not much, during the crop failure 1867–1869. After an increase at the beginning of the 1860s the wages fell from 1.15 *kr.* per day in 1866 to 1.00 *kr.* the following year (1867) and to 0.95 *kr.* the coming two years (1868–1869; Jörberg 1972, 600). At Hyttbäcken the salaries did not change during the years of crop failure.

4. The studied farms during the 1860s crop failure

4.1 *Harvest*

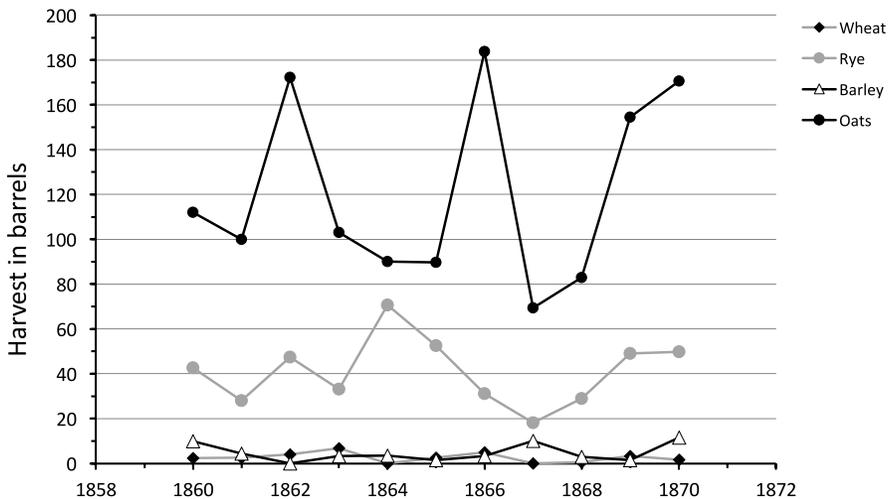
The regional effects of the 1867–68 weather on harvest are reflected at the farm level in our farm-specific sources. The last day in May 1867, Backåkers Erik wrote in his diary: “The whole month with exception of the two latest days has been almost winter cold, and much snow is still in the forest, it looks dark for the rural man, who cannot sow, nor is there any pasture for cattle.” Matses Anders Ersson described how the frost stayed in the soil until early June, making spring sowing difficult, and how the cold weather hampered growth and ripening during the summer and autumn, especially in low fields. At harvest, he noted that both rye and oats had to be cut green and unripe in some fields. By the end of August Backåkers Erik, noted that the harvest of hay and cereals was smaller than usual, whereas Matses Anders considered the rainy summer to favour the hay yield, except on the river meadows, which failed completely due to an exceptionally late and long inundation by melting snow.

The farm records from Hyttbäcken show low yields of oats in 1867 and of rye in both 1867 and 1868 (Graph 13.1). It was the drought that hampered the production of both cereals and hay in 1868, and Matses Anders noted that the drought caused overall poor production of cereals, although with good quality. He wrote that the rye yield was even lower than in 1826, which was known by old people as the driest and poorest year in the By parish within living memory. At Backåkers several entries about buying oats and rye indicate that the farm got poorer harvests than normal. The hay yields in particular were affected by the drought, and at Matses the normal hay fields gave less than 1/3 of normal yields.

4.2 Economy, resources, and labour

4.2.1 Backåkers – struggle with a negative resource-labour loop

Erik expressed worries and gratitude, as well as what the family members did on a daily basis, and which labour that was hired. Although we cannot explicitly connect actions with causes and intentions, we can interpret causal relationships indirectly. Two conditions are central for understanding the economy of the Backåkers farm. Firstly, the farm normally needed to buy cereals, because of its small area of arable land. Secondly, the family was haunted by the pressure of paying debt. Both created a need for a regular cash income.



Graph 13.1: Harvested grain at Hyttbäcken farm (barrels) 1860–1870

Source: HB, Farm accounts.

The number of hay-meadows harvested decreased from 26 in 1866 to 18 in 1867, and 15 in 1868–69, after which mowing increased again, to 19 in 1870 and 21 in 1871. One interpretation may be that mowing of fewer hay meadows in 1867 (which was a good hay year) released labour for alternative resource use in response to expected increased costs for buying cereals following the crop failure of 1867. Erik prepared six kilns, compared to four the previous year. The preparations for charcoal kilns started unusually early, already in the mowing season, and possibly as the crop failure was already a fact. Another action for instantly improving the economy was to sell a cow and a calf in October. In November one cow was slaugh-

tered, and one of the two horses sold, either as another source of income or because too little hay had been harvested. Instead, Erik borrowed a horse from neighbours or relatives when he needed one.

Erik re-employed his farmhand in November 1867, but when the farmhand had to quit working already in December due to sickness, no new farmhand was hired. Instead Erik was able to engage his brother to work with charcoal delivery and logging for new kilns from December until March, alongside with their father. On 3rd May Erik hired a young “summer farmhand” until the end of October, a cheaper solution than to hire a fully grown farmhand on a yearly basis. After that, no new farmhand was employed until January 1871, possibly for economic reasons caused by increased costs for cereals and reduced income from milk.

In spite of very low hay yields in 1868, even fewer hay meadows were cut this year. Perhaps the growth was too meagre in the dry hills to be harvested at all, or did Erik choose to allocate the labour to preparing six new charcoal kilns. Another cow was slaughtered in October 1868 in order to adapt to the scarcity of winter fodder, and the number of cows was thus reduced from six to three in two years. Despite this, the winter fodder was barely enough, which is why leaves were collected in the autumn of 1868 and lichens and other types of emergency fodder in the spring of 1869. On 31st March he wrote: “Give God, that it will be summer soon, so we can let out the cattle, as there is a general shortage of fodder.”

Forest pasture was a plentiful resource at Backåkers and enabled an extra income from April 1869, when horses and cattle from other villages and nearby towns were taken to graze for a fee.

From February 1869, the snow melted and the transportation of charcoal out of the forest was temporarily stopped. This, in combination with falling prices on charcoal, eventually made the farm’s main alternative resource and income insufficient. Despite all efforts, Erik Johansson was forced in to bankruptcy in March 1870. However, by selling land to a neighbour farmer and bringing about a favourable chord with creditors, the family could stay on the farm. Erik’s family used their social network in a difficult economic situation and managed to keep the farm within the family.

4.2.2 Matses – business as usual

The agricultural production at Matses was obviously affected in similar ways as at Backåkers, but the poor yields of grains in 1867 and hay

in 1868 does not seem to have affected the farm much. The main actions to compensate the consequences of the crop failure were, harvest of leaves for winter fodder in 1868, and increased transportation work in 1869 and 1870 (40 loads of ore and other goods, compared to, on average 25 loads the years before and after). The diary doesn't mention the livestock, but the increase of transportation work may indicate a need to increase other sources of income, when livestock needed to be reduced at Matses as in the rest of the parish, resulting in reduced incomes from the barn.

In all, the narrative of the diary gives the impression that the farm activities continued as usual. Almost all work on the farm was performed by the family members, one maid, and around 20 workdays by temporary labour. The need for income was thus low and possible to cover with the normal incomes from charcoal and transportation, both being weather-insensitive resources.

4.2.3 Hyttbäcken – keeping up by using cash reserves

Just like Backåkers, Hyttbäcken was dependent on an inflow of cash, here, for paying the many workers necessary to run the big farm. The majority of the total working capacity was hired (three out of five males and on average four out of six women), and such labour costs constituted one third of the farm's expenses during 1860–1870. Despite lower incomes from grain and milk, the farmhands and day workers together performed 3.2–3.3 years of work (yearly) during 1866–1868 and even more, 3.7 years, in 1869.⁵

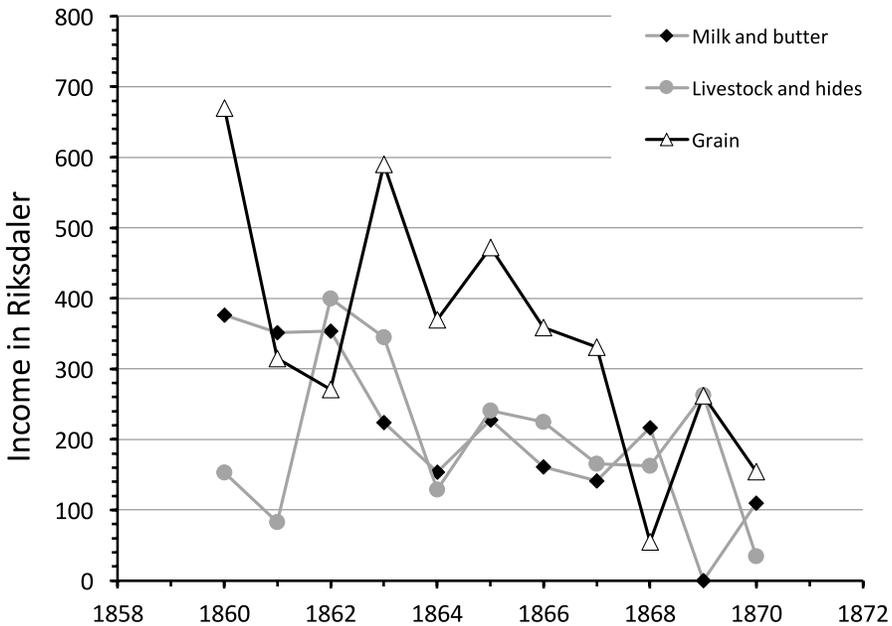
Female hired labour (mainly full year employed maids) varied significantly in number 1865–1870, but not in a way that can be connected to the crop failure and the reduction of milk production. For example, the number of maids increased from two to four after the number of milking cows had been reduced. The conclusion must be that the need for maids was not related only to livestock husbandry and milk production, but also to other important female tasks that are missing in the sources, e.g. textile production.

Due to decreased production, fewer working days were used during harvest and the threshing of cereals which was reduced by half in 1867. In 1868, only 19 days were spent on harvesting hay compared to 28 in the years

5 For comparison, day workers was converted to full year-work.

before and after. Instead it seems that men use the available time working more with charcoal production, carpentry, handicraft and forging. And in 1868, for leaf harvest.

Hyttbäcken increased the number of charcoal kilns, from one in 1866, to three in 1867, five in 1868, and four in 1869. Anders Jansson also substantially increased the income from works of trust. Already in 1867 and 1868, this income doubled compared to the years 1861–1866, from c. 100 to c. 200 *rd.*, and in 1869–70 it reached 300 *rd.* Just as the other two farms, Hyttbäcken tried to compensate the hay deficit in 1868 by collecting more leaf fodder.



Graph 13.2: Income (Riksdaler) from sold grains and livestock (milk & butter; animals and hides) at Hyttbäcken

Source: HB, Cash books.

These complementing income sources, however, did not fully compensate for the reduced incomes from milk and grain (Graph 13.2). In addition, the proportion of the salaries paid in cash increased after the bad harvest of 1867 and the two following years. In 1866, cereals constituted 30% of the salaries, but after October 1867, cereals were not used as means of payment for

three years. In total, the expenditures exceeded the income during 1867–1869.⁶ Hyttbäcken must therefore have had a cash reserve to cover the minus during these years.

Conclusions

Our study shows that the initial quote of this paper needs to be modified at the micro-level. One farm could not afford hiring labour to the same extent as before, one went through the crop failure with an unchanged labour force, and one farm needed very little employed labour.

All three households experienced reduced agricultural production and negative effects on the household economy during the 1860s famine. In all three, an integrated economy was essential for coping with the crop failure. The use of alternative, less weather-sensitive ecosystem resources, played an important role in the integrated economy. The possibility to use these ecosystem resources was tightly connected to the farm's labour capacity, both working family members, relatives and employed labour. The capacity to keep a balance between the demand and supply of labour influenced how the farms were economically affected by the crop failure.

The area of agricultural land on Matses was large enough to provide for the household's consumption of cereals, milk, and meat, and for a surplus of milk to sell, but small enough to be worked mainly by the family members, thus with a minimum of costs for employed labour. The farm furthermore produced two charcoal kilns per year, and performed a number of transportations, again with little input of hired labour. The failure of cereals during the 1860s doesn't seem to have been severe enough to threaten the household's supplies. The failure of hay probably caused reduced income from milk, but since the need for cash was small, this could be coped with.

Backåkers, in contrast, had too little arable land, which made the household dependent on regularly buying cereals, at unusually high costs during the crop failure. In addition, a debt burdened the household's economy. Normally, income from milk, charcoal, and firewood covered the costs. The production of forest products and the harvest of winter fodder for the cattle, required hired labour. When the costs for cereals increased and incomes from milk decreased, Backåkers Erik couldn't afford enough labour to increase the charcoal production and perform ore transports as

6 The expenditures exceeded the income with 80 *rd.* in 1867, 400 *rd.* in 1868 and 228 *rd.* in 1869. Both income and costs were on average 1300 *rd.* 1860–1870.

much as needed, and probably also had some problems with harvesting enough hay. Thus, in spite of larger forest resources than the other farms, these resources couldn't be fully utilised as labour availability became a severe bottleneck in the integrated economy during the 1860s crop failure.

Hyttbäcken had large areas of agricultural land and needed, even more than Backåkers, income to keep up with high costs, not least for all the hired labour. During the crop failure, the farm had cash reserves to keep the labour, which could maintain the work of fields and meadows and also increase the production of charcoal in the forest.

Our main result of the analysis of a diversified economy in relation to ecosystem resources and labour, is that resources that are less sensitive to weather were essential, but that the realisation of alternative income sources may be restricted by the availability of labour, both in general and at particular periods during the year. It was necessary to keep enough labour during periods of declining income, to avoid a negative loop of further reduced income. Here, the social network of relatives and neighbours may be essential. We see examples of changed use of ecosystems in response to labour deficit, such as a switch from labour-intensive hay-making to the use of grasslands for grazing at Backåkers. Furthermore, seasonality of the ecosystem resources could cause severe shortage of labour, which inhibited the use of some resources. An integrated economy therefore needed resource use to be dispersed in time.

Acknowledgement

We want to thank Anna Thomasson and family for giving us access to the farm archive of Hyttbäcken. The study was funded by the Swedish Research Council within the research project Resilience of subsistence – the agrarian households between society and nature 1750–1900. We want to thank our colleagues in the project for valuable input on the results.

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I4 Peasant “Economic Industriousness” in Slovenian Ethnology (19th –20th Centuries)

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Map 14.1: Case study area

Introduction

The present article has two aims concerning the perception and research of peasant economic activities in Slovenian ethnology. The first research question regards the use of the concept, “economic industriousness” (*gospodarska prizadevnost*) in Slovenian ethnology. This concept was used in recent Slovene literature of the agrarian economic activities even before it was proposed as an innovative interpretation in the field of economic history (de Vries 1994 and 2008). My aim is to check how much the term was reflected by its ethnological users, when and in which contexts it was used. Due to the limited sources of the ethnographic method, relying mostly on oral sources, the period under examination goes from the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century.

The second research question concerns the way various economic fields of the agrarian society in the Slovenian ethnic space were approached by ethnologists. Ethnologists were attentive to agrarian economic activities, concentrating mostly on agriculture and stockbreeding, but encompassing also the so called “additional” economic activities as for instance gardening, wine growing, fruit growing, hop growing, forest culture, foraging, apiculture, salt production, silkworm breeding, fishing trade, hunting, and different types of crafts, trade and transportation services (peddling, rafting trade, carrier transport services etc.). As the ethnological central research focuses on the way of life, which in the past of the European ethnological discipline focused on rural population, the aim of this article is to see in what way the ethnologists researched the peasant economic activities and to show some interesting case-studies.

1. The concept of “economic industriousness” (*gospodarska prizadevnost*) in Slovenian ethnology

While the term “economic industriousness” seemed to be widely known and used by Slovenian ethnologists, by checking some of the major literature I was quite surprised to find out that it was used only by one single scholar. It’s Janez Bogataj (1992, 84) who used it for the first time in his listing of different kinds of Slovenian ethnological heritage in the title of a chapter in his book called, “Heritage of the everyday economic industriousness” (*De-diščina vsakdanjega gospodarskega prizadevanja*).

The scholar does not give any explanation as to what he means by the term “everyday economic industriousness,” but it’s all left to the reader ac-

ording to the branches and activities he lists under this term. The only explanation we find is that “in the frame of everyday economic industriousness only some of the selected and most frequent forms, branches and types are presented. The heritage of domestic crafts [*domače obrti*], handicraft [*rokodelstvo*] and knowledge are discussed in other chapters” (Bogataj 1992, 84). Under the term “everyday economic industriousness” he listed the following peasant activities: agriculture, stockbreeding, fruit growing, hop growing, winegrowing, apiculture, foraging, gardening, hunting and fishing, stockbreeding, forestry and industry. Under the heritage of forestry he lists economic activities such as sawmilling, charcoal-burning, lime-producing, rafting trade, etc. (Bogataj 1992, 84–141). The heritage of domestic masters and craftsmen, heritage of transportation and traffic culture and heritage of trade (Bogataj 1992, 222–69, 270–96) are listed separately. The emphasis of the monograph lies on the material or (less) immaterial remains of the economic industriousness, such as (agrarian) buildings, food and other products or raw materials of all the above listed branches. It can be noted that the economic activities are not classified in accordance with the classical distinction of economic activities by economists or economic historians, that is according to the primary, secondary and tertiary sector (Panjek 2015, 199). We have to bear in mind, that the primary focus of Bogataj was heritage as remains of the past in the present; therefore the main criteria for classification is not the economic aspect, but heritage studies in an interpretative, applicative and touristic sense, that is the valorisation of heritage. The primary question is more linked to the present state of heritage in the sense of which kind of Slovenian heritage is worth conserving and presenting as part of the national identity. It can be noted that Bogataj uses the term “everyday economic industriousness,” also in other works, in a way denoting the everyday efforts of a peasant to survive in an economic sense (Bogataj 1989, 3). As will be shown in the following chapter, none of the previous ethnologists writing about peasant economic activities used the term “economic industriousness.”

This brief analysis of the use of the term, “economic industriousness” in Slovenian ethnological literature shows that it was used more coincidentally than reflectively. Nevertheless Bogataj managed to find a good Slovenian term for the more reflected economic-historical concept proposed some time later, in particular by de Vries with his “industrious revolution” and industriousness (de Vries 2008). Although the term “economic industriousness” was not much conceptualised by Slovenian ethnologists, re-

maintaining on a more descriptive and evocative level, it represents a good Slovenian translation of the economic-historical concept.

2. The approach of ethnologists towards peasant economic activities

Peasant economic activities in ethnology have been analysed through material culture, the other two pillars of the ethnological systematisation being social and spiritual culture (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 458). In her study of the history of the ethnological discipline on the Slovenian territory Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik analyses the essential literature on economic activities in a chapter with a significant title: 'Material world and people' (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 475-84). The two essential ethnological overviews of the economic activities are "Slovenian folk tradition" (*Slovensko ljudsko izročilo*), edited by Angelos Baš (1980), and "Peasant economy on the Slovenian territory" (*Kmečko gospodarstvo na Slovenskem*) by Marija Makarovič (1978). In Baš's monograph the economic activities are divided into more chapters: farming, stockbreeding, gardening, wine growing, fruit growing, forest economy, foraging, hunting and fishing, apiculture, craft and trade. Similar categories are found in Marija Makarovič's book, but with additional categories such as hop growing, poultry farming, silkworm rearing, rafting trade and charcoal-burning. The economic activities in these works are not linked with the overall peasant life, although Makarovič mentions social relationships through the mutual help between peasant families and through a peasant's diary (Slavec Gradišnik 2002, 475), which is from dates only recently, in the eyes of historians (from 1946 on) (Makarovič 1978, 244-92).

A significant overview of peasant economic activities and way of life in the 19th century was published by different authors in the journal *Slovenski etnograf* 33-34, with chapters on economic activities (Smerdel 1988-1990), wine growing (Dular 1991), crafts and trade (Bras 1988-1990), but also on alimentation, clothing, architecture and the culture of dwelling, social culture, domestic servants, folk art and health care. In the same journal a study of the preserved archives from a farm in Spodnja Šiška near Ljubljana was published, based on the farm's inventory from 1834 and other documents dating between 1761 and 1898 (Golob 1991). The author only lists material facts and does not make any deeper analysis of the social and economic state of these peasant households. In discussions of this type ethnologists "draw out the language of 'ingredients'; in this way it was possible to

sketch an image of the survival efforts and social denotation of the agrarian population of that time" (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 476).

In the last decades of the 20th century the ethnological research on peasant economic activities was micro-regionally concentrated and directed towards the study of the way of life of different professional and social groups (for instance in the project of Slovene ethnologic topography), which were frequently regionally specific, for instance limited to sea salt producing on the Adriatic coast, dormice and bird's hunt, rafts-men, forest workers, Alpine herdsmen, shepherds, millers etc. The focus of these kinds of researches was on skills and objects by documenting details. The main idea was that the human's work determines the individual and his or her group, therefore the centre of interest was different occupational groups and their activities (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 476). Some local studies of the peasant economy were also made, such as Boris Kuhar (1965, 1972) on changes of the folk culture in Škocjanski hribi and Anka Novak (1974) on peasant economy in Poljanska dolina (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 476). By checking the work of Anka Novak (1958) on the farming of peasants from Poljanska dolina it can be noted again that the focus is on the description of the everyday peasant activities such as farming, stock breeding and forestry. Therefore, the study of economy in ethnology has been focused on two interrelated topics: "the way of life" and "cultural elements" (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 477).

As Ivan Sedej notes, the object talks about techniques, the degree of craft's skill, about the difficulties of work, about life and intimate life – and this includes folk art and consumption (Sedej 1988–1990, 13). It's in this context that an interesting concept was used for the first time in Slovenian ethnology – "consumption" (*konzum*), referring to the house artistic expression and furniture in the so called de-privileged social classes (Sedej 1988–1990, 302, 317; Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 480).

What this methodology omits by focusing on the description of separate economic activities, is the "way of life" in relation to peasant's subsistence. I have not noticed any research dedicated to the question of economic subsistence, survival or even less of living standard improvement of an individual, family or village as a whole. The researches concentrate each time on simple and single aspects without connecting them in an economic system or comprehensive strategy.

The authors of one of the rare recent monographs on peasants, with a focus on the relationship between generations and genders, Duška Knežević Hočevar and Majda Černič Istenič (2010) noticed that in Slovenian research

the peasant economy or farming from the perspective of the farming enterprise has been in the domain of the agrarian economists, while the family enterprise or family has been in the domain of ethnologists, rural sociologists, geographers and other professionals from social sciences and humanities from the 1960s onwards. Some of the (social) data on the way of life can be found in the collections of life stories in the micro-ethnological studies made by Marija Makarovič (Knežević Hočevar and Černič Istenič 2010, 61–3).

3. Domestic crafts from an ethnological perspective

The problem of past ethnological research lies in the idealisation of peasants perceived as the base for national mythology (Sedej 1988–1990, 9). The attitude towards domestic crafts (*obrt*) in ethnology has changed from previously documenting the disappearing original products and techniques towards a broader understanding of its historical development from an economic and social perspective: such a case is represented for instance in the monograph of Janez Bogataj (1989) on crafts from the Slovenian territory (Slavec Gradišnik 2000, 477).

One of the important ethnological articles on the history of the peasant economy was written by Inja Smerdel (1988–1990, 25–60). This research has a rather different perspective than the previous ones, because it describes the ground-breaking events in Slovenian agrarian history in the second half of the 18th and in the 19th century. Her research is based on different literature, from ethnological articles, archival sources, newspapers, researchers (Hacquet Balthasar) and novelists of that time, to literature, written by historians, for example the fundamental (encyclopaedic) publication on Slovenian agrarian history with works of Pavle Blaznik, Bogo Grafenauer, and Valenčič Vlado (Blaznik, Grafenauer, and Vilfan 1970) and Bogo Grafenauer (1979).¹ According to the interpretation of Smerdel, the novelties which caused considerable changes in the structure of two basic agricultural activities in Slovenia – farming and cattle-breeding – in the frame of physiocracy and agro-technical revolution, were the abandonment of fallowing, improvements in fertilising, and the diffusion of potato growing. Essential changes were made in agricultural implements, as well as with the abandonment of transhumance and the distribution of com-

1 It seems that Smerdel wrongly cites Ferdo Gestrin and Vasilij Melik as authors of the chapter entitled *Revolucionarno leto 1848 in program Zedinjene Slovenije in Zgodovina Slovencev* (1979), which is in reality written by Bogo Grafenauer.

mon land, that brought about changes in animal breeding. Concerning the land as the basic means for agricultural production, an important change was the "land release" connected to the abolishment of the feudal regime in the Austrian empire in 1848. Land release and other above listed changes brought changes to individual branches of the peasant economy, for example in fruit growing. A change that marks the transition into the 20th century was the introduction of farm machinery.

In her overview of handicraft and crafts (*rokodelstvo in obrt*) Ljudmila Bras (1988–1990, 207–8) mentions the growing influence of the mercantilism policy from the beginning of the 18th century. In 1732 guilds' autonomy derogated and in 1765 guilds' rights were more reduced with the division of crafts between the "commercial" for trade on long distances (more than 40 of them as commercial, for instance ironworking) and "police" ones (*policijske*) meant for local needs (for instance pottery-making, printing, shoe-making, joinery, carpentry etc.) Besides them there were also tax-free crafts: spinning, and weaving. These ones were performed already earlier, outside guilds, as "additional" peasant activities (Bras 1998–1990, 210–14). The year 1859 marked the end of guilds with a new law on craft with liberal principles and uniform rules (Bras 1998–1990, 210; Bogataj 1989, 9).

According to the historical interpretation presented by the ethnologist Ljudmila Bras (and Ivan Sedej too), the liberalism of the mercantilist policy had a negative influence on craftsmen. The state power was interested in systematic industrialisation and it did not care for craftsmen. New manufacture and industry plants were formed, while many craftsmen were reduced to poverty. The construction of the railway in 1857 brought the decay of different transportation services such as transport by lorries (*vozarstvo*; see *Novice kmetijskih, obrtnijskih in narodskih reči*, 1852–53), boatmen, inns etc. Foreign industrial products were cheaper. Domestic crafts which used to bring modest earnings to peasant families, and the only income to peasants without land, were disappearing. Evidence of these difficult conditions was in the creation of an association ("fellowship") for mutual financial help among craftsmen, promoted also with an invitation to join it in the newspaper *Novice* in 1857 (*Bratovšina v denarno pomoč obrtnikom in rokodelcem v Ljubljani*). The need for loans and savings banks was detected in the same year in the same newspaper. In 1843 the journal *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* ("Agricultural and handicrafts news") was created as the first periodical journal for crafts and peasant matters in Slovenian language, in an attempt to accelerate handicraft and domestic crafts (*obrtni*

in rokodelstvo). In 1884 discussions were made in the provincial assembly about the development of “house industry” (so called *hišna industrija*). The Slovenian territory was captured in waves of migrations and peasants were indebted. The solution was seen in domestic crafts. Endeavours were made for creating schools for different crafts, industrial-craft exhibitions were made on the local and national level with granting awards (for instance in Ljubljana in 1844), laws were issued to make domestic crafts tax-free (wooden ware – *suha roba* – producers from Ribnica had income tax relief already centuries before) (Bras 1988–1990, 208–14; Sedej 1988–1990, 18).

This reconstruction by Ljudmila Bras is based on the works of some among the most important Slovenian historians of the second half of the 20th century, such as Ferdo Gestrin (1972), and Bogo Grafenauer (1974), as well as the above cited (encyclopaedic) publication on Slovenian agrarian history (Blaznik, Grafenauer and Vilfan 1970; 1980) and on the “History of Slovenians,” an overview by Čepič and Nečak (1979). Nevertheless, most of her cited literature is constituted by the works of Slovenian ethnologists such as Vilko Novak (eg. 1960), Boris Orel (eg. 1951), Angelos Baš (1987), Franjo Baš (eg. 1951), and Rajko Ložar (1944; 1959).

Bogataj underlined how the term “domestic crafts” (*domača obrt*) was established in the second half of the 19th century, when this economic branch was perceived as very important. Previously domestic crafts were considered simply as “additional” or “supplementary” peasant work in the countryside. In contrast to today’s understanding of crafts as various works and products made at home or in home workshops for people’s own use or for sale, according to Bogataj the perception of crafts in the past was connected with the countryside economic activities, while the element of countryside is today omitted, because many crafts derive also from urban or other environments. Today’s stereotyped connection of domestic crafts with tradition would derive from the Austro-Hungarian legislation from 1883 where domestic crafts or cottage industries (*Hausindustrie*) were understood as productive activities which people carried out in their own homes “according to their local customs.” Also the link with tradition is today omitted because the stress is on the development of crafts which is not limited to the imitation of heritage. Because of the connection with mechanised production (which today presents a need) the term of cottage industry already at that time provoked dissatisfaction about the proper terminology that has replaced the previous term – “secondary housework” (*postranska hišna opravila*) (Bogataj 1989, 3–5, 229). These economic activi-

ties were in fact previously defined also as "home" or "house laboriousness" (*domača ali hišna delavnost*, deriving from the German *Hausfleiss*), which meant the kind of production of different things in the countryside that the peasant or somebody else with or without the help of his family, made for his own use. From these forms of home work domestic crafts developed, which meant working for an income (Bogataj 1989, 3–5). In this interpretation we may see a strong influence of the ethnological concentration upon the rural society, which causes neglect of the urban reality where crafts were present too (in Ljubljana for example) (Valenčič 1972), as well as Bogataj's preoccupation with heritage issues, much more than historical ones, but which is comprehensible from the point of view of an ethnologist. According to Bogataj the more social differences in the countryside deepened, the more farms divided, the more the production of crafts increased. Domestic crafts for the majority of peasants meant survival, especially for the so called "rural proletariat" – small tenants, cottagers, small and landless peasants (*kajžarji, bajtarji, gostači, mali kmetje*). Domestic crafts ensured additional income and improved or at least ensured the minimum living standards for peasants. Whole villages, farms, families and territories have oriented towards a single craft, for instance weaving in the Gorenjska region, the production of sieves in the village of Stražišče etc. (Bogataj 1989, 7–8). In the 18th and 19th century the primary or traditional crafts can be distinguished from "systematically introduced" crafts with no link with tradition. The first ones were transmitted from generation to generation; the raw material was at hand. The cases of this kind of crafts are pottery-making, wooden ware (*suha roba*) producers, basket-weaving, nail making in Kropla and horse-hair products in Stražišče etc. "Systematically introduced" domestic crafts were introduced due to economic policy efforts especially from the second half of 18th century, as for instance lace-making which was purposely spread in Idrija from Holland to give poor miners' families additional income or straw-hat production which spread from Italy and intertwined with industry, similarly to the so called "work at home" (*delo na domu*). Most of these products were meant for export for customers of the privileged classes (Bogataj 1989, 8–9; Sedej 1988–1990, 15). In the latter case we are speaking of a "proto-industrial" form of production organisation (*Kauf* or *Verlag-System*, for which *založništvo* is the Slovenian economic-historical term).

4. Some examples of domestic craft and other peasant non-agrarian economic activities in ethnological literature

As it has been said, the domestic crafts represent a huge percentage of past ethnological studies, but the research focus is each time concentrated on the development of a single domestic craft and its present condition, without connecting it to the economic peasant activities as a whole or in the frame of the peasant economy. In this chapter I will briefly introduce some non-agrarian peasant activities, from which we can grasp an idea of their variety in the Slovenian regions especially in the 19th century, but also earlier and in the beginning of the 20th.

An economic activity that was connected with crafts and was highly developed, but not perceived in the same way by the authorities, was “travelling craftsmen” (*potujoče obrtniško delo*), called also “work at home”, or “ambulant craft in the countryside” (*ambulantna obrt na podeželju*). The older name used by Slovenians, (*delo na štero*) primarily denoted the carrying out of a domestic craft without a trade license (*štera* derives from the German *Störer*, which means charlatan, in Slovenian also *šušmar*). The ambulant craftsmen travelled from home to home where they produced ordered products, as for instance slaughtered animals, made meat-products, made or mended cloths and shoes for the whole family etc. (Bogataj 1989, 10-1, 232).

The oldest domestic crafts according to ethnologists are pottery-making, wooden ware producing and basket-weaving (Bogataj 1989, 235; Bras 1988–1990, 214). The branch of wooden ware producers represented the most important non-agrarian economic activity in the regions of Ribnica and Kočevje, which supplemented the incomes of small fragmented farms with little or no fertile soil – small farmers and cottagers (Bras 1988–1990, 214-6). Already Janez Vajkard Valvasor in his monumental work *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain (Slava vojvodine Kranjske: The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola)* in 1689 wrote that the people from Kočevje made most of their living by producing wooden ware (Bogataj, 1989, 8). The activity became tax-free already in 1492, the Austrian Habsburg ruler Maria Theresa (1780) renewed the patent, similarly to two patents from the 19th century which excluded them from taxes, so the merchants never managed to abolish their privileges. Due to this craft the emigration to America from this area slowed down in the 80s of the 19th century. They had interesting unwritten rules as for instance the inheritance of family rights, such as every man had his own territory to sell which was inherited by his relative. It’s interesting to com-

pare the time dedicated to this activity, performed by all members of the family: 200–250 days were needed to prepare and work the wood, while for farming remained only 1/3 of the year (Bras 1988–1990, 214–6).

In the branch of basket-weavers (*pletarstvo*) it's interesting to note that they have never been united in guilds, what in the opinion of Ljudmila Bras, indicates that it has always been an "additional" economic activity for peasants and linked to farming. Somewhere whole villages worked on the producing of baskets or cradles. This activity too was reportedly performed by the economically weakest peasants; especially where there was a lack of fertile soil, the peasants "improved their lives or went out of their financial problems with the 'additional' income" (Bras 1988–1990, 220).

The oldest written source on pottery-making mentions the pottery-makers by Dreta in 1340 and a lot of written sources derive from the 16th century in relation to guilds. Also Valvasor (1689) mentions places where "all the inhabitants" were pottery makers. According to a written source from 1782 nowhere in the Austro-Hungarian Empire were there so many pottery-makers as in Carniola (Central Slovenia). At the end of the 19th century the activity was disappearing because of kitchen-range and metal vessels and it became only an additional activity for small peasants (with the exception of stove makers in the urban environment) (Bras 1988–1990, 223–8).

The ethnological literature is full of all kinds of crafts, too many to list and describe them all in this short paper. I will expose an example of an economic activity, which was usually connected with good income: it's the lumbering and rafting trade (*splavarstvo*), which is in the frame of forestry economy. Half-agrarian raft men prepared the wood and the owners of forests sold it. Raft men were from the "rural proletariat." In the 16th, 17th and still in the 19th century it was still the predominant economic activity around Ljubno, Gornji Grad and, Mozirje in Northern Slovenia. Most of them made their living with lumbering and rafting, selling wood abroad, as far as Belgrade in Serbia. We derive some data about their income from the time before WWII, when somebody earned 6,000 *dinars*, apart from all the food supply and the transport back home in only 2–3 days of work (Makarovič 1978, 197–9). To make a comparison, in the same period an industrial worker had an average monthly wage of around 9,000 *dinars* (see Lazarevič in this book).

Connected with this economic activity Angelos Baš distinguished between two categories of peasants after the land release (1848) that he calls

“patriarchal” and “half urbanised” peasants. Such “half urbanisation” of peasants in the second half of the 19th and in the 20th century was possible due to the traffic and developed technical culture in the vicinity of cities, industrial towns and bigger traffic routes, for instance around Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, in the regions with industrial plants, such as hop in Savinjska dolina, or in places where the traffic on larger distances developed, as in the case of timber transport in Dravska dolina or in the upper Savska dolina. These type of peasants were in the minority and among them there were also some richer peasants who were “notables mastering the village or community” (*vas ali sosesko obvladajoči veljaki*). The “patriarchal” peasants on the other hand would live in continuity with the pre-physiocratic past (in the areas of Dolenjska, Bela Krajina, behind Sotla, Haloze, Podravje, Prekmurje and hilly Gorenjska, western basin of Kranj). The “urbanised” peasant would have the diet, clothing, dwelling conditions (house with separate rooms, beds, better hygiene), and “spiritual” life (reading newspapers) similar to urban people. He would consume coffee and beef during workdays too, and have a pretty mixed diet, while the “patriarchal” peasant would have a uniform and insufficient diet, with lack of milk, fat or lard etc. The “half urbanised” peasant would raise his living conditions by adding “urban” businesses, from crafts to commerce, to his farming activities (Baš 1984, 172-3).

Among this large number of peasant activities I will lastly present the case of ice-making in the Karst area, which was my object of study years ago and recently, when preparing an interpretation itinerary. This economic activity was linked to the growth of the urban centre of Trieste and the subsequent reinforcement of its economic hinterland which supplied goods for the needs of the city. By everyday trading with diverse merchandise the inhabitants of the Karst countryside were closely connected with Trieste and as a result of these trading routes many inns emerged. In the second half of the 19th century a great need for ice for conserving fish, meat, beer and other quickly corruptible food triggered the preparation of ice for sale in a massive way. Ice produced by Karst peasants was exported also to Venice and Koper, and was used also for the industrial production of beer in Senožeče on the Karst itself. Ice stores were specific (mostly round) buildings of dry stone wall which were dug in the soil for 2/3 and had only one small opening, so as not to let the warmth inside. A prerequisite for ice making was cold (< 0°C) rainy winters that filled the artificially made ponds for harvesting the ice. A pond could give for 2 ice-stores of ice (or about

70,000kg). An interesting way to harvest the ice was documented in the villages of Velike Loče, Male Loče, Slivje, Brezovica and Slope in the valley of Materija, where water was released onto grasslands in valleys, so they cut the ice from the frozen flooded area (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, b; Belingar 2005, 343–51; Klemenčič 1959, 135).

An ice store could be owned by two peasants, while some of them were owned and constructed by whole village communities. For instance only in the small village of Vrhpolje (by the main commercial road Rijeka–Trieste) as many as 23 ice stores were registered, of which 4 (each of them) were owned by two villagers together (Belingar 2005, 365–8; Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 26–7). It's quite clear that almost every peasant in this village performed the ice-producing and trading activity and even the poorest joined their forces to build a common ice store (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 26–7). In the hamlets of Krvavi Potok 11 and in Kozina, 9 ice stores were registered; both villages are in close proximity to Trieste and on the main road leading to it (Belingar 2005, 357–8; Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 20–2; 1994b). According to informants, until 1930 there were only nine families in Kozina and only one of them did not own an ice store (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 20). In the nearby village of Rodik, 32 ponds for ice harvesting were documented. The biggest ice store, 19 metres deep and 17 metres in diameter with the central pillar 32 metres high, was located in Kačiče: it was owned by a man called Mušič from Trieste who constructed it with the idea of an ice "factory." At the end of the 1930s in the whole Valley of Materija (about 20 kilometres long) functioned more than 100 ice stores. With the development of electrical refrigerators ice-trading began losing its profitability and slowly died out. The last ice store functioned until 1961 in Krvavi Potok (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 24; 1994b; Belingar 2005, 351–5).

Ice-making represented an income source for peasants. According to my informants peasants doing ice-trade had a good income. With the earnings they could build a new house, new well or a new front gate (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 9). Still in 2005 this kind of oral evidence confirmed that ice paid well. When an owner of an ice store filled and closed it they would have said: "we will not be wanting bread" (Belingar 2005, 350). One informant said that before WWI he earned 20 *goldinars* per cart of ice, whereas in the hottest summers up to 25 to 30 *goldinars* (Belingar 2005, 351, n. 13). If we compare with the available data, the average annual income of a regular worker in the Idrija mine from 1891 was 212 *goldinars* (see Kavrečič in this book). If we compare to a time probably more near to the memories of the

informant, the wage of a worker in an industrial plant in the year 1913 was 3 to 3.40 *kreuzers* per day for a man, e.g. 1.5 to 1.7 *goldinars*, and 2 to 2.3 *kreuzers*, e.g. 1 to 1.15 *goldinars* per day for a woman (for ten hours of work)². After WWII the value of ice and the profitability of its production and commercialisation sunk, since for a hundredweight of ice, 4 *liras* were paid in Trieste (twenty-five or thirty carts of ice filled an ice store with twenty-five to thirty-five kg of ice per cart; Belingar 2005, 350). For comparison, at that time a calf cost about 120 *liras* and an adult cow 200–300 *liras* (Klemenčič 1959, 136), while a cart of ice was worth a hundredweight of flour (Belingar 2005, 350). It has to be added that the ice-trade was tax free, although most of the other peasant merchandise such as meat, spirits, stock, poultry and crops could not avoid paying duty (Belingar 2005, 351; Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 15).

Ice-trading represented a small income also for the hired workers. The informants remembered that a daily wage for workers storing the ice in the winter time was around 10 *liras*, which was considered a good payment in the time between WWI and WWII. For this money a pair of worker's trousers could be bought (Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 23). The payment for the workers in the summer, when the ice had to be brought out of the ice-store, was 5 to 6 *liras* per worker, only the heaviest job, carrying the ice from the ice store, was paid 10 *liras* (Belingar 2005, 350; Bugarič and Hrobat 1994a, 25).

Concluding remarks

From the view of ethnologists, the peasant activities which were not linked to farming are seen as cases of activity, "supplementary" or "additional" to the essentially agrarian economy (see Makarovič 1978, 8; Sedej 1988–1990; Bras 1988–1990, 208; Bogataj 1992, 86–141). Janez Bogataj only warns that with the introduction of the term "house industry" in 1883, craft was not perceived any longer only as an additional activity, but as the main occupation (Bogataj 1989, 10).

Nevertheless, Marija Makarovič at the same time presents some interesting data and regional specifics in the agrarian economy, from which we can presume about the importance of the trade of agrarian products. In the 17th and 18th centuries the homemade corn in Istria was enough for only four months of the year, the missing corn was imported while 4/5 of ol-

2 *Slovenec* 29. 9. 1913, 5; <http://www.rtv slo.si/kultura/razglednice-preteklosti/kaj-in-kako-so-ogljasevali-pred-sto-leti/318891>, 20.12.2016.

ive oil and wine production was exported. In Gorenjska, Slovenian Koroška and western Štajerska the homemade corn covered the domestic needs, while in eastern Štajerska the corn was imported and the wine exported. According to her, in the 19th century peasants would have been more intensively directing towards other economic activities. A report of the economic structure for Carniola from the time under French authorities in 1811 says, that the region is "passive" (not self-sufficient) in producing corn and cattle, but they have a surplus production of linen and iron. Another report states that the inhabitants of Notranjska are engaged with the transporting of goods or they are employed as timber workers. A report from 1838 for the region of Ribnica states that because of overpopulation the home made products were not enough for living, that's why the people were "obliged" to make their living with trade in other provinces (of the Austrian empire). Concerning gardening as an additional activity (in Ljubljana, Prekmurje, Primorska) it's mentioned that the inhabitants of Osp in Primorska started gardening chicory around 1900 due to the growing demands for vegetables in Trieste and many locals could tell, that in that time many houses "grew up on chicory." In the Primorska region a strong activity of the 18th and 19th century was also silkworm rearing which presented an "additional" occupation and for some even the main source of income (Makarovič 1978, 9, 70, 188).

It's interesting to note that in the main ethnological monographs surveying peasant economic activities, salt production is frequently missing. I would suggest to add it as it seems a clear example of activity intertwined with agriculture and a form of peasant income integration. In fact, the peasants spent almost half of the year working on salt pans, from the end of April until the first rain in autumn.³

My concluding remarks will derive from a position of an ethnologist working for the first time in the frame of the economic history, which gave me a different viewpoint. Going through all these hundreds of studies of peasant economic activities I realised that there is a big gap between these two disciplines, ethnology and economic history. The main distinction consists of the essential question: while the economic historian tries to grasp peasant activities by placing them into their whole economy, the essential ethnological question lies more in the technical description of single

3 As can be seen in the Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage on Ministry of Culture (http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/Razvidi/RKD_Ziva/Rzd-02_00042.pdf, 7. 10. 16).

economic activities and their tools or products, or else the, “way of living” in general but without really considering the question of economy. After considering some of the main ethnological literature with the preview of different sorts of agrarian and non-agrarian peasant activities the question arises, why do the authors constantly use the term, “additional” peasant activities if at the same time they clearly demonstrate that these kinds of peasant economic activities constituted the base of living for families or even whole village communities.

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15 Peasant Economy in Interwar Slovenia – Policies of Income Diversification

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Map 15.1: Case study area

Introduction

The present article deals with the diversification of sources of income in the peasant economy during the interwar period. It discusses the strategies and practices used to maximise income, wherein peasants complement their agricultural activities with services and production of items that fall outside the narrow scope of agriculture. This was done to obtain additional income and overcome mere subsistence farming on small farms or to improve living conditions and allow for investments. These strategies and practices could be termed as integrated peasant economy, signifying the mixing of agricultural and non-agricultural activities in Modern-Era peasant economy. These processes are complex, extremely complicated, not at all straightforward, and, last but not least, take a very long time. The interwar period is characterised by a duality of these diversification processes. We see that they are both spontaneous and state regulated through the encouragement of certain activities, e.g. lacemaking. In this respect, the interwar period witnesses the continuation of the dynamics that had existed in previous periods. In the geographical sense, the analysis deals with the “Yugoslav Slovenia,” to use Vasilij Melik’s term, that existed as Slovenia joined the new state and its social and economic context in 1918.

However, no discussion of the peasant economy and agriculture, as well as of the diversification of sources of income in this respect, is possible without a general introduction of the situation among the peasantry. Such a general introduction will serve as a foundation for the understanding of the peasant’s strategies and practices of income source diversification used to mitigate the risks posed by a one-sided income structure. The interwar period is namely the time when policies of income diversification were becoming an increasingly important part of the agricultural policies of the Slovene authorities. They were now supposed to help overcome poverty in the rural areas of Slovenia. Our mention of Yugoslavia above is another important point in the discussion, as the creation of the joint state had significant consequences for the peasantry as well. As Slovenia joined Yugoslavia, intersectoral ratios of relative prices changed to favour industrial activities. In turn, this resulted in a change of the macro-economic circumstances in agriculture. In combination with the international reality of falling prices, Slovenian agriculture was going through a crisis even before the Great Depression of the 1930s.

1. Structural problems

While the creation of the Yugoslav economic area spurred industrial development in Slovenia, results in agriculture were less impressive. In this regard, we should also note that due to the consensus between Slovenian political parties, the Slovenian agricultural policy prior to WWII, did not change with administration change after elections. Slovenian agricultural policy of the interwar period can be summarised in a few simple bullet-points: increasingly well-educated peasantry, utilisation of all internal reserves and gradual subsidised specialisation and the introduction of new crops and technology that would allow for an eventual increase of commercial viability as well as the quality, quantity and profitability of agricultural production. In addition to these activities, the authorities supported agricultural co-operatives and tried to establish their importance with the central authorities in Belgrade.

Although the reasons for the constant crisis of agriculture cannot be ascribed solely to agricultural competition within the new economic area or to the general economic conditions unfavourable to agriculture, they should still be taken into account. First and foremost, we should bear in mind that the two decades prior to WWII saw further intensification of the internal conflicts within Slovenian agriculture. These conflicts, which were a major obstacle in directing the Slovenian peasantry towards intensive production demanded by the times, were reflected by the peasant's high degree of indebtedness.

It is common knowledge that Slovenia was still a predominantly agricultural region in the interwar period, with as much as 60% of the population subsisting on agriculture (Ilešič 1940, 68). At the same time, Slovenia was dominated by small farms, with almost 60% of them consisting of less than 5 hectares (ha) of land. On the other hand, the number of large farms, i.e. those with over 50 ha of land, was conspicuously low. These represented just over 1% of all farms, but the reader shouldn't presume these were large estates, as most of them covered up to 100 ha of land (Bilimovič 1939, 5).

The unfavourable land-holding structure was again compounded by overpopulation in the countryside. In his comprehensive study, Svetozar Ilešič found that the density of the peasant population was among the highest in Yugoslavia, as an average square kilometre (km²) of cultivated land was populated by 190 people, compared to the Yugoslav average of 144. Furthermore, population density on arable land was among the highest in Europe as well, with a similar ratio only to be found in Switzerland and, to

some extent, in Italy (Ilešič 1940, 62–3). The density and percentage of the farming population was particularly high in the Styrian and Prekmurje districts of Eastern Slovenia, followed by those in Bela Krajina (southern Slovenia). It should be noted that the farmland in these regions also tended to be the most fragmented (*Statistični godišnjak* 1939, 98).

The overpopulation of the Slovenian countryside was the result of the poor development in other sectors, as well as technological improvements and increased productivity in an industry that could no longer employ all the “surplus” population from the countryside. Additionally, foreign countries were closed to these people, forcing them to stay at home. Overpopulation of the countryside also had an adverse effect on farming technology, as the abundance of capable workers meant that there was no stimulus forcing the peasants to modernise (Grafenauer 1970, 218). Slovenian agriculture thus remained dominated by manual work, with farmers consequently facing great physical demands (Maister 1938, 93–116), which is attested to very evidently by Erjavec’s data from 1925 on the equipment of Slovenian farms with agricultural machinery and implements used, which was, to put it mildly, very modest (Erjavec 1928, 37).

The low level of mechanisation on Slovenian farms, not to forget the insufficient use of chemicals and other fertilisers, resulted in inefficient and unprofitable production, clearly reflected by low crop yields, especially in terms of the general European environment. While it is true that Slovenian agriculture was much more productive than the Yugoslav average, its results were still poor when compared to agriculturally and otherwise developed countries of western Europe.

This will be illustrated by the example of wheat, the most important crop at the time. In the interwar period, Slovenian farmers managed to increase their wheat yields by approximately 15% (from 8.4 to 9.6 q/ha) and thus to decrease Slovenian food supply deficits (Erjavec 1928, 17–34). Nevertheless, they were still far from the average yield in Europe, which was 16.5 q/ha. Slovenia remained at the bottom of the scale, in the company of Spain, Portugal, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. The middle part of the scale included Eastern European countries, while central and western European countries occupied the top of the scale. By way of example, we may note that Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium, the countries with the previously highest crop yields in Europe, managed to increase these even further in the 1930s. Specifically, wheat yields in Denmark were 29 q/ha (Bilten 1937).

As indicated above, the structural inconsistencies of Slovenian agriculture were also reflected by the high indebtedness of the farming population, which was also the result of the destructive consequences of the Great Depression that saw agricultural prices decrease by up to 50%. The indebtedness was a reflection of the Slovenian agriculture in general, as the ranks of the indebted were dominated by small farms that were unable to meet the standards of a market economy. That is to say, the indebtedness was an indication of the market-driven size optimisation of Slovenian farms.

Looking at the data on the holdings of indebted farms, we see that over 60% of all indebted farms held less than 10 *ha* of land. The percentage becomes even more significant once it is accompanied by the conclusions of the cost-effectiveness analysis. The economic survival of farms with less than five *ha* of land in the 1920s was impossible, which forced the owners to look for other sources of income. As the crisis broke out, this category expanded to include farms up to 10 *ha* in size, which had previously, in the first decade of the Yugoslav state, been able to cover all their expenses exclusively through farming. The data of the 1931 census, clearly showed that slightly over 20% of all farms only pursued farming as a secondary activity (Maister 1938, 94). This share is numerically quite similar to the percentage of indebted farms with less than 10 *ha* of land. We can thus conclude that the optimal size of a farm, allowing for specialisation of production and not only for survival but also, to a certain extent, for accumulation, already exceeded 10 *ha* in the 1930s.

Naturally, such trends threatened great economic, social and political upheavals, with the true extent of the problem being revealed by the telling fact that as much as 3/4 of all peasants in the Slovenian countryside sustained their families on farms with less than 10 *ha* of land. Moreover, this was certainly a population much too large for the government to remain indifferent and not intervene. Intervention was made even more necessary by the fact that these multitudes could not emigrate or seek employment in industry. The promulgation of the Peasant's Protection Act (*Zakon o zaščiti kmetov*) and the moratorium on agricultural debts in 1932 and subsequent legislation essentially preserved the existing fragmented land holding structure (Lazarević 1994).

We must ask ourselves, however, whether a different outcome was even possible. A large number of unsuccessful auctions in the 1930s indicates that even large holdings, whose income had decreased by up to 50% due to the crisis, did not possess sufficient funds to purchase these bankrupt-

ed farms. The creation of large agricultural holdings that could compete on the market was thus hardly possible. Further borrowing was not an option either, as the farmer's creditworthiness was seriously undermined in 1930s.

2. The goals of agricultural policy

The dilemma thus faced by the state agricultural policy makers was how to ensure that Slovenian agriculture with its fragmented nature would become market-oriented and achieve higher levels of production, both in the sense of quality and in the sense of yields, which would translate into higher income for the farmers and a subsequent living standard increase for all people employed in agriculture. Many human lives and the day-to-day quality of life of the majority of the population depended on the answer to this fundamental dilemma. These agricultural dilemmas were presented to the Slovenian public by Anton Pevc (1924, 5) who did not mince his words: "Slovenia will either have to increase agricultural production or reduce the agricultural population by half." He was certain that this would happen on its own and claimed one should try to prevent such an outcome through agricultural policy measures that would transform Slovenian agriculture by increasing farm size and the cost-effectiveness of production.

As we have already pointed out, Slovenian agricultural policy was based on three main points: the education of farmers, the use of internal reserves and the gradual and subsidised modernisation of technology in order to increase productivity. From a business standpoint, this process should have resulted in the peasants turning into entrepreneurs and the farm becoming nothing more than a business unit producing for the market. In order to achieve this, it would have been necessary to monitor cash flow in agriculture by instituting farm accounting. In this process of conceptual and technological restructuring, farmers would also be helped along by co-operatives as a means of adapting to the capitalist economy. Co-operatives were supposed to make it possible for farmers to enter the market by overcoming the limitations and drawbacks of individuals entering into market relationships. Farmers were supposed to enter the market as a connected social and economic group (the co-operative), not as individuals.

Such an agricultural strategy was not unreasonable. Its main objective, the conceptual and technological transformation of agriculture, was formulated for the long term. It was decided that the transformation should involve mid-sized and large farms, as these were the ones that fulfilled the

necessary conditions for the transition to an entrepreneurial approach. These farms were expected to be able to leverage their economy of scale or increase production and thus justify the investments needed for the restructuring. Such measures were also compatible with the reality of the countryside and with the structure of the agricultural sector. Analyses showed that farms could generally be classified into two categories according to their principle of operation. Anton Jamnik thus wrote about “subsistence farms,” small farms that aimed only to provide for the survival of the family, who were also the only workforce. Family members faced heavy, even excessive physical burdens. Market participation of such farms was sporadic and occurred only inasmuch as necessary to satisfy urgent monetary needs (Jamnik 1931, 10). Anything more was virtually impossible, as these were small, even tiny farms that dominated the agricultural land holding structure at the time. Market-directed production at such farms was essentially impossible; there were no funds to invest in order to increase productivity, and even if there had been, such investments might not have been justifiable. Owners and their families were caught in a kind of a vicious circle of poverty, i.e. of low productivity, low income, low savings and investments and slow accumulation of capital (if any).

The other type of farms according to Jamnik included those involved with “monetary economics,” i.e. those predominantly or at least partly market-oriented. This category includes mid-sized (over 10 ha of land) and large farms. In the predominantly fragmented agricultural holding structure, however, such farms were in the minority. Nevertheless, these farms were supposed to lead the transition to the entrepreneurial system of operation. Jamnik’s assessments set the bar extremely high. According to him, this second category included few agricultural establishments, since;

such a farm needs the owner to be much more competent and educated, both in general and in the specific matters of his business, the owner needs to be able to delegate work, to rationalise production, to have enough money and be capable of speculation and entrepreneurship, to be able to create complex plans for the intensive use of all production capacities and resources, to be familiar with agricultural economic prospects, to understand and be able to produce high-quality, easily marketable goods (Jamnik 1931, 12).

Although Jamnik presents two generalised and idealised types of farms, at two ends of the spectrum, his analysis underlines the depth of the

economic issues faced by the agricultural sector and the social strife faced by the peasants. Let us again point out that as much as 60% of the farms at the time had less than 5 ha of land. Yields of such farms were very low. Detailed ratios are presented in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1: Estimated average income of farms in the 1930s (in dinars)

	Up to 2 ha	2–5 ha	5–10 ha	10–20 ha	20–50 ha	Over 50 ha
Fields	1,150	3,700	7,100	10,700	14,000	31,000
Meadows and pastures	240	1,430	2,800	5,300	11,000	41,500
Vineyards	540	1,246	1,500	1,850	2,020	8,000
Gardens and orchards	180	432	750	1,020	1,380	8,000
Forest	45	240	420	2,080	5,240	36,600
Total	2,155	7,048	12,570	20,950	33,640	125,100

Source: Uratnik 1938, 61.

While profitability was low on farms with up to 10 ha of land, there were significant differences between various types of farms. Profitability increased steeply as farms approached or exceeded 10 ha of land. Profitability of the farms becomes even more telling and tangible if we compare it to the average industrial worker's salary at the time. In the late 1930s, the worker's average yearly pay was about 9,000 *dinars* (Kresal 1995, 13). The numbers speak for themselves and offer a glimpse of the depth, extent and class structure of poverty in the Slovenian countryside. We further approach a realistic assessment of countryside poverty if we also take into account the average family size. It was estimated at the time that the average peasant family had slightly upwards of five members (Maister 1938, 94). Small farms were thus unable to provide anything more than bare subsistence and even that was often in question.

In light of the data presented above, Anton Pevec called for the abolishment of half of all farms in Slovenia, as they were supposedly not economically viable. Vinko Möderndorfer added that, due to their dependence on extra-agricultural work, the position of small farmers, particularly those with less than 2 ha of land, already approached that of wage workers (Möderndorfer 1938, 155). Möderndorfer stated that because of the impossibility of surviving just on agriculture, members of peasant families should

have an opportunity to find employment in industry or in the service sector. And that is what happened in the interwar period. In a relatively short time span, industrial capacity and the number of jobs in industry doubled. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the textile industry was at the forefront, and the scales of domestic product, or income, had already tipped in favour of non-agricultural activities. Such a course of events contributed greatly towards the mitigation of social issues, as the 50,000 to 60,000 new industry jobs (Križanič 1996, 39) helped resolve the existential problems of 250 to 300,000 people. Many members of peasant families found employment outside their farms, and their income often contributed towards the subsistence of their families. Close to industrial centres, the practice of daily commuting to industry jobs became quite common. In the case of Ljubljana, there are documents indicating daily commuting to work from towns and villages up to 20 kilometres away, mostly those close to railways (Lazarević 2014a, 354). In spite of the progress and the numerous employment options outside agriculture, however, the issue of the peasantry was not yet resolved. In fact, to let it be resolved before WWII, as many new jobs would have been needed as they already had been, since the 1930s data on peasant indebtedness indicated that at least 250,000 people in the Slovenian countryside still remained on the path to bankruptcy (Lazarević 2009, 106–21). Measures were necessary that would also help the situation of the peasantry in the short term.

3. Reality: Three farm-cases

By way of example, we present three cases of farm management at three completely different farms in terms of holding and income structure. These cases, reflecting the fundamental dilemmas of agricultural management, illustrate the effectiveness of managing small and mid-sized farms. The broader context of the study is thus complemented by a case study indicating the economic practices of individual farms. The comparison of income and expenses is more than telling and indicates the fundamental dilemmas of agriculture during the interwar period.

The first case is a small farm based in Drašiči in Bela krajina (Pirc 1938, 87). The farm had 4 ha of land in total, 2 ha of which were fields, 16 acres were vineyards and the rest were meadows and forests. The farm offered subsistence to seven people, two of whom were children below seven. In 1936–37, their yield was worth 8,780 *dinars*. The farm produced wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat, potatoes, beans and wine; however, this was still not

enough – they had to buy additional bread flour. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the yield was used by the family; the rest was sold. Products sold by the farm were mostly wine, fruits and eggs. The farmers also raised a pig that they had bought for this purpose, as well as chickens, but food scraps and their own corn yield were insufficient to feed the livestock, forcing the family to buy additional feed.

Recurring costs primarily included the costs of clothing and footwear, which amounted to as much as 25% of all expenditure. Add to this all other food-related expenditure, which amounted to 50% of all quantified expenditure, and we find that the family subsistence costs represented as much as 75% of all the expenditure of a small Bela krajina farmer. Understandably, some money also had to go towards the production or purchase of Bordeaux mixture, a fungicide needed in the vineyards. Very little was thus left for the miscellaneous needs of the family. Interestingly, a significant item of the latter category are tobacco costs, which were higher than the costs of salt, lighting and soap put together. Another item of interest is the subscription to *Domoljub* (The Patriot), a farmers' magazine.

A comparison of income and expenditure of the farm shows a negative balance, as costs significantly exceed the income. Specifically, costs were higher than income by $\frac{3}{4}$. This of course raises the question of how the deficit was covered. There were only two ways to do this – either borrow or find other sources of income. The family in question used both ways. Day's labour for other farmers and handicraft work covered most of the deficit, while the rest of the money was provided by the farmer's brother, which can be understood as a kind of borrowing. The case illustrates that an establishment of this size was not even able to produce enough food for the family, much less to use the income from agriculture production to expand. The very existence of a family was ensured by increasing employment outside of agriculture.

The second case we consider is from Bela krajina as well (Pirc 1938, 88–9); however, the structure of the farm in this case is different. In total, the farm had 9 ha of land, 3 ha of which were fields, while the rest were other types of land, of which vineyards were the most prominent. The farm provided for seven people, with the children already grown up and able to help out. The main product of the farm was wine, while other agricultural activities served primarily to satisfy the nutritional needs of the family. The family raised livestock as well, having a couple of cows and pigs. The total value of the farm's production was 23,708 *dinars*. Of this, 12,421 *dinars*' worth of goods were sold (wine, spirits, potatoes, beans, two pigs, one steer). This

was supplemented with further income from work at a vine nursery in the amount of 3,600 *dinars*, which represented 25% of the entire farm's net income. Work outside the farm was thus a significant source of income.

Expenses are dominated by clothing and footwear expenditure (almost 50% of the total amount) and various household expenses (salt, petroleum, sugar, coffee, chicory, etc.). Investment expenditure includes Bordeaux mixture and other accessories for the vineyard, as well as the purchase of livestock for rearing. Farmhands are one interesting aspect within this expenditure category. They were seasonally hired to help in the vineyards as well as with other labour in the fields. This farm did not need to purchase additional foodstuffs; they sold most of the wine and spirits they produced, as well as 40% of potatoes and a significant amount of beans. Another item of interest is insurance, which the small farm described above lacked and which reflects the financial differences between the two farms, as well as different ideas of management.

The columns of expenses and net income from production show that the budget of the farm in question was perfectly balanced. The farm's yields kept the family supplied with foodstuffs and clothing, thus ensuring their survival. The surplus evident from the balance sheet was the result of economic activity outside the family's own agricultural establishment. These were the only funds available for potential investment in new technology or new methods of production or consumption.

The third case is a mid-sized farm as well, but this one is not located in Bela krajina but rather in Slovenske gorice, near the town of Ptuj (Bratko 1938, 396–7). The farm had 13 ha of land and was home to a family of six, four of whom were children. The amount of work was such that the family was unable to do everything by themselves. Unlike the first two, this farm was specialised and market-dependent, as its principal activity was livestock rearing. The farm thus owned four cows, two oxen, a couple of calves, a number of pigs, a horse and additionally some chickens. The largest part of the farm's income came from livestock rearing, particularly from the sale of milk, animals and eggs. In 1936–37, income from livestock rearing represented as much as 70% of all income. All other activities at this farm were ancillary and essentially only served to satisfy the needs of the family. With regard to crops, the farm mostly sold potatoes, as well as some wheat, cabbage and beans. We can make similar conclusions regarding fruit cultivation and wine-making – the family only sold a small part of what they produced. The farm from this example is the one best suited to illustrate the

destructive effects of the collapse of prices of agricultural products during the economic crisis – in the pre-crisis year of 1929, the farm's income with the same sales structure was 40% higher. The differences between incomes are particularly significant in the sale of livestock, milk and wine.

Comparing this to the income and expenditure sheet from 1936–37, the farm's budget remains balanced despite the collapse of prices; but there is no surplus either. However, if we had noted a more or less complete absence of costs of future production in the previous example, this is not the case here. Such expenditure is already included here, representing over 1/6 of all expenses of this mid-sized farm (fertilisers, tools). The most prominent items among household expenses, which amounted to 1/7 of the expenditure total, were lighting (petroleum), sugar and items for personal hygiene. We should also note that the farm was not buying any additional foodstuffs – the family not only produced enough for their needs, but also was able to sell the excess to Ptuj. This family also spent a lot of their money on clothes and footwear, almost 1/3 of their expense budget. Although the farm owner was moderately indebted, the payment of annual instalments did not present too much of a burden; the owner also had insurance, probably for the house and other farm buildings.

If we sum up all the expenditure items and compare them to the income, it turns out that the farm should have been making a loss. The expenditure would have exceeded the income by 7%. We are presenting this merely as hypothetical though, as the expenses include pay of hired farmhands in cash, while they were actually paid in kind. For their work, the farmhands received food or were leased some land. Others still, the farm owner compensated by tilling their fields or hauling their wood from the forest.

If we compare the three farms, we see that the share represented by the basic subsistence costs, i.e. of food and clothing, is inversely proportional to the size of the farm, decreasing by 50% as we move from the smallest farm to the middle one. At the second presented farm, family members were thus no longer able to do all the work and additional hands were hired during the season. In spite of their low hourly wages, expenses for their pay were significant. Expenses of mid-sized farms also include insurance premiums. It seems that at such farms the extent of cultivation and the amount of funds available made it possible for the owners to insure buildings and perhaps even part of the livestock. The owners apparently realised that un-

predictable weather and other variables necessitated taking out insurance for the crops, livestock and buildings.

These cases reflect the logic of farm management on the one hand, focused mainly on providing for the farm's inhabitants, and the insufficiency of funds for the necessary investments that would increase agricultural productivity on the other. The cases also highlight the various strategies used by farmers to maximize their income. It is clear in all three cases that basic agricultural activity could not provide the financial basis for increased investment activity at the farm, or could only do so to a minor extent. The missing funds had to be acquired in a different manner. It was necessary for the farmers to diversify their sources of income. Small farms, which dominated the Slovenian countryside, tended to need additional sources of income to ensure their bare survival, with agricultural production barely being sufficient to feed the family. At mid-sized farms, on the other hand, the households faced a different issue that was just as problematic. After the Great Depression nearly halved agricultural incomes in global terms, mid-sized farms were in fact unable to achieve the surplus income necessary for the increase of production through specialisation and introduction of new technologies, and the resultant increase in income and the improvement of the living standards of the farming population.

4. Different ways of peasant income diversification

In the process of short-term alleviation of the problems faced by small farms, we can discern three strategies used to increase income and diversify its sources. These approaches were not new, as they had already been tested before WWI and documented in the time of the Habsburg Monarchy. One could define these strategies as general methods of overcoming the factors limiting the profitability of small farms. However, there is another phenomenological characteristic that should be pointed out. As a rule, strategies for the diversification of sources of income were part of the informal economy; initiatives and practices were spatially dispersed, rarely taxed and not included in statistics. The diversification of income had a significant impact on the alleviation of day-to-day troubles of the peasantry and helped with the balancing of the budgets of agricultural establishments.

The methods of income diversification consisted of temporary work at other farms, seasonal migrations abroad, and participation in various 'cottage industries,' i.e. the home production of various items. At this point, we can state with some certainty that these strategies were about the commer-

cialisation of the existing working ability, free time, experience and skills (either previously existing or newly acquired), as well as local resources. Cottage industry was based on low-level technology that required little or no skill to operate. People generally adapted to such handicrafts easily and could usually learn them through practice. However, the items produced in such a manner were low-cost, resulting in the work being poorly paid as well. Peasants generally had few problems entering such additional working relationships, provided that other conditions had been met, e.g. demand for the items or commercial channels connecting producers with consumers.

Farm work for hire was a widespread method of acquiring additional income. There were plenty of options. On the one side, there were farms with over 10 ha of land that needed additional manpower during the peak of seasonal activities, as family members were not able to do everything by themselves. On the other side, there was rural overpopulation, with small farms in particular being able to provide ample additional workforce. However, due to the lack of data, it is hard to quantify the extent of this phenomenon. According to the 1938 study by Filip Uratnik, the only author to have dealt with these issues, the late 1930s saw about 50,000 to 60,000 people supplementing their income by working at other farms, usually in their immediate neighbourhood. In global terms, this amounted to about 10% of all the rural population. In line with the low average profitability of the agricultural sector, wages of hands for hire were low as well. Here, Filip Uratnik comes to our rescue again, estimating that the average daily wage of a farmhand amounted to 50% of the daily wage of an industry worker (Uratnik 1938, 12, 62–76).

Another way of seeking additional income was through “seasonal migration.” It was precisely seasonal agricultural migration that was the most common type of migration before WWII. In the spring, a significant part of the population took off to work at farm estates in western Europe, returning in the autumn when the crops had been harvested. Seasonal migration was common in the eastern parts of Slovenia, particularly Prekmurje, where overpopulation was the highest and land holdings were the most fragmented (Lazarević 1994, 74).

The third method of income diversification was through various cottage industries, i.e. production of items within the household, utilising the experience, skills and the working ability of the family. As an introduction, let us quote the impassioned words of Ivan Mohorič (1950–51, 25):

Cottage industries unite tens of thousands of busy hands under the roofs of thousands of rural homesteads in silent labour, in a fight for survival and in the noble effort of improving one's living conditions. Statistics cannot measure these hard-working multitudes that surpass the most powerful industrial conglomerates. They remain invisible, nowhere advertised but ever active. Just as their creative powers and kinds are inexhaustible, their dynamics are lively and pervasive [...] in their complexity, they have become an indispensable part of the national income and well-being.

These were the words Mohorič, who did not hide his enthusiasm for the industriousness and creativeness of the peasantry, used to underline the various phenomena of economisation of agricultural establishments. In Slovenia, “handicrafts” (*domača obrt*) and “cottage industry” (*hišna industrija*) are terms, or rather concepts, usually used to describe the methods of operation on Slovenian farms.

In this regard, however, we must also take into account the complexity of managing a farm, which in itself involves a combination of different complementary skills and experience. This complexity offers peasants a starting point for various economic initiatives, provided there are opportunities to allow for them. As any other activity, farming is not one-sided. Farms and the village council as a community are a microcosm of interwoven relationships between economies and sectors, of social relations, different views and conflicting material aspirations (born of necessity or desire to own) as well as social interests. The implemented policies of diversification of the peasant's sources of income involved the peasantry and individual peasants in the world of the capitalist economy, allowed for the world to be conceived through the peasant's social self-sufficiency and cleared the path for social modernisation. This all occurred spontaneously, automatically and gradually.

In this regard, a study by Anton Markun from 1943 is very useful, showing in detail the interwar economic situation in the Velike Lašče district. In the first volume of his work, Markun describes agricultural activities, while the second volume is dedicated to a detailed presentation of handicrafts and trade. In the context of this article, we are primarily interested in the second volume, which provides a list and descriptions of non-agricultural activities in the countryside, specifically in the district of Velike Lašče. The list presents a wide array of possible economic initiatives and relationships either unconnected to agriculture or stemming from agricultural ac-

tivities. In this way, Markun gives us insight into the range of possibilities that the peasants had to diversify their income; the range of possibilities for parallel economic activity. Markun had thus documented the following economic activities of peasants: canvas making, hat making, straw plaiting, tailoring, production of fur clothing, butchery, tanning, shoemaking, joinery, carpentry, wheelwrighting, saddlery, cooperage, milling, key cutting, bucket coopering, sieve making, toothpick production, production of baskets, rakes and pitchforks, production of dormouse fur hats, sawmilling, smithing, mob cap making, lime production, masonry, charcoal burning, tree tapping, potash production, production of clothes hangers, basket weaving, production of toys and dolls, production of musical instruments, clogs, rope and brushes. Among trade activities, Markun lists mixed goods trading, peddling, selling at fairs, trading in wild birds, forest fruits, herbs, dormouse fur, treen, and, last but not least, smuggling.

Markun remains at the level of detailed ethnographic description that is somehow on the surface, and is not interested in the issues of operating a farm as a complete economic unit. In spite of this, he notes that peasants felt it natural to engage in all activities listed above, though usually not continuously but rather, in parallel to agricultural activities. Markun paints a picture of a village and farm management in the Velike Lašče area (south of Ljubljana), dominated by fragmented land holdings, as a multidisciplinary economic space where the chosen type of economic activity parallel to agriculture is dictated by necessity and the expected benefits. In the background of his description, one sees an idea of farming households in which peasants pragmatically take up different activities to increase and diversify their income, wherein they are willing not only to work and learn but also to intervene in sales organisation. That is, the peasants are trying to at least partly manage their position by reducing the distance between production and consumption. However, Markun goes a step further. His descriptions of individual craft and trade activities indicate that the very concept of the peasant's world already includes the dynamics of change. Markun thus records the ascent and decline of individual handicrafts practised by peasants as determined by the broader social and economic context over a long period of time.

In order to understand the comprehensiveness of the context of income diversification in farming households, we should add that in the interwar period (and before), the income from handicraft activities was untaxed, provided that these were being pursued only by family members, i.e.

provided that there were no other employees, and that their extent was limited. Handicrafts were defined as activities whose operators did not meet the requirements for a craft licence and did not have a dedicated workshop but worked in their own homes (Mohorič 1950–51, 19). In the countryside, such production was widespread, although not all types were distributed evenly or even present. The picture was extremely diverse as well as dispersed, determined by local economic and social features and initiatives. We will only list a number of selected examples of handicraft, as we are interested in the system, i.e. the mechanism of operation, the influencing factors and the consequences of the existence of the historic phenomenon of handicraft activities for society in general.

Furthermore, any discussion of handicraft must differentiate between two types, the more sophisticated handicrafts and the less demanding ones. The first type featured aesthetic elements as well and could even be somewhat artistic; the second was characterised by its utilitarian nature. Lace-making may thus be classified among the former type, while the latter type would include production of all sorts of wood products (buckets, crates, toothpicks, spoons, sieves, etc.), straw products (baskets, coasters, etc.) or pottery, to name but a few. It is clear that the second type of handicrafts were based on materials that were easily accessible, cheap and plentiful in the countryside, obtainable either at the farm itself or in the immediate vicinity. After all, forests covered over 60% of Slovenia at the time. Clay was likewise available throughout the area. Finally, the straw was a side product, as cereals were the most prominent agricultural crop. As early as the late 19th century, the production of straw hats thus began in Domžale near Ljubljana. After WWI, the production increased, giving numerous peasants in central Slovenia the opportunity to become straw hat weavers (Moder 1962, 73, 84).

The cottage industry was coupled with a system of distribution, and the functional division of labour occurred automatically. The role of local traders as intermediaries between peasants/producers and consumers was indispensable. While there were a number of cases of peasant's craft co-operatives (Mohorič 1950–51, 23), which were supposed to operate a joint marketing system and increase the products' prices, the results were not encouraging in spite of governmental support and examples of good practice. Such co-operatives, which were all too often limited to their local environment, failed to achieve the necessary economy of scale for their existence and operation to effect any changes in the established distribution

and pricing relationships. Furthermore, in the 1930s, the co-operatives were mainly concerned with their own operations, as illiquidity was always looming. It is documented, however, that peasants marketed their products on their own, particularly at fairs; despite the latter's ubiquity, however, their economic significance in the interwar period was already declining (Zdovc 2006, 95–103). On the other hand, peddling was still practised. In the broader sense, peddlars were local agents for the distribution of goods and part of the cottage industry system of the division of labour. One traditional example are the peasants from the Ribnica area who travelled from village to village or fair to fair, selling treen directly to consumers (Trošt 1950–51, 28–67). In the interwar period, potters from Prekmurje kept the tradition alive as well (Novak 1950–51, 130). Production of ceramics, i.e. pottery, was widespread in the eastern part of the country. Potters were numerous, as entry costs were low, cheap and easily accessible raw materials plentiful (Karlovšek 1950–51, 87–111; Novak 1950–51, 111–30). However, pottery is a typical example of an activity facing tough times, as home-made stone- and earthenware were being replaced by metal and porcelain dishes. This is only a single example of a general trend of industrial progress reducing the number of marketing opportunities for cottage industry products. Cottage textile industry was another such case, virtually disappearing by WWII, leaving only a few exceptions, as shown by the well-documented case of Bela krajina (Račič 1950–51, 142–58).

On the other hand, those handicrafts with added aesthetic or even artistic value, e.g. lace-making, continued to thrive. Lace-making was spreading geographically and production was on the increase. The activity had a tradition of being supported by the authorities through dedicated training and provision of samples, as well as organised marketing (Kravos-Lombar 1938, 212–4; Račič 1938, 235–43). Lace-making had a long history and production and sale were well-established; in the interwar period, the activity spread to the Gorenjska region as well. In a sense, lace-making was a regulated cottage industry, as lace-makers were provided with samples and patterns created by experts in accordance with the modern aesthetic and artistic criteria and market demand. Artists and professional lace-making teachers were all part of a process of stimulating the production, design and marketing of lace, all with significant support from the authorities. With some reservations, the case of weaving was similar and shows the long-term effectiveness of the peasant's strategies and practices of income diversification based on local initiatives, availability of raw materials and state

support. Cases from around Ptuj and Radovljica certainly seem to indicate so (Ogorelec 1938, 233–4; Patik 1938, 251–6). It was also possible for a handicraft to disappear, as was the case with the cottage textile industry, for example, or a new one to emerge, which is what happened with toy-making around Velike Lašče after WWI. Toy-making was started deliberately, on the initiative of a couple of enterprising traders who organised production at farms, provided samples and then sold the toys on the Yugoslav market (Markun 1943, 62).

Cottage industry was thus an important part of the peasant's extra-agricultural activities, but with certain regional and class differences. Realistic estimates for the interwar period indicate that cottage industry involved at least 25,000 people working either part-time or full-time (Spominski zbornik 1939, 391), i.e. approximately 5% of all the peasant population. Add to that the work for hire and seasonal migrations, and we can further estimate that the living standard of at least 25% of all the peasant population strongly depended on additional income from extra-agricultural activities. Such income was extremely important in order for farms, smaller ones in particular, to be able to balance their budget. By encouraging additional education of peasants through various professional courses, the authorities effectively supported the processes of income diversification (Pretnar 1938, 257–60). In this respect, we need to point out another aspect of the various policies of income diversification in the agricultural sector: that is, the process featured significant participation from women. Contemporaries had estimated that women were the majority both in cottage industries and in work for hire. In combination with activities aimed at improving household work and encouraging the on-site processing and marketing of agricultural products (Gosak 1939, 433–7), this fact reshaped the perception of the economic value of women's work, subsequently resulting in the social emancipation of women in the context of the traditional ideology of relations between the genders and gender-based distribution of labour in agricultural households.

Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that in the persisting circumstances the diversification of income sources was an economic and social must for the peasants. In many aspects the characteristics of the peasant economy in Slovenia in the interwar period show remarkable analogies with the 19th century, and even with the Early-Modern pre-industrial times. The above-presented

practices of income diversification, as well as the factors promoting them, recall very closely the integrated peasant economy system, although major changes in the market and industrial economy had taken place, facing the peasants with new challenges besides the old ones. Due to enduring causes, the diversification of sources of income in fact remained indispensable in the interwar period as well, since the fragmented land holding structure precluded peasants from covering the living costs of themselves and their families solely with the income from agricultural activities. This was particularly true for farmers who owned less than 5 ha of land. On the other hand it is important to note how peasants worked to diversify their sources of income not only from necessity but also from their desire to improve the stability and quality of their families' living standard.

In this regard, the historical change of government and the legal system in 1918 didn't bring a radical change in comparison with the 19th century Habsburg Austrian framework. Policies supporting income diversification lived on, as did the awareness of their necessity. State and local authorities recognised the seriousness of the situation and actively supported the policies of the peasant's income diversification through professional courses that offered peasants the opportunity to acquire or improve handicraft skills and experience. At the same time, owners of large farms were expected to lead the way and transform agricultural production according to the entrepreneurial model. The organisational structure that provided support for income diversification had already been in place under the Habsburg Monarchy. Slovenian authorities in the context of Yugoslavia simply continued using the tested models of political, economic and social measures to provide support for income diversification, particularly based on cottage industries as an important factor of the economic and social stabilisation of agricultural households during the interwar period.

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16

Household Income Strategies in the Lombard Valleys: Persistence and Loss of a Traditional Economic Equilibrium in an Alpine Area (end of 18th–early 20th Centuries)

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Map 16.1: Case study area

Introduction: aim and topics and sources used

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the strategies followed, from the end of the 18th century to the early 20th century, by the families of the Lombard Alpine villages who were able to ensure the subsistence of their members. The analysed period is very important because it was characterised by some relevant changes concerning the institutions which strongly influenced the society and the economy of the Lombard valleys. Because of these changes, household income strategies underwent a dramatic transformation. It was especially the case of the Integrated Peasant Economy (hereafter IPE) which had allowed, for many centuries, the Lombard Alpine families to maintain the economic equilibrium. The IPE, and in general all strategies which permitted to integrate the scarce income sources of most of the Alpine families, fell into an irreversible crisis and provoked the loss of the traditional economic equilibrium. The economy and the demographic balance in a lot of Lombard valleys were strongly influenced in a negative way and only in a few valleys was it possible to maintain the usual conditions and progressively increase the inhabitants' quality of life.

Until this crisis, the mountains (which cover a relevant part of Lombardy) were able to maintain a high population density. At the end of the 18th century in a lot of Lombard valleys (in particular in the lower ones of the eastern Lombardy) it overcame 65 inhabitants per km² and so it was higher than that of Belgium (41), the Low Countries (51) and England (61). At the beginning of the 20th century the population density remained at that level in a few valleys (in particular where some industrial districts had been created), but there existed a lot of valleys (in particular the highest ones) where the inhabitants were reduced to a third.¹ That's why this paper also allows us to understand why the break of the equilibrium did not provoke the same effects everywhere.

The analysis of the Lombard case is important because it was the case of a region which, from the Middle Ages onwards, belonged to the most developed and urbanised area of Europe. We may also mention the very early construction of a complex irrigation system on the Lombard plain, that enabled artificial meadows, intensive agriculture (comprising rice), and animal husbandry. It is therefore worthy of note to understand how the IPE works in such a region and the consequences of the Lombard industrial

1 About the economical, demographical and social conditions of the Lombard Alpine valleys during the analysed period see: Romani 1950; Merzario 1981; Mocarelli 1995; 1997; Besana 1997; Colli 1997; Marchesi 2003; Tedeschi 2001; 2002; 2007.

take off at the end of the 19th century on the IPE. At the same time the IPE permits to show some aspects of the changes concerning a developed region such as Lombardy, where the development of manufactures can be only in part explained by the typical model of a cereal and textile producing region (those on which the proto-industrial theory was modelled)² because in Lombardy very different specialised cultivations (mulberry trees, linen, vines, citrus fruit, olives) were added to the cereals, granting relevant earnings and orienting the relationship between agriculture and a lot of different manufacturing activities.

Besides the presence of the classic putting-out system, typical of the textile productive system, there in fact existed some important transformation activities with a centralised manufacturing system. So there did not exist a real diffused proto-industry, but some manufactures which had diversified high quality productions and were fully integrated within the primary sector. It is important to note that a lot of them, even if they found their main markets in the Lombard towns (in particular for the hand manufactured products made of iron, brass, wood etc.), remained concentrated in the mountainous belt where they could easily dispose of raw materials, wood and water (energy sources).³ The countryside was strictly linked to the economy of the Lombard towns too: in the first half of the 19th century, it in fact achieved, full agrarian and commercial equilibrium which also included some high value added products arriving from the valleys (such as the dairy products and the mulberry leaves for silk-cocoons).⁴

This means that Alpine productions were important for the Lombard economy as a whole and, until new technologies strongly changed the economic context, the regional social and economic equilibrium depended also on the demographic and economic equilibrium in its Alpine villages.

2 The issue is widely discussed in Dewerpe 1985. But see also, with special regards to the household income strategies in the Italian family in the long run, Bull and Corner 1993.

3 About the Lombard economic development from the Early Modern period onward and in particular during the 19th century see, among other, Zaninelli 1988–1990; Cafagna 1989c; Merzario 1989; Carera 1996; Mocarrelli 2001; Carera 2002; Romano 2012; Conca Messina 2016.

4 About the relationship between agriculture and the other economic sectors see Romani 1957, 57–76, 81–5, and 1963, 3–161; Cafagna 1989b; Cova 1977; Moioli 1978; Zaninelli 1979; Faccini 1986, 308–17, 381–409, 707–49; Della Peruta 1996, 95–126; Tedeschi 2006; 2008a; 2013a.

So the success of the IPE in the Alpine villages helped both the lives of the local families and the prosperity and wealth of the whole region.⁵

Concerning the sources used in this paper it is important to note that the study is based on various types of sources related both to the analysed period and the territory. For the valleys of Eastern Lombardy both documents in archives and the existing literature were used, while for the other valleys a wide bibliography is already available and allowed to enlarge this contribution to a regional level.⁶ In doing so this paper also permits to re-alise interesting comparisons with other Alpine regions and, more in general, other upland areas.

1. The relevance of household income strategies for the economy of the Lombard valleys

In the Lombard valleys, the agriculture alone could not guarantee the survival of the numerous inhabitants, despite the fact that there were significant resources for animal farming and for exploiting wood and that the little soil available was farmed intensively for growing cereals and some other specialised crops. It was necessary therefore, to resort to other additional activities, often carried out in close connection with the needs and rhythms of agriculture.

For the Alpine economy the solutions to compensate for the lack of earnings and food could be represented by migrant work, by the setting up locally of manufacturing activities and in particular by resorting to the IPE. This last one had been, for many centuries, the main system used to maintain the economic and financial equilibrium of the Alpine families and so the possibility to guarantee food for all their members (that is a poor, but decent life). At the same time, the IPE allowed for seasonal emigration on the plain or in the main Italian sea-ports, obviously maintain-

5 About the household income strategies in the Alps and the mobility of Alpine people who could become real entrepreneurs see: Villani 1989; Coppola 1991; Fontana, Leonardi and Trezzi 1998; Mocarelli 2003; Panjek 2015; Tedeschi 2015.

6 For the sources in archives see: ASB, *IRDP*, bb. 3896-3897, 4198-4200; *Notarile di Brescia*, bb. 14558-14650, 15093-15101, 14836, 14992-15009, 15074, 15093-15100, 15429; *Notarile di Salò*, bb. 2558, 2585-2586; *Petizioni d'estimo*, bb. 145-148, 233-236, 239-241, 244-273, 282-291, 331, 337-343, 348, 412-413, 447-448, 451, 454, 457-458, 460-478, 481, 487-488, 490-495, 504-506, 518-521, 526-529, 533-558, 560-562, 588-589, 604, 608-611, 631-632, 651-652, 667-668, 678-679, 686-689, 694-700, 708-710; ASM, *Agricoltura p.m.*, bb. 1-4, 13, 22; *Catasto Lombardo-Veneto*, bb. 9943-9969, 10120-10154, 12157, 12168, 12193, 12199, 12200-12203. Concerning the bibliography see the previous footnotes.

ing the workforce needed for the Alpine manufactures and rural activities. The IPE also implied that in the Alpine valleys existed a good number of skilled and pluriactive workers: it is evident they could work in several sectors only if they were disposed to learning more jobs and if they demonstrated having a relevant ability, in particular in case they had to work outside of their native village.

The IPE was very important because it avoided permanent emigration out of the Alpine valleys and it maintained a stable dimension of the Alpine villages. Only a few of the Lombard Alpine people had to emigrate for a long time since for the equilibrium of the IPE, seasonal emigration was normally enough. So, until the second half of the 19th century, these valleys did not become a “factory producing men for the plain” as it happened in other European mountains (e.g. for some valleys of the Pyrenes and of the High Western Alps).⁷

The members of the Lombard Alpine families worked in a lot of different economic activities: in agriculture, cattle-breeding, forestry as well as in Alpine manufactures and mines. They worked in local manufactures producing goods from iron or brass or wool clothing or raw silk. Besides, there were some manufacturing activities which gave many work opportunities both at home (spinning and weaving) and outside (mining, charcoal production, forges, paper plants and sawmills etc.), as services did (transport of raw materials and products). Some jobs in the Alpine valleys were seasonal: e.g. people working in the local mines were occupied, especially in winter, when the cold temperatures reduced the risk of flooding in the tunnels.

This explains why the members of these families worked as peasants and/or workers and/or bricklayers and/or miners and/or charcoal burners and/or woodcutters and/or longshoremen. Excluding the cases of the craftsmen who had very high professional skills and worked in the forges only, all other jobs in the Alpine valleys did not provide enough money to maintain the whole family. This means it was the sum of all earnings related to the different activities carried out by the members of the Alpine families which allowed them to achieve economic and financial equilibrium and to guarantee food for all the family members.⁸ When the available jobs

7 About the mountains as “factories producing workforce for the plain” and the related debate see Braudel 1966; Albera and Corti 2000; Lorenzetti and Merzario 2005; Mathieu 2016.

8 It is not surprising then, that on the cereal markets where alpine valleys bought the grain, they needed thousands of tons of cereals. Only at the Desenzano market in

in the valley were not enough, in particular in the villages of the high valleys, some inhabitants accepted seasonal jobs on the plain, e.g. in the building sector or on the farms (in particular for the cereal or the grape harvest on the Lombard plain and low hills). The seasonal emigration normally involved adult males who could work in several different economic branches: on the contrary, women were few and they were occupied in rural works only, in particular in the vines and paddy fields.

The migrants who came from the mountains were very competitive in the labour market both on the plain and in the lower hills because they had all the professional skills requested by the farmers and, at the same time, their wages were lower than those demanded by the local rural population. In particular on the Eastern plain, the lack of peasants allowed the workforce to obtain a better remuneration in cash and kind. Migrants from the Alpine valleys had a double advantage: a) they simply had to integrate the other earnings of their families and so they could reduce their wages; b) they were selected by the intermediaries who created the contractual links between the village and the farm, that is they had to show their ability and only the best ones could emigrate. The mountain villages always had to show and confirm the high quality skills of its inhabitants because this guaranteed the annual renewal of the contracts with the farmer. This rule obviously existed in other jobs too, in particular for the bricklayers and longshoremen.

Even in the presence of the IPE, some inhabitants could leave the mountain valleys for a long time or forever. When this happened, it often concerned craftsmen with very high professional skills (who produced iron and steel hand manufactured goods and were invited to other countries where they received fiscal facilitation and high earnings) or people who managed and organised the work of other Alpine temporary migrants, such as the bricklayers working in the towns of the Lombard plain and the longshoremen who operated in the docks at the ports of Genoa and Venice. These two professional categories also represented the main cases of Lombard Alpine people who could remain out of the native Alps for more than a year without emigrating forever.

Within the IPE the Alpine family's earnings came in from different jobs and allowed all family members to have the necessary amount to survive (food, a house, heating and clothes). The positive effects of the IPE were

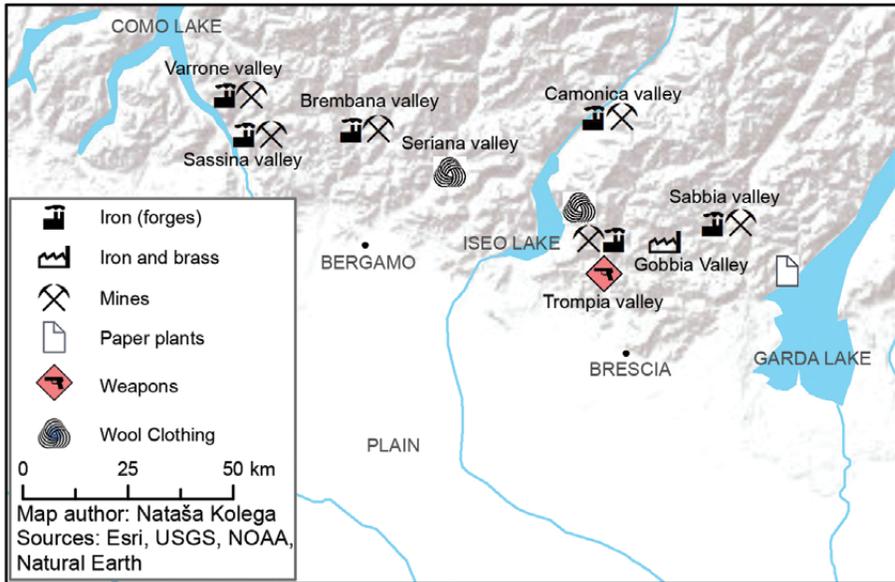
1790 they sold almost 9,000 tons of grain for a value of more than three million *lire*. See Zalin 1988.

also strengthened by two conditions existing in the Alpine valleys. There existed rules which allowed some privileges to poor families, in particular the right to pick the fruits of the common land, that is the wild berries, the firewood, the hay etc.: these privileges obviously helped poor families to continue to live in their Alpine village. Besides, most of the families owned a plot of land cultivated cereals or legumes and vegetables (please note that some Alpine families were wary about the cultivation and consumption of potatoes and so their diffusion was limited until the second half of the 19th century).⁹

The dimension and yields of the cultivated plots of land were limited and so, in a normal season, the harvest was not enough for the family's needs, but in any case it guaranteed part of the food for the Alpine families as well as the possibility to breed a pig, some poultry, some rabbits, and sometimes a cow. The surface of Alpine properties was normally between 3 and 6.50 ha, but most of them did not reach 5 ha, while many plots of land having a good quality soil and a sunny position were between 0.5 and 2 ha. The small surface and the low earnings prevented the landowners from making the investments necessary to improve productivity: not least because it was very difficult and expensive to improve the quality of land and its yields. Pastures could be more rentable: they granted the food for cows and also the hay for the market. The Alpine pastures in particular guaranteed also the rent paid in cash in the summer by the transhumant cattle-breeders who also left the natural fertilisers of their herd. Forestry obviously gave firewood, timber, hay, walnuts, chestnuts, vegetable coal etc.: however most of the families did not receive the necessary amount for surviving from their plot of woodland (that is by self-consumption and sales on market).

There were some exceptions in the lower valleys: some land properties were able to produce crops for maintaining a family and there also existed some arable land and vineyards of larger dimensions that were worked by sharecroppers or peasants. These latter were inhabitants of the valleys who worked in agriculture out of their plots of land receiving some money or a part of the crops. There were also some tenants who rented arable land and/or wood: some members of their families worked in them and, even if they obtained low earnings, these were obviously important for the survival of

9 About the evolution and relevance of the commons in the Lombard Alpine valleys see: Della Misericordia 2012; Mocarelli 2013; 2015a; 2015b; Tedeschi 2011; 2013b; 2014.



Map 16.2: Manufacturing activities in the Lombard Alps: 18th–19th centuries

the family. Finally, some Alpine families who owned very little land and pastures could take a profit from the animal husbandry and home heating thanks to the exploitation of common land. In Lombard valleys, in particular in the eastern ones, pastures and woods usually belonged to communities who determined by themselves the way of use and in particular gave priority to the poorest families.

In general, the main activity of the family depended on its members' skills: when the craftsman working in iron forges or paper mills realised high quality products, his activity became so important that the owned land was entrusted to wives and sons or, if these latter worked with the master, it could also be rented out. Some members of the family in fact worked with the master: in the forges, sons (or daughters' husbands) learned the secret of forging while in the paper industry the master's wife and sons had unspecialised tasks inside the paper mill such as the sorting of rags.¹⁰ In such cases the whole family worked in the secondary sector and had no time for agricultural works: so the household income strategies allowed Alpine family members to survive even without working in the primary sector. However,

10 About the cases of craftsman working in iron forges or paper mills see: Mocarelli 2005; Tedeschi 2008b.

they also benefited from the rent and/or fruits of their land (for which they used to receive loans too): this means that they integrated income sources from different sectors (including agriculture), but they were not peasants. Moreover, such high skilled workers represented a minority of the workforce and so most families of the Alpine villages belonged to the peasant population and had to resort to the IPE.

All these activities entailed a precise division of labour inside the family: adult males usually worked in manufacturing activities outside the home and carried out hard agricultural tasks and wood exploitation; wives and sons were employed in manufacturing activities at home in the textile branch (mainly spinning) and in less demanding works outside the house, such as agricultural works, animal husbandry and the collection of wild grass, firewood, leaves and wild vegetables and fruits.

2. The decline of household income strategies in the Lombard valleys during the 19th century

The household income strategies progressively lost their relevance during the 19th century when some important institutional and technological changes strongly reduced the competitiveness of the products made in the Lombard valleys. The related decrease of jobs obliged a relevant part of the youngest inhabitants of the Alpine villages to accept permanent emigration on the plain and also in other European countries and in America.

The French invasion and the Napoleonic age strongly modified the political context: the Lombard valleys were included in the Cisalpine Republic and the new administrative situation was confirmed during the Napoleon age and, after, by the Congress of Vienna who included the Lombard Alpine valleys in the Austrian Empire. This influenced the productive systems and the rural economy of the Alpine villages and in particular for the valleys of the Eastern Lombardy. French, and then Austrian governments in fact decided to increase taxation on the land and to promote the selling of common land and other common real estate linked to the agricultural sector, such as hay lofts, cattle sheds, stock rooms and flour mills. This reduced the total incomes related to the land and also the fruits which the poor families of the village could obtain by the exploitation of the common land (Pichler 1996, 35–62).

This evidently increased the relevance of non-agricultural activities for the Alpine families whose survival depended on the IPE. But on the

other hand, the Alpine manufactures, mines and sawmills meanwhile progressively became less competitive because of the technological innovations and new fiscal rules. For the first half of the 19th century the reduction of earnings was in any case tolerable even if some laws (e.g. those establishing the sale of the common land) created some relevant problems for the poorest families (as the public subsidies they received did not compensate the loss of the privileged access to the fruits of the common land). The crisis grew worse from the 1850s when the arrival and diffusion of some relevant technological innovations progressively eliminated all the reasons for the success of a lot of manufactures located in the Alpine valleys, and at the same time strongly reduced the incomes related to some other activities such as those of the charcoal burners and the miners.

It is possible to distinguish some main reasons which explain why the crisis became so big and broke forever the existing equilibrium, as follows.

Firstly, at a time when the communication system was difficult and expensive, the presence of water and iron constituted a considerable advantage for the Alpine villages and allowed them to carry out a variety of specialised activities and to produce hand manufactured goods from iron or brass or paper etc. The improvement of the railway connections diminished the price of raw materials arriving from better foreign mines and forests, which had also taken profit by the strong reduction of the tariffs protecting the Lombard Alpine productions. A lot of Alpine mines had a small dimension and they were closed in the early 19th century: they were in fact exhausted or their exploitation had become too expensive and difficult for people who did not have much money to invest. For these the competition of foreign iron provoked the definitive closing, while those which remained active occupied very few people (often two to four miners). Only where the iron was easily extracted the mines remained in function. As far as the forests are concerned, a reduction of available wood caused by overexploitation started with their privatisation and the successive limits decided by the government in order to save the remaining forests. These changes increased the cost of raw materials for the Alpine sawmills, which also had to suffer the negative effects of the reduction of local demand (because of the crisis of local manufactures), while only a part of them could find new markets in the hills and on the plain where the competition was very strong.¹¹

Secondly, the birth of new modern enterprises on the plain which could use new plants (and realised some important economies of scale) re-

11 About the evolution of the iron mining in the Lombard Alpine valleys see: Predali 1980; Piardi and Simoni 1982; Trezzi 1992; Calegari and Simoni 1994; Mocarrelli 1997.

duced the market for the Alpine forges. The availability of energy sources (wood and water) became less important in a context where, in addition to the negative effects brought by the improvement of the railways, new innovations concerning electricity and new fuels allowed them to create new factories far away from the valleys (where new dams were built). This also favoured the transfer on the plain of some rentable activities which previously were diffused in the valleys, in particular the dairy sector. The main producers of cheese and butter created new large factories on the plain while in the Alpine valleys only a small part of the total production remained, reducing the earnings linked to the sales of dairy products in the Alpine villages.¹²

Thirdly, the introduction of new agrarian machines and, in particular, the great agrarian crisis of the 1880s reduced the need for peasants and so the need for temporary workforce on the plain for seasonal work. Besides, in the eastern Lombard countryside there was no more a lack of peasants, which existed before the agrarian crisis. This obviously reduced the wages for people living in the countryside and decreased the competition and opportunities of Alpine workers in the labour market. This trend continued until the foundation of the first catholic and socialist peasant unions. However, their arrival did not create new workplaces for migrant peasants: new agrarian contracts regulated the hiring of temporary agricultural workers (*avventizi*) and gave priority to the inhabitants of the villages where the farms were located (Tedeschi 2002b; 2008c; 2015).

Fourthly, the Italian government did not modify the Austrian legislation which favoured the progressive sales and privatisation of common land and in general the abolition of most of the common rights previously reserved to the people living in the Alpine communities. Besides, the taxation on industrial and commercial activities increased. All this implied a strong reduction in the resources available for Alpine communities and in particular for the poorest families. In the past, they in fact could survive thanks to the rights on the common land such as the *erbatico* (the right to pick wild grass, healing herbs and sods), the *legnatico* (the right to collect shrubs, firewood and waste timber which could not be used to produce charcoal), the *pascolo* (the right to put out to pasture their cattle, but there were limitations on sheep and goat grazing was forbidden) and the *spigolat-*

12 About the Lombard dairy sector during the 19th century and the progressive delocalisation of the Alpine dairy factories on the plain see: Rosa 1888; Mocarelli 2009; Tedeschi and Stranieri 2011; Besana 2012.

ura (they could collect all seeds remaining after the harvest). They also had the right to collect leaves (used to prepare bedding for cattle), stones (used for building) and wild vegetables and fruits (such as berries, walnuts and chestnuts). Because of the privatisation or rent of the common land all these rights disappeared and they were not entirely substituted by the public subsidies, in particular when the negative economic trend reduced the incomes of the communities. When the Italian government understood that mountains needed special laws and decided to help the valleys (e.g. it established new laws to develop the Alpine pastures and to protect the woods by the excessive exploitation which destroyed them because new trees had no time to grow up) it was too late: a lot of families had already gone to find better living conditions outside of the valleys while, at the same time, the earnings linked to pastures and woods needed many years to get back to the previous yields (Tedeschi 2011; 2013b; 2014).

Lastly, the Italian government's decision, in the 1860s, concerning the abolition of most ecclesiastic institutions and the sales of their assets, strongly reduced the loans which manufactures (in particular in the Eastern Lombard valleys) received by the local *luoghi pii* (the ecclesiastical institutions who lent money to Alpine families and workshops): in the better cases the *luoghi pii* only had to pay a new tax which reduced by 30% their patrimony and this obviously reduced their capability for lending money. When the first cooperative banks arrived in the valleys to replace the *luoghi pii* in the economy of the eastern Lombard valleys, a lot of people had already sold their land or workshop and left their native villages to find a job on the plain where new industrial enterprises were born (Cafaro 2000; 2002; Tedeschi 2015).

All this explains why the IPE was not able to satisfy all the Alpine families' needs anymore. Even if people had diversified professional skills, many jobs disappeared and it was not possible to substitute them without the recourse to a long and often permanent migration out of the native valleys.

Only the Alpine villages where the iron or brass or textile manufactures were able to produce high quality goods in some particular market niches (such as cutlery, hand tools, weapons, etc.): they remained competitive face to the enterprises of the plain thanks to their high quality-price ratio. Such villages could maintain most of their inhabitants who did not have to emigrate and they progressively developed real industrial districts producing for the Italian and international markets (as in the cases of Lumez-

zane in the Gobbia valley and Premana in Varrone valley where all people had a job). The other villages, in particular those situated in the high valleys, were characterised by a progressive decrease of young people who emigrated to the Lombard plain and also to foreign countries in Europe and America (INEA 1935). At the beginning of the 20th century, state intervention tried to reduce emigration: local public institutions received funds to help Alpine agriculture and cow breeding; the new Italian cadastre reduced the fiscal value of Alpine real estate and also the related tax. However they were not able to call migrants back: the valleys which lost their manufactures remained demographically and economically depressed areas. The demographic balance remained stable or positive only in the low valleys closest to the main industrial towns of the plain, because daily commuting was possible, as well as in those valleys where local manufactures continued to produce.¹³

Conclusions

Until the second half of the 19th century, the households in the Lombard valleys were occupied in a lot of activities besides agriculture, which means they had to resort to different income strategies involving all their members. It existed a real IPE in the sense that the Alpine economy had strong links with the plain and its big cities where there were markets for migrant labour and for manufactured products arriving from the Alpine villages. The strategies followed by the Alpine families to maintain all their members foresaw the exploitation of all the different economic opportunities available and in particular: the exploitation of small plots of private land as well as of common land, woods and buildings (hay-lofts, cattle sheds etc.); the employment in the local centralised manufactures or at home (spinning and weaving); the improvement of the local craftsmen high skills and the related production and sale of hand manufactured goods (from iron, brass, paper etc.) at a very competitive price; the improvement of the other adults' professional skills to guarantee the renewal of contracts for the seasonal migration (jobs for Alpine people were in the farms of the plain for the harvest and in the towns, e.g. as bricklayers).

It is evident that household income strategies in the Alpine area depended mainly on outside opportunities and markets. However this strong

13 About the valleys where local manufactures were able to stay in business see: Rossetti 1995; Besana 2003; Tedeschi 2008b. About the emigration from the Lombard Alpine valleys see also Tedeschi 2002a; Mocrelli 2002.

dependence from exogenous factors could become a reason of weakness, as the changes in the 19th century clearly showed. At that time the household income strategies dramatically changed because of the improvement of the railways, the development of new modern enterprises on the Lombard plain, the introduction of new agrarian machines and the agrarian crisis of the 1880s, the laws which favoured the privatisation of the common lands and strongly reduced the local credit market.

All the strategies followed by the Alpine families in fact depended on the relationships and exchanges that Alpine villages were able to develop with the plain. This obviously became very difficult when the best factories of the plain became very strong competitors of the Alpine manufactures and when the best dairy producers decided to leave the Lombard valleys and to create their new factories on the plain. Besides, the success of these strategies was also related to the existence of institutions and laws which helped the economy of the Alpine valleys: the elimination of the common land and fiscal privileges made it more difficult to live and produce in a lot of the Lombard Alpine villages.

All this created a strong selection in the Alpine manufactures and reduced the possibility for Alpine people to continue to work in the native valleys and to find seasonal work outside: so only a few valleys could maintain their economic and demographic equilibrium in the age of Lombard industrialisation, that was in the early 20th century.

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IRDP: Imperial Regia Delegazione Provinciale.

Notarile di Brescia.

Notarile di Salò.

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ASM: Archivio di Stato di Milano.

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17

Pluriactivity, Proto-industrialisation or Integrated Peasant Economy? Scandinavia in the 18th–20th Centuries

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Map 17.1: Case study area

Introduction

Once in a memoir to the 18th century parliament, the Swedish Manufacture office wrote in dismay that “the town-burgher ploughs and sows, while the peasant is weaving and trading.” This expressed an attitude of the authorities, according to which each particular category of inhabitants should stick to their destination.¹ Certain town burghers, guild members, and particular social categories enjoyed royal privileges to develop and carry out certain trades. Even the cultivation of tobacco, much urged for, was designated to be an urban occupation with which peasants should not spoil times and resources needed to produce more grain (Morell 2013a). Other social groups were supposed not to compete with town burghers and risk destroying the profitability of their trades and crafts.

Similarly, the most important economic sector, apart from agriculture proper in Sweden, was iron making, and it was organised in a way that designated special roles to peasant landowners and tenants. They were supposed to produce ore collectively in their mines, they were expected to make crude iron in their village furnaces, but they were not to make processed bar iron. That was a privilege for larger units, often owned by ennobled burghers, who were allowed a certain level of privileged production and were also expected to allocate capital to the activities. Instead peasants were expected to deliver wrought iron, ore, charcoal and transport services to these ironworks owners aka feudal landowners, both for pay and as part of farmed out royal taxes. In fact, the national policy was to attract foreign capital to the iron making sector, by allowing feudally rooted advantages and secured cheap services and charcoal deliveries, to the emerging iron works entrepreneurs (Hildebrand 1992; Bredefeldt 1994; Morell 1995).

Peasant’s travels over county borders were restricted, there were local customs to be paid entering towns with goods, and peasants were expected to sell their goods at regulated markets where the burghers of the closest towns were the only buyers. Ideally, all manufacturing was similarly restricted. These ideals could however never be fully upheld and a simple reason for that was that fully obeyed restrictions would have made too little trade possible. Towns were few, far between and small, and this has been taken as proof of Sweden being a comparatively poor country. A counter argument was that there was a lot of internal division of labour in the countryside with lots of parish craftsmen, in place of town craftsmen (Gadd 1991, 345–9).

1 This policy had medieval origins, Cf. Sandström 1996.

Moreover, peasants did trade, illegally or not. They were allowed to freely deliver grain and other foodstuffs to Falun, where once Europe's largest copper mine was situated. Gradually in the late 18th century they were allowed to bring their own output, and on commission their neighbours' output to towns and this opened the scope both for more combination of agriculture and trades and for the growth in some regions of more or less specialised peasant tradesmen. Step by step internal trade and craft trades were liberalised in a long series of reforms from 1775 to 1864, but while this process of breaking up the privileges was going on, i.e. when trade rights were re-negotiated, bitter political fights were carried out in parliament between members of the freeholder's peasant estate and representatives of certain town burghers (Åmark 1915; Ericsson 1970; Utterström 1957: II; Lindström 1923).

Usually the liberal trade reforms have been interpreted as crucial for the vital 19th century development of the country. It is reasonable that such institutional change was important (Lindberg 2002), but according to another interpretation the increasingly liberalised trade policies, particularly at the beginning, were effects of the activities and arguments of the peasantry. Thus their activities (and activities of other entrepreneurs) triggered institutional change. Towns and burghers were simply not able to fill the task, to provide the trade services a slowly expanding economy. Moreover, overall expansion was not clearly in their interest, since they gained from a monopoly status (Utterström 1957, 53; Morell 1982, 38–43).

In this chapter I intend to briefly describe the spread of non-agricultural market related activities of Scandinavian (especially Swedish) peasants and interpret these activities using the concepts of proto-industry and integrated peasant economy.

1. The emergence of a regional division of labour:

Pluriactivity, proto-industry or integrated peasant economy?

Peasants in many areas of Scandinavia were engaged in crafts, trade and transport services on a market basis quite early, but data on this flourishes particularly more from the second half of the 18th century. For example, in publications from the 1940s Eli F. Heckscher vividly described the expansion of domestic craftsmanship among peasants in certain regions, and that such activities expanded in the 18th century and fulfilled the need of coarser textiles and manufactured items, which the regulated privileged 'mercantilist' town production according to him totally failed to accomplish (Hec-

kscher 1949 II: 1, 559–84; Heckscher 1949 II: 2, 641–3; cf. Utterström 1957 II, 9–26). It has been made clear that the scope and importance of domestic crafts performed for sale in rural environments grew vigorously from the mid-18th century onwards in Sweden. In somewhat more modern interpretations this process was brought into the proto-industrialisation debate, started by Franklin Mendels, and developed further by Peter Kriedte, among others (Isacson and Magnusson 1987). Briefly defined, a proto-industrial area was a rural area where many households, because of seasonal agricultural unemployment, specialised in technologically handicraft based domestic trade, in various ways, controlled by putters out or tradesmen (*Kauf.system*, credit system, *Verlag-system* etc.) and produced goods for far away markets. The reliance on wage work rather than subsistence or market agriculture, made for new demographic patterns, with early marriages, high fertility and consequently, a strong population increase (Mendels 1972).

Proto-industry historians carefully noted that proto-industries for various reasons rather than leading to industrialisation proper could end up in de-industrialisation (Kriedte 1981, 145–54). The proto-industry concept however, by the very choice of term, certainly has an evolutionist touch to it. In an indigenous way, the proto-industry concept linked rural pre-industrial developments to the industrialisation process: the roots of industrialisation could be sought for in the rural economy; amongst rural households in unfavourable agricultural areas substituting craft work for farming as Mendels originally put it, amongst more well off peasants, foremost in areas where feudal restrictions of economy were slack, increasing engagement in trades beyond subsistence, and in the development of skills and the specialisation in production of certain goods. The mechanisms whereby proto-industrialisation paved the way for industrialisation ‘proper,’ is well summarised by Peter Kriedte: It created a ‘broad stratum of handicraft workers,’ it allowed merchants and artisans to accumulate capital and made up for a strata of industrial entrepreneurs, it connected merchant capital with the production sphere, a symbiotic relationship between industrial regions and, commercial farming developed and a network of markets on all levels developed (Kriedte 1981, 141–2).

Such an interpretation, however, threatens to turn into a teleological way of writing history: pre-industrial rural societies tend to be analysed not on their own merits to create an understanding of how they functioned, but on the merits of what they (perhaps) turned into. Moreover, there is

a tendency that too many phenomena and activities were bunched in under the proto-industrial umbrella. Regionally spread mass activities have simply been labelled ‘proto-industrial’ despite not fulfilling the criteria of households being very specialised, producing for far away markets or, leading to special – from ‘normal’ peasant households deviant – demographic behaviour. It could be held of course that *all* pre-industrial manufacturing activities involving many people in a limited area and therefore being in a way ‘large scale’ combinations of small-scale activities, should count as proto-industry (maybe that is the essence of *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung*?) but too elastic definitions render concepts less usable. Indeed, Scandinavian pre-industrial peasants carried out a lot of market related crafts and trade services. Clearly this was part of an important and strengthened regional division of labour, which at least partly stemmed from the vast difference in natural endowments between different areas and localities. But was it all to be categorised as ‘proto-industry?’

Writing about 17th century alpine regions in Slovenia, Aleksander Panjek has proposed the concept integrated peasant economy (henceforth IPE) to analyse the activity and importance of (foremost) small peasant households combining subsistence farming with secondary and tertiary sector activities to make up a complex total family income. The multi-activity was systematic, it would be incorrect to talk about farming and ‘side’ activities and the combination resulted in an area having a higher carrying capacity (denser population) than it would have had, if households had concentrated on agriculture only (Panjek 2015, 202–5). As I interpret this concept it really does not have an evolutionary bias (although this might be contested). It focuses on the strategies peasant households developed in order to survive and possibly raise their levels of wellbeing by adapting to the social, political and commercial environment they found themselves in. For sure, they altered and developed the structure they acted in. Some of their chosen actions might have fallen into some kind of proto-industrial category, but seemingly, lots of actions fall clearly beyond or outside that scope. Is such IPE concept perhaps applicable to Sweden and Scandinavia?

2. Regional examples of proto-industry and integrated peasant economy

In the outright plains-districts like southwest Scania (southernmost Sweden), most of Denmark, a small area in the vicinity of Oslo in Norway, most of the Lake Mälaren basin (west of the Swedish capital Stockholm), and

the northern parts of Östergötland and Västergötland (regions in south west and south east Sweden) peasants were foremost pure agriculturalists. Such areas produced surpluses of grain, which were sold in deficit areas found in northern Sweden, much of Norway, forested districts everywhere in Sweden, but not least the mining and iron making districts (with concentrations of non-agricultural labour), the most important one located in central Sweden, in the north-western parts of Västmanland, southern Dalarna, southern Gästrikland, Northern Uppland and eastern Värmland (Åmark 1915; see Map 17.2).

In some districts on Jutland, however, pottery, knitting, tatting and clog making was of particular importance up to the mid-19th century (Rosander 1980, 25–30). Some plain land peasants in the northern part of the Lake Mälaren basin were involved in transport work, since they transported grain (sometimes on commission) to the iron making area on sledges during winter (when their opportunity cost of labour was low). On the way back towards the harbour towns at the lake, they took iron.² Thus, even in such districts certain households could adapt to markets in other ways than selling grain. Were these peasants proto-industrial? Well, it was landed peasant households rather than sub-subsistence dwarf holdings involved, they did use the off-season low opportunity cost labour and they were specialised. But they sold services, not manufactured goods, and the market was by necessity very close.

Another example: One plain land diary writing peasant from the early 19th century, Pehr Jansson in the Vittinge parish (mixed plain/forest parish) on the border between Västmanland and Uppland, had a holding so small that he could not secure regular grain surpluses. Instead the household regularly bought grain and distilled vodka from it using good access to firewood and the low opportunity cost of wintertime labour.³ This was intensification and it paid off. There is some evidence that quite a lot of the grain surplus produced in parts of the Lake Mälaren area in the early 19th century was refined into alcohol and sold to urban markets, since the mining areas by then to a large extent started to become more self-sufficient in grain (Ulväng 2001, 4; Åmark 1915).

Pehr Jansson also – like many others – made use of his human capital, his ability to read and write well. He became a hundreds court layman

2 A couple of the diary writing peasants I have studied, Olof Jansson in Kila (Nordiska museet SBD 70) and Erik Andersson in Medåker (Nordiska museet SBD 67) belong to this category. Cf. Morell 2016.

3 Jansson 1968. Cf. Morell 2017 (forthcoming in *Historisk tidskrift*).

judge; he became the director over the local parish grain storage and he was commissioned to set up probate inventories and to act as an auctioneer (Jansson 1968; Morell 2016). The household combined all these income (and social status) bringing activities with traditional subsistence farming, and attained decent income levels, allowing for some comfort and even some modest conspicuous consumption.⁴ Reading the diary, the general impression is that Pehr Jansson would have tried anything that promised to bring incomes for the household. He certainly showed agency and his activities could easily be counted within an extended IPE-concept. Clearly, however, the household was not part of anything even remotely reminiscent of ‘proto-industry.’

In the mid-Swedish mining area, most Pre-Industrial Era peasants were involved in the iron making process in one way or another. Some share-owned mines and furnaces produced crude iron, which was refined by the larger (proto-industrial) ironworks. Others made and delivered charcoal to furnaces and ironworks, sometimes as part of tax/rent payments, sometimes for pay. Yet others mainly performed transport services and drove charcoal, ore, iron or timber on sledges in winter. Many small peasants in the area – as well as small tenants of the emerging large companies – were dependent on incomes from charcoal making and short distance transports, well into the 20th century (Montelius 1959, 160–219; Utterström 1959, 229–32; SOU 1922, 48).

Large mining and ironwork companies that emerged from mergers from the late 19th century onwards had earlier tried to acquire much forestland to secure access to charcoal. When the era of charcoal in iron making approached its end, some of the companies switched over to forestry. All the way up to the 1950s when forestry and forestry transports were mechanised fully, many small tenants on their lands combined small scale agriculture with forestry work and lumber transports. The same with the peasants in northern Sweden, when the timber export era broke through around 1850. Peasants felled, sledged and also floated timber. Of course the iron works, pre-industrial or modern (as well as the late 19th and 20th century forestry companies) produced for far away markets, and of course the peasants involved in the iron works economy, were part of a structure eventually (in many cases) developing into modern industry. Still, given the diversity of their acting at any given moment, would it be correct, given the definition above, to label those peasant households involved ‘proto-indus-

4 Morell 2017.

trial?' A diary from the area in the late 19th century studied by Maths Isacson, attests to the importance of charcoal making and transport work: but the household of Erik Johansson in Backåker combined whatever sources of work incomes they could get, selling timber, charcoal, butter, writing services performed by Erik or sewing services performed by Erik's wife Charlotta (Backåkers Johansson 1987; Isacson and Morell 2016).

Peasants in the area, as well as further to the north in Dalarna, in particular where arable agriculture was more marginal, developed various types of craftsmanship, for example as blacksmiths, producing scythes, knives, spades, and other farm implements.

Whereas iron and steel making was rapidly concentrated from the late 19th century, and longer transports taken over by the railway, much small-scale factory workshops based on the blacksmith tradition developed in the area. All considered, Dalarna was the county in Sweden where the most diverse development of market oriented domestic crafts developed. Moreover, craftsmen and craftswomen, travelled widely and sold their items on markets to the south of Sweden, in other parts of Scandinavia and even further away. They did not work only with iron products, but with woodwork, furniture making, leather, textiles etc. Certain parishes were specialised in certain types of products and indeed in some parishes, different villages specialised in certain items, in a way almost suggesting some sort of overall organisational plan.⁵

As they to some extent worked for distant markets (even though the principal exchange was with the neighbouring Lake Mälaren region to the south, which provided them with grain) and in the midst of extreme diversity were locally specialised, as land plots were subdivided far below the levels enough to ensure physical reproduction for many of the households and as thus population increase was indeed rapid, these households might well be called proto-industrial. There is considerable continuity, since some of the areas within Dalarna have been over-represented by small (sometimes rather large) factory industries founded on the craftsman tradition and skills, most notably perhaps in metal working branches but also in wood and leather. Diverse manufacturing specialities was, however, only one type of complementary activity for the Dalarna peasants: large numbers of women and men from Dalarna walked southwards for temporary jobs on large estates around Lake Mälaren and in Stockholm. This too oc-

5 Isacson and Magnusson 1987, 28–32, 51–88.

curred into the 20th century⁶ (more about Dalarna also in Westin, Isacson, and Lennartsson and in Larsson in this volume).

Some of the Lake Mälaren diary-writing peasants I have studied, dealt with peasant craftsmen from Dalarna who travelled to them and delivered blacksmith and wooden craft products⁷. The number of diaries is small, but this evidence is hardly co-incidental. Largely the crafts peasants were in control of the marketing of their output and made deals directly with the final customers.

Another area, with diverse development of rural craftsmanship evolved around the northern borders of Scania, adjacent to the specialised agricultural region of southwest Scania. This too, was a forested district with small prospects of large-scale agriculture and grain surpluses. To the present date, agricultural farms are comparatively small in this area (*Statistics Sweden Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics* 2014, 55). To a large extent these producers were directed towards the Scanian market and produced implements and capital goods used in the plain land farming.⁸ They did not, however, sell only craft items; they also acted as migrant workers. They walked south to the plains and did threshing. Later, and far into the 20th century they came in their thousands to harvest sugar beets on the Scanian plains (Morell 2001, 74). Somewhat further to the north and on the border to Halland and southern Västergötland, a very diverse domestic industry emerged (Isacson and Magnusson 1987, 26). Here too, there is an unbroken continuity to small-scale industry, presently not least working as subcontractors to large industrial companies, for example car companies.

In several regions textile production based on home-grown flax and on wool developed into regional niches. In forested districts in western Sweden, somewhat inland from Göteborg and also further south such activities arose, but in fact quite diverse domestic trades, including woodwork, developed in the area (Utterström 1957 II, 71–82). Pedlars from the area marketed foremost textiles and woodwork products over most of the country. These people, referred to as *Västgötar*, were also noted in the Lake Mälaren basin diaries. Quite a bit of conflict arose with town burghers in Borås and Ulricehamn, who tried to claim monopoly rights on the trading (Utterström 1957 II, 103–23; Rosander 1980, 40–2; Lundqvist 2008). By the early 19th century imported cotton started to out-compete linen and then

6 Rosander 1967.

7 Nordiska museet SBD 70; Jansson 1968.

8 Isacson and Magnusson 1987, 26–28.

the peasant producers largely lost control of the raw material. A pure putting out system developed and also became the foundation of a vital factory textile industry, which soon outcompeted the craft production in the area (Utterström 1957 II, 24–182). The textile and trade tradition from this area is still visible, although textile production is now carried out overseas. Pedlars from the area continued to travel around Sweden far in to the second half of the 20th century, and the district totally dominated mail order trade in textile and clothing, throughout the 20th century. Here too, it might be adequate to talk of a proto-industrial phase proper. The households worked for a national market, there occurred strong local specialisation, land was severely subdivided below subsistence level and population increase was substantial particularly up to the 1860s.

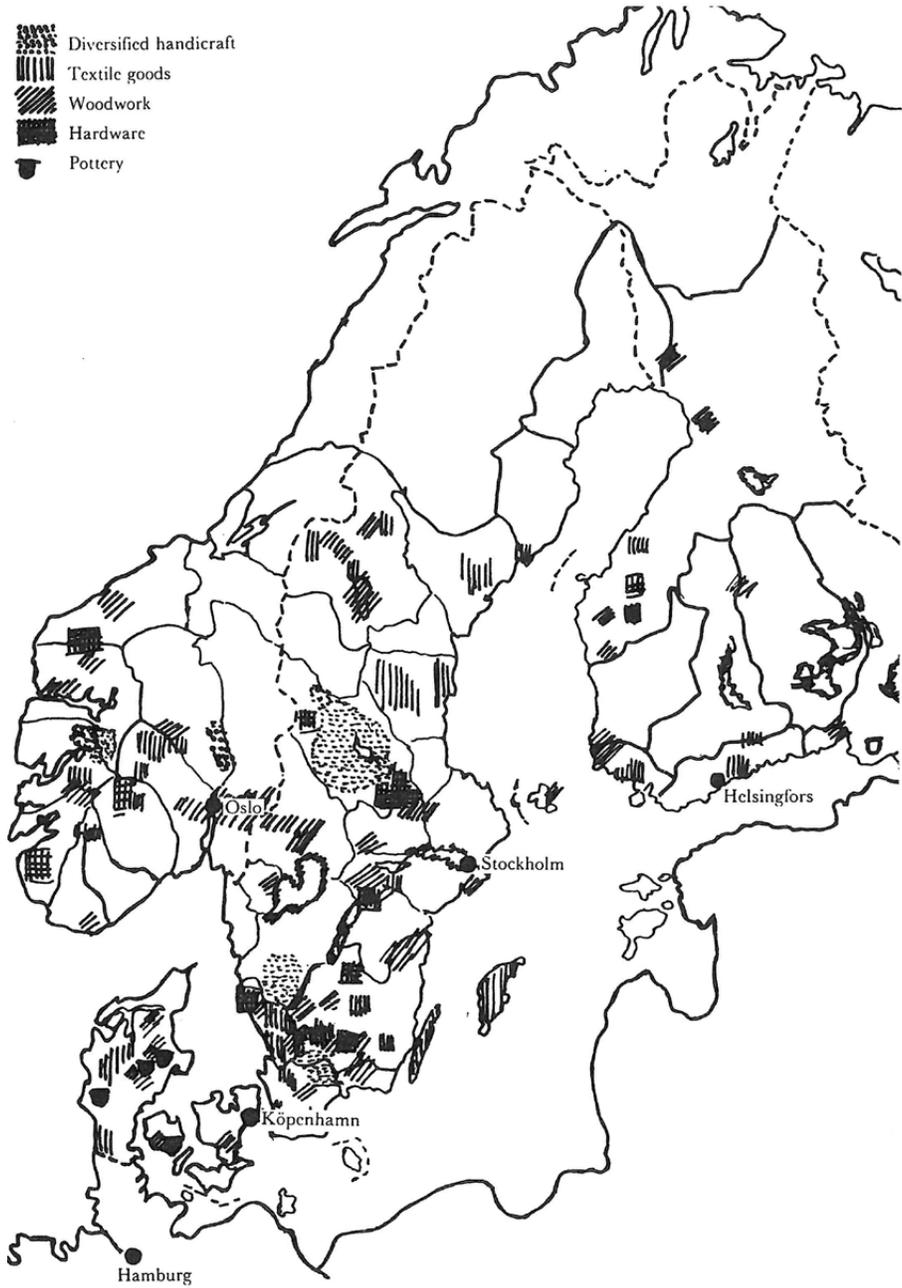
In a couple of northern districts (Hälsingland and northern Ångermanland) too, linen production based on locally produced flax developed. There were medieval origins, shown by the fact that the 13th century Helsingelaw talked of taxes from Ångermanland partly to be paid in linen (Morell 1982, 57). Here too however, expansion was strong in the late 18th and early 19th century. In these cases, peasants kept control over the raw material and the ready-made goods to be traded, and no putting out system (but a credit system sometimes driven by peasant tradesmen) evolved (Utterström 1957 II, 27–48; Morell 1982, 112–3, 129–33). Unlike in south-west Sweden there was no switch over to cotton, so the textile tradition slowly vanished, particularly in the Ångermanland district, where production was specialised into finer qualities more consistently outcompeted by cotton. Instead peasants got involved in the expanding timber trade and also in the upswing of local agriculture promoted by the timber trade. Moreover, while wages trended downwards in western Sweden, the timber trade contributed to their rise in the North (Utterström 1957 II, 202–18; Schön 1972, 92).

It is quite clear that the northern peasants did not turn to linen craft out of poverty. Indeed, the linen trade brought a certain level of wellbeing to the area, documented not least in the massive, large ornamented houses that were built (Utterström 1957 II, 70). There is evidence from northern Ångermanland that well-to-do, peasant households and even priest households embarked early on the weaving (Utterström 1957 II, endnote 103, 392–3). It is thus quite clear that this route was chosen because it was profitable, not at all from sheer poverty. It was a way to exploit a rising economic opportunity.

Even though much linen was sold to burghers in the towns of Hudiksvall and Härnösand, peasants largely kept control of the marketing. There emerged a vibrant, long distance peasant trading in the area, often in conflict with burghers from the towns. Officially, peasant traders traded on commission, but it has been made clear that some more specialised trading peasants, in the early 19th century at the latest, bought up linen from smallholder producers. Others established contacts with Sami villagers and bought reindeer meat and other Sami products for resale in the Stockholm and Uppsala markets. They also made contacts with hunting peasants in the forest area further inland and transported frozen game to Stockholm. Transports were at first undertaken by sledges in caravans to the mid-Swedish markets and Stockholm. The trip took about three weeks. Mostly these peasant traders brought consumables – coffee, sugar, salt, and tobacco – on the way back, for resale in their home parishes. Later on some of these peasant tradesmen developed into full-scale traders, bought up and eventually started to deliver goods in summer, using steamboats, but later rail transports. Grain became an important import item from the south delivered by them, particularly in the 1860s (Morell 1982). Were these diverse activities to be labelled as formal proto-industry? No. Were they important to foster industrial and economic development? Most likely they were.

Various forms of domestic trades developed in many more areas in Sweden. Often the market was found in nearby more specialised farming communities. The list of non-agricultural market related activities performed by Scandinavian peasant households could be much extended. Domestic crafts for sale were more developed in Sweden than in the other Scandinavian countries (Denmark was already mentioned).

Peasant households combining subsistence (or indeed market) agriculture with various for-sale crafts were found in several regions. Indeed, the skilled smiths, the iron masters of the pre-industrial Swedish ironwork complexes also combined their iron working with (sub-) subsistence agriculture (Montelius 1959, 128). The iron making was certainly focusing on exports to far away markets, while most of the crafts for sale carried out by peasant households in specialised regions or localities were directed towards the domestic market and formed a part of the regional intra-Swedish (or intra-Scandinavian) market. Parish craftsmen (shoemakers, tailors, millers, blacksmiths, carpenters and masons) on the other hand worked for a very local, intra-parish market and usually combined it with subsistence agriculture (Gadd 1991). Coastal fishing – certainly directed to far away



Map 17.3: Important handicraft regions in Scandinavia in the mid-19th century

Source: Rosander 1980; Isacson and Magnusson 1987.

markets – combined with agriculture along Norwegian and even Swedish coasts could be mentioned. Regularly trading peasants existed in many more areas.

Still, in Norway a diverse craftsmanship evolved comprising of woolen and later cotton textiles, wood products and blacksmith items. The area around Oslo was the most important market (Rosander 1980, 32–8). In Finland the market for wooden products was limited as peasants largely manufactured the tools they needed themselves. In some areas (as in some Swedish districts) millstones were produced and marketed around. Craftsmanship was concentrated in Österbotten (see Map 17.3) and textile trades, wool and later cotton was most important. It seems, however there was not many signs of continuity, either in Norway nor in Finland from cotton and wool domestic crafts into modern factory industry (which in the Finnish case largely worked for the Russian market). In Norway on the other hand peasant shipbuilding had connections to later industrial wharfs, while peasant sawmills in Finland in many ways connected to the large-scale sawmill industry established during the Industrial Era. At large, however, proto-industries in these countries faced de-industrialisation (Isacson and Magnusson 1987, 46–50).

As noted, there was, in many cases continuity between these pre-industrial activities and regional industrial structures in the 20th century, while in other cases rather strong regional specialities faded out for various reasons. Adopting the proto-industrialist concept implies analysing these activities in their capacity or non-capacity to emerge into factory industry and modern trades in the wake of the industrial breakthrough. This is relevant of course, not least since many early factory industries and workshops were strongly dependent on skills and craft traditions (Isacson and Magnusson 1987, 116–33). Much points towards the conclusion that Braverman's deskilling hypothesis (Braverman 1974) was far from universally relevant in mechanical industries far into the 20th century.

To that should be added that monetary incomes from marketed crafts products and services allowed peasants to form part of a risen efficient demand, both for colonial, new consumption goods, like coffee, tea, tobacco and utensils needed to consume such stimulants, as well as imported textiles and domestically produced goods, not least handcrafted or, from the 1830s, factory made textiles. It may be interpreted as a somewhat belated 'Consumer revolution' (de Vries 2008; cf. for Sweden Ahlberger 1996 and for Norway Hutchinson 2010).

The monetary incomes (either from such trades, or from a more specialised grain cultivation) also allowed some peasants to accumulate wealth and investment funds from their market activities. Finally, simply a rising amount of market transactions and wage work relations, paved the way for a more intense market economy characterising the industrial society. In this way, and possibly through the demographic effects, contributing to a faster population increase (principally caused by falling mortality) and thus resulting in large cohorts of more or less landless labourers, such activities could contribute to industrialisation (as indeed argued by Kriedte and Isacson and Magnusson, see above), whether households were proto-industrial according to the book or not.

Institutional developments, not only such that legalised more of the peasant trades, but also such that set peasants in command of more of the surpluses above simple reproduction was important in paving the way for more direct market action by peasants. It has been convincingly shown that the gradual easing of the tax and rent pressure on freeholders and crown tenants during the 18th and 19th centuries, allowed such groups to market a surplus (mostly of grain) and invest or get consumables from the proceeds, instead of delivering grain, or in some cases cash payments to the state representatives who traded the goods (summarised in Morell 2013b).

These phenomena may however be seen from other angles. Some of the households referred to above did not specialise in crafts for markets, but rather performed services. Some of them went part-time traders and traded with whatever goods suited best. Some combined very diverse activities aside their subsistence farming. Such varied pluriactivity in itself might have rather little to do with what we refer to as proto-industry, but quite a lot with the integrated peasant economy. The households, however adapted consciously to (mostly nearby) markets for goods, labour, transport and other types of services which proved profitable to them. These were active choices. Peasants showed agency.

3. Towards the present day

This certainly did not stop after the Pre-Industrial Era: By the late 19th century peasants on the east coast archipelago let out their buildings as summer houses for the Stockholm bourgeoisie.⁹ In the 20th century, combinations between forestry and farming remained important. On the one hand,

9 Briefly commented in Morell 2001, 334. It is a theme of a very much red novel by August Strindberg (*Hemsöborna* – the Hemsö Islanders).

small holders, particularly in northern Sweden performed transport-work in relation to forestry. Alternatively, someone (mostly the man) in the peasant household worked within emerging countryside industries, while the women cared for the farm. On the other hand, many peasant farmers even further south owned quite large areas of forests and worked in the forest during winter off-season in agriculture. Indeed, it was generally typical for pre- WWII smallholders in Norway and parts of Sweden and Finland to combine farming with off-farm jobs. Often this meant that the man in the family worked long periods away from home, in labour-intensive forestry, in seasonal industries, or, particularly in the Norwegian case, on the sea. This left women running farms alone and necessitated that they were ready to do any farm work (Morell 2001; Almås 2002).

In the post-war era much of the wage-working farmhands left, for industrial or service employment and farming was increasingly mechanised with tractors, combines and milking machines etc. Increasingly, farms were worked by farm family labour only, while forest work in the larger companies was mechanised and increasingly carried out by full year employees. Still, as by the 1960s, even many substantial family farms could not support farm families on decent levels without off-farm incomes, the pre-war pattern was turned upside down. Farmwomen were recruited to wage employments in the growing (public) service sector, often on a part-time basis. A pattern evolved where the men performed routine farm tasks, while the women had public employment, which accounted for most of the household's cash incomes, and they only worked occasionally on the farm. In Norway this has nowadays been interpreted as if the support of farming has been privatised and internalised inside the farm households (Almås 2002).

Presently, in many cases even two farm family members have jobs in other sectors. Multitasking still evolves. In Sweden specialisation in grain, in many areas has reduced the necessary time spent on farm work, and normally much of the farm family incomes are driven home by non-farm work by *both* partners in the family. Farming men are less often engaged in actual wage employments outside the farm. Instead they are contracted to use tractors and other machinery in municipal building activities, transport services and snow clearance etc. In Norway only 30% of farm incomes on average stems from agricultural activity and only 27% of farmers receive their main income from farming. In Denmark, every third farm was engaged in some non-agricultural entrepreneurial activity and c. 40% of farm holders and spouses alike were engaged in some kind of off-farm work. In

Sweden 60% of farms are part-time enterprises, only 17,000 farms in Sweden require full time work of *one* person, while c. 5000 farms require regularly employed workers, and produce un-proportionately large parts of the total output. As for elsewhere, there is in the Nordic countries a trend to invest in on-farm processing to increase market value, to offer leisure services or engage in various types of farm tourism. The total income mix for a Scandinavian farm family of today can be very complex, and most likely the mix differs quite greatly between any two random farms (Yearbook of Agricultural Statistics 2001, 2014; Jordbruksverket Rapport 2012:1; Statistiska Meddelanden JO 30 SM 1401; Statistiska Meddelanden JO 65 SM 1401; Statistics Norway; Statistics Denmark).

Conclusions

Most Swedish (and Scandinavian) farm households in the Pre-Industrial Era and long after that, have normally combined various types of income sources with agriculture proper to make ends meet or to increase wealth. The reasons could differ: farms might have been too small and unrewarding, the seasonal irregularity of farm work allowed for other activities, particular markets for particular goods or services which the households could provide developed, and more recently the level of farm mechanisation implied that the workforce needed for agricultural tasks proper became very small, making it not only necessary, but also worthwhile for farm families to diversify their activities. Generally, peasant households consciously adapted to market opportunities arising. This was not passive adaptation, however, peasants expressed agency.

In *some* cases, in the Pre-Industrial Era, the activities were concentrated and specified in ways that make it reasonable to talk of proto-industrial activities, proto-industrial households and proto-industrial regions. But certain special conditions were to be met for those terms to fit. Peasant or farm family economic multi-activity existed far beyond the borders of proto-industry in time, space and scope. Rather it is the question of survival strategies of households and it all boils down to active adaptations and to the possibilities workable on the basis of the surrounding society. In a way it seems that the peasant household activities have been reactive to the demand (broadly speaking) of surrounding society, but dialectically such activities in turn contributed to change and the development of society whether the peasants were proto-industrial or not.

Do all the Scandinavian examples referred to above fit the concept integrated peasant economy? Surely not all of them, but impressively many. In some cases, farming proper weighed heavy in the mix, in others farming was combined with only one principal activity (for example forestry work). IPE should be interpreted as active rational choices, whether made from a poverty position where pluriactivity proved a necessity for survival, or, from a position shared by many pre-industrial and some modern farm families with ample land resources with several options. Still, the drive to utilise household resources optimally by engaging in various types of activities fitting in the societal context of the time and space seem to be the same. It is a perennial.

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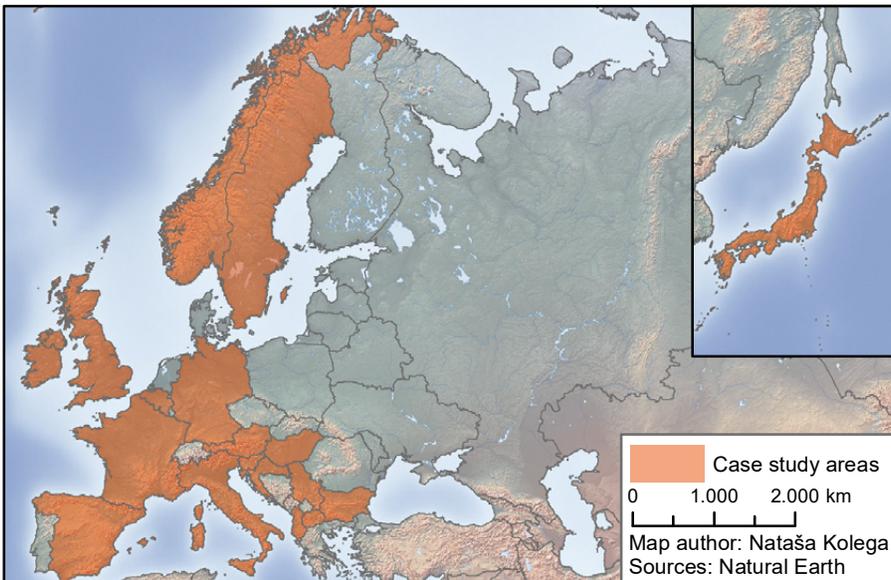
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18

Pluriactivity, Part-time Farming, Farm Diversification, Integrated and Inclusive Rural Household Development in Contemporary Economics

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Map 18.1: Comparative case study areas

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present and compare the concepts and practices of pluriactivity, part-time farming, farm diversification and integrated and inclusive rural household development in contemporary economics, focusing on Slovenia. Family farming has always been most important in the structure of Slovenian agriculture. This dominant role of family farming in agriculture can vary across different regions and areas with different conditions for agricultural production. Historically, except for forest land areas and some flat areas, where land owners were also churches and other larger land owners, the majority of land has been possessed in different forms, operated and cultivated by individual family farms. They have been of small-size with traditional peasant farming (Warriner 1963).

Agricultural and land reforms, in the present territory of Slovenia, have made some changes to the structure of land ownership and land operation, but the main role of family farming in agricultural structures did not change during the 20th century. Three main agricultural and land reforms have been linked to the political and institutional changes following the collapse of the previously existing countries: firstly, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after WWI and the establishment of the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs and Slovene. The agrarian reform resulted in limited land distribution among smallholders. Secondly, the established Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) after WWII, nationalised the land of churches, big landowners and family farms over the set threshold of the maximum amount of land. In addition to family farms, state or 'social' enterprises were created to cultivate state land, and in different directions within the set institutional rules and constraints, compete with family farms. Finally, the collapse of the former SFRY and the establishment of the Republic of Slovenia as the independent state, which adopted a restitution law of formerly nationalised land and forest land in kind or in a form of compensation under the law for eligible former owners (Bojnec and Swinnen 1997a and 1997b).

Over the last two decades, important structural changes have occurred in Slovenian agriculture. Among them is the decline in the number of farms. This is particularly valid for medium-sized farms. An increase is recorded in the number of bigger farms and in their average size (Bojnec and Latruffe 2013). Not only the buying of land, but particularly the leasing of land has become an important determinant for the increase in the number of bigger farms and for the increase in their average land size. This sug-

gests market driven relaxation of a traditionally strong link between family land ownership and family land operation. As a result of this, land market and land leasing processes are concentrated on in-land operation with a greater number of land owners than land operators. This pattern in development is similar to some western European countries, where a substantial percentage of land use is on rented land such as in Belgium and France.

A great percentage of agricultural holdings in Slovenian rural areas have traditionally combined on- and off-farm employment and income generating activities (Knific and Bojnec 2015a). These employment and income diversification patterns of agricultural holdings in economic development, are consistent with similar developments in some developed countries such as France (Campagne, Carrière, and Valceschini 1990), the neighbouring Italy (Bull and Corner 1993), Japan (Francks 1995), Ireland (Kinsella et al. 2000), developing countries (Ellis 2000) and China (van der Ploeg and Jingzhong 2010). Therefore, on- and off-farm employment with associated on- and off-farm income sources has become one of substantial characteristics in the evolution of multiple jobs in agricultural holdings and in rural areas in their survival strategies, in competitive local and global economic environments.

A body of the theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature and practices have developed on different concepts and characteristics of pluriactivity, part-time farming, farm diversification and integrated and inclusive rural household development in contemporary economics. In several countries, including Slovenia, family farming is defined by law (Graeub et al. 2016). Definitions of family farms differ between countries. There is also a considerable diversity of family farms globally. In general, family farmers perform farming activities mainly for self-cultivation: own the land where they produce with family members, ensure minimal income from agricultural activities and perform multifunctional roles in rural areas.

The objectives of this paper are to present different concepts of family farm and agricultural holding diversification. While the aim is to develop a unified conceptual approach, the current stage of the research illustrates large theoretical complexity and practical varieties in evolution between countries. This complexity and specific situation is illustrated in the case of more recent evolution on family farms or agricultural holdings, diversification in parts of hilly and mountainous areas in Slovenia, focusing on the municipalities of Gorenja vas-Poljane and Škofja Loka. It is argued that farm diversification and integrated and inclusive rural house-

hold development can contribute to new roles and perspectives of family farming in meeting agricultural household survival strategy in rural areas. The paper concludes with findings that can be relevant for the research on the integrated peasant economy by improving the understanding of family farming, pluriactivity, part-time farming, farm diversification and integrated and inclusive rural household development in multifunctional agricultural and rural development in contemporary economics.

1. Pluriactivity

The literature explaining the concept of agricultural and rural pluriactivity and its meaning is mixed (Marsden 1990; Reis et al. 1990). Campagne, Carrière, and Valceschini (1990) argue about some similarities and differences on the concept of pluriactivity in the theoretical literature and practice, which are explained based on characteristics in agricultural development in three agricultural regions in France. They based three different types of pluriactivity in agricultural development when farms are able to carry on a modernisation process, farms that are threatened in spite of their modernisation, and farms that are unable to be modernised. Agricultural policy, in this case mostly Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Union (EU), causes different regional impacts with a particular form of pluriactivity in agricultural development. In the Picardy region, a business pluriactivity uses agricultural resources to increase non-agricultural activities. In the Languedoc region, a rural development pluriactivity has developed by using non-agricultural resources for its modernisation. In the Savoy region, a rural pluriactivity of survival has developed with a close combination between agricultural and non-agricultural activities, which permits the maintenance of rural many-faceted businesses. Agricultural development is linked to rural development, but causalities between agricultural and non-agricultural rural development can go in different directions.

Evans and Ilbery (1993) conceptualised a debate on the restructuring of agriculture and non-conventional methods of farm family businesses, which is employed to raise income as part of a family farm survival or accumulation strategy. This can be explained not with a single, but with more concepts such as pluriactivity, part-time farming and farm diversification of farm family business activities. Therefore, there are different options and thus differences in the interpretations of such concepts. More specifically, they suggest an analytical distinction between farm-centred or farm-based accommodation, diversification and off-farm employment,

within the broader concept of pluriactivity of farm household members. Farm-centred diversification further diversified the farm business. Family members hold any off-farm employment and the relationship with the farm business structure and farm accommodation type. This can be further differentiated with other issues of family farm business and family life such as the gender-bias implications in relationships between alternative farm-centred or farm-based accommodation diversification and off-farm activities. Therefore, the nature of pluriactive farm businesses can be rather different. Specific options of family farms or holdings are important for understanding the structure and dynamics of agricultural holdings engaged in different pluriactive strategies for their survival.

Bull and Corner's (1993) study focuses on the historical development and evolution of the pluriactive agricultural and rural household transformation from peasant to entrepreneur among family farms in Italy, which is further investigated by Francks (1995), comparisons of similarities between experience and possible alternative patterns in transformation of the small-scale, multi-functional, agricultural and rural households from peasants to entrepreneurs in Italy and Japan.

Similar country and comparative studies based on a country's specific concept of pluriactivity have been conducted, also for some other developed countries such as, for example, Norway considering agricultural and rural pluriactivity as household survival strategies and as an opportunity for rural renewal (Eikeland 1999) and Ireland, considering the concept of pluriactivity as a farm household livelihood strategy, important for agricultural and rural development (Kinsella et al. 2000). Bessant (2006) explains the nature of pluriactivity in the United States (USA) and particularly in Canada. For Canada, the presence, persistence, and varied forms and functions of pluriactivity among farm households are explained in relation to Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) concepts, which consist of adaptive strategies, diversification and resilience.

Farm or agricultural holding pluriactivity can be found also in Slovenian agricultural and rural development. Similar to some western European countries, but under a different institutional and policy environment, the causalities between agricultural and non-agricultural activities have changed over time. This has been caused by a rapid post-WWII industrialisation process with the use of agricultural resources to increase non-agricultural activities. Later with a more decentralised or polycentric development, a rural development pluriactivity was developed in association with

non-agricultural activities. Finally, agricultural holdings and rural pluriactivity has changed rapidly towards more complex relations with various forms of employment and diversification of income sources.

2. Part-time farming

Part-time farming is closely associated with the development of non-agricultural activities in villages in rural areas. Particularly, this can be linked to the development of labour intensive industrial activities in rural areas with a high population density and surplus labour in agriculture and rural villages. Therefore, literature on part-time farming has focused on this phenomenon in relation to the quality-of-life perceptions of part-time farmers in the agricultural and overall rural development of developed, industrialised countries (Arkleton Trust 1985; Jussaume 1990). Bessant (2006) argued that part-time farming was an initial term for pluriactivity in the 1930s in the USA and the 1940s in Canada.

Part-time farming is linked to the pluriactivity of agricultural households with two-tier household labour employment: regular off-farm employment and on-farm employment after the regular off-farm employment (Gasson 1986). It can be considered as a short-term to medium-term farming survival strategy with expected exiting from active farming activities over the long-term, if household incomes increased sufficiently and there is no family member interested in farming activities. This is a more frequent practice in developed countries. Exit from active farming can be by selling or renting land and farming specific equipment and other assets to other active farmers. Part-time farming can play a contemporary survival role of agricultural holdings on a longer-term basis, which can be a more frequent strategy in developing countries due to lower incomes per holding member.

In Slovenia, part-time farming played a substantial role in agriculture and in the rural economy during the socialist period, whilst its role had deteriorated later by considerable socio-economic, employment and demographic changes. Particularly restructuring and changes in the structure of production in rural economies and employment changes in the economy have witnessed the reduction of blue-collar employment in low wage paid labour intensive industries in rural regions. A large percentage of part-time farming was associated with employment in local rural labour intensive industries, where employment has been reduced substantially. Early and regular retired people can continue with farming, whilst migration out of rural areas more likely reduced farming in general as well as part-time

farming. It is more likely that the decline in the role of part-time farming has resulted in a reduction of the role of small-sized and particularly medium-sized family farms and the expansion of land renting market activities and increased land use by bigger family farms (Bojnec and Latruffe 2013).

3. Farm employment and income diversification

Different studies investigated farm diversification with on- and off-farm employment and income diversification. Reardon, Berdegúe, and Escobar (2001) provide an overview of rural economies. The focus is on non-farm employment and income diversification in Latin American countries. Juvančič and Erjavec (2005) analysed employment decisions on agricultural holdings in Slovenia. Davis et al. (2010) provide a comprehensive analysis on a cross-country comparison of rural income generating activities for selected Eastern European (Albania and Bulgaria), African, Latin American, and Asian countries. Nienaber and Potočnik Slavič (2013) investigated the issue of farm diversification through various forms of on- and off-farm income diversification as an instrument of multi-functionality of rural areas in Slovenia and the Saarland region in Germany.

Agricultural and rural development subsidies have become an important source of income for agricultural holdings. Income diversification of farm households and their dependence on agricultural and rural development policy reforms have been identified in different countries, for example for tenant farmers in England (Maye, Ilbery, and Watts 2009). In addition to agricultural and rural development subsidies, this can be also other government transfers for the development of remote and peripheral areas such as from the EU cohesion and structural funds.

The geospatial technologies characterise 'marginal land' as based on predominantly less favourable biophysical features. This handicapped marginal area is often characterised as less or 'non-competitive' for the purpose of commercial agriculture. However, this area can be used for different other purposes, such as for bioenergy crops, which can be subsidised by government policies (Nalepa and Bauer 2012). In Slovenia, this remote marginal land is extendedly covered by forests, widespread meadows and pastures. The latter two are in a great extent included in the agri-environmental programme and measures (Unay Gailhard and Bojnec 2016). Therefore, a body of literature has developed on farm diversification focusing on hilly and mountainous areas, where agricultural and rural development subsidies are particularly important in the structure of incomes of agricul-

tural holdings. For example, López-i-Gelats, Milán, and Bartolomé (2011) focus on farm diversification in the Pyrenees mountains area, whilst Knific and Bojnec (2015a; 2015b) focus on agricultural holdings in hilly-mountain areas in the Škofjeloška rural areas in Slovenia. They found changes in income diversification with non-agricultural employment and off-farm incomes of agricultural holdings before and after the Slovenian accession to the EU. Off-farm incomes are found necessary for the survival of the majority of agricultural and rural holdings. Some differences in the income diversification of agricultural holdings are found between areas with different degrees of limited natural conditions, as important for commercial agricultural production and socio-economic types of agricultural holdings.

4. Integrated and inclusive rural development

Peasant household families have aimed to survive combining subsistence farming with other employment and income generating activities inside and outside of agricultural holding. The subsistence farming has produced food for consumption at the agricultural holding, while non-farm employment and off-farm incomes have provided cash flows into the peasant farm, needed for purchases of inputs and other goods, for paying taxes and for any other expenses needed for the survival of peasant farm family members. As argued by Panjek (2011) cash or money inflows into peasant farms were recorded in Early Modern western Slovenia. In addition, Panjek (2015) on the basis of historical facts, evolution of peasant farming and activities of peasant family farm members aims to develop the institutional framework and concept of integrated peasant economy in the context of Early Modern Slovenia.

Recent literature on rural development explains multifunctional and synergistic function of agricultural households in combination with other sources of employment and income. Employment and income diversification of rural households can be driven by different determinants such as higher returns to labour and/or capital in non-farm economy as well as by risks pertaining to farm input and agri-food output market imperfections.

Literature provides mixed evidence on a positive association between non-farm income and farm performance. Non-farm incomes can be invested into farm and/or off-farm employment and income generating activities. Among various explanatory variables, subsidies can play a crucial role among agricultural household income, in addition to non-farm in-

come. Both the government support and non-farm income influences farm efficiency (Bojnec and Fertő 2013).

Multifunctionality has become an agricultural and rural development policy and political paradigm in agricultural and rural development. Its meaning is widely different in debates of the multifunctionality of agriculture and rural development (Losch 2004). Among them are different outputs such as cultural and historic heritage values, environmental quality, landscape, biodiversity and long-term sustainable rural development. The policy implications from multifunctionality also differ vastly between countries. They can be related to demands for policy and measures related to agricultural support and protection, which has been rather high in some European and Asian countries. Relatively high levels of support and state transfers for covering positive externalities of the agricultural sector in rural areas are firm proponents of the multifunctional roles of agriculture in maintaining sustainable agriculture and rural development considering economic, social and environmental objectives in the long-term development.

The increased society and policy makers awareness of the farmers' role and other rural local players in the maintenance of rural landscapes may contribute to a reassessment of the place of agriculture and the rural economy in society. Moreover, different aspects of multifunctional agriculture and possible spill-over effects have been developed in an integrated and inclusive rural development. This role is often defined in relation to landscape and valued by rural economy such as rural tourism in a response to a societal demand in multifunctional agricultural and rural development and the multifunctionality effects of agriculture in an integrated long-term sustainable agricultural and inclusive rural development.

5. Diversification of employment and incomes of agricultural holdings and rural families

While there are differences between development processes and structural changes in the diversification of agricultural holdings, rural families have diversified jobs, activities and incomes in developed and developing countries. Hill et al. (2005) for the United Kingdom presented that there is no substantial difference in the structures of employment and incomes by economic activities between rural and urban areas.

Diversification of incomes in rural families has become a reality in developed and developing countries. For example, agriculture in transition

economies is no longer the main activity and source of income in villages for rural families. As demonstrated by Lerman, Serova, and Zvyagintsev (2008) for two Russian regions, rural families have diversified non-agricultural income through both possible channels: non-agricultural wage employment and non-farm self-employment. They prefer wage employment due to the relative security rather than more risky individual entrepreneurship in a less stable institutional environment. Van der Ploeg and Jingzhong (2010) present multiple jobs of household members in rural villages. They compare and make links between China's peasant economy in rural areas – in a peasant village in the Hebei Province – and the wider urban (global) economy. Among them exists circular flows that link towns of migrated family members and the countryside.

A special source of incomes into rural areas can be inflows of remittances from household members, which have (temporarily) migrated to more economically developed, higher wage countries. This phenomenon in diversification of household incomes has been observed in different parts of the world, such as for example in Latin America (Fajnzylber and López 2007), as well as played an important development role particularly in low wage and developing countries.

Ellis (1998) defines the livelihood diversification strategy of rural holdings in developing countries. It is defined as the development process by which agricultural households and rural families establish a diverse portfolio of different economic activities and social support capabilities. They are targeting individuals and households. Their aim is to provide survival support, improve livelihood, security, living conditions and standards of rural families. The development process is linked to poverty alleviation, to improve income distribution, increase farm output and improve gender participation. To achieve this, a crucial factor is the removal of main constraints, widening and deepening of opportunities for diversification of employment and incomes.

6. The Slovenian case

Our focus is on conceptual issues related to on- and off-farm employment and income diversification activities of agricultural holdings and rural families with application to Slovenian practices. The evolution of Slovenian agricultural holdings and family farms shares some similarities with historical evolution and the emergence of a variety of survival strategies. They are particularly related to small-scale individual or family farms aro-

und the world. Various forms of livelihood diversification strategies such as pluriactivity, development of alternative markets and integrated rural economy indicate the emergence of a variety of new forms of employment and income activities, which can be important for resistance and survival opportunities of rural families. They can be based on a wide and rather heterogeneous set of farming and off-farming employment and income generation practices. While family farming can provide autonomy, it might not necessarily be enough for farm family households' survival as a reason for diversification of employment and income strategies (Knific and Bojnec 2015a).

Kovačič (1996, 19–22) developed and applied the stratum of socio-economic types of agricultural holdings in Slovenia by socio-economic types: pure farms, mixed farms, supplementary farms, and farms in abandonment. This socio-economic agricultural holdings typology has later been applied and further developed by more recent researches.

Erjavec et al. (2002) studied labour adjustment and income diversification in rural households in two – Pomurska and Gorenjska – regions in Slovenia. Möllers (2006) analysed and compared agricultural household employment and income diversification with strategies of rural households in Slovenia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Möllers, Fritsch, and Buchenrieder (2008) investigated farm and off-farm employment and incomes of rural households in Slovenia. They found that the socio-economic characteristics of rural households had an influence on their farm and off-farm incomes. Rural households' income diversification towards off-farm employment and incomes is determined by so-called, distress-push factors with insufficient farm incomes for rural household survival. In addition, agricultural household labour size pushes rural households into off-farm employment and income diversification in a positive way: a greater agricultural household size, a greater probability for off-farm employment and incomes. However, labour flows out of farm employment depend on education, which is consistent with the previous findings by Bojnec and Dries (2005).

Möllers et al. (2009) analysed and compared structural changes in rural households in Croatia and Slovenia for the samples of rural (agricultural) households. The main focus has been on socio-economic structures of rural households, focusing on labour allocation and income structures as well as on household strategies and changes in rural livelihoods. Farming objectives and strategies can differ also due to farm location, being closer

to the country's capital or other better off-farm employment and income generating opportunities. In both countries, off-farm employment and incomes of rural households are important.

Knific (2013) and Knific and Bojnec (2015a) following Kovačič (1996) and Udovič, Kovačič, and Kramarič (2006) among the pure farms, included agricultural holdings without the elderly members older than 64 years, using the criteria that no one of the core agricultural household members is employed outside the farm and the annual work unit (AWU = 1,800 hours of labour per year) is at least 1.2. The mixed farm is defined in two ways: first, as an agricultural holding with at least one of the core members that is employed on the farm and at least one outside the farm and the amount of work on the agricultural holding is at least 1.2 AWU, and secondly, as an agricultural holding, in which all members are off-farm employed or retired or dependent persons and the total AWU is greater than 1 if they meet the conditions: (i) non-elderly farm or pure farm and (ii) without supplementary activities on the farm. The supplementary farm is defined as an agricultural holding with supplementary activities on the farm with at least 0.7 AWU in the agricultural activity. The farm in abandonment is defined as an agricultural holding, which is not the elderly farm with members older than 64 years and is not a supplementary farm and AWU in the agricultural activity is less than 1 AWU.

Knific (2013) and Knific and Bojnec (2015a, b) present changes in income diversification and strategies in agricultural holdings in the case of the Škofjeloška hilly-mountain rural areas. Income diversification of agricultural holdings with non-agricultural employment and off-farm incomes is for the majority of them necessary for survival. The municipality of Škofja Loka is economically more developed with relatively favourable conditions for agricultural production in the flat areas of Soriško polje. The municipality of Gorenje vas-Poljane is economically less developed, with a greater distance to urban centres and local markets and poorer limited conditions for agricultural production. Only the number of supplementary farms has increased in an area with better natural conditions for agricultural activity and in close proximity to urban centres, while decline is for other socio-economic types of farms as real incomes from agricultural activities decline in spite of the fact that state support to agriculture has increased. Income from agricultural activities for the majority of agricultural holdings is not sufficient for survival. Supplementary farms diversify incomes from agricultural activity with supplementary activity from self-employment and off-farm employment primarily to ensure a steady

source of income, to increase the standard of living and to ensure funds for investment in primary agricultural activity towards market opportunities (Knific 2013).

Labour mobility from agricultural activities to higher, efficient non-agricultural employment activities in Slovenia with income diversification has increased (Bojnec and Dries 2005; Bojnec and Latruffe 2013). Diversification of incomes with off-farm employment in addition to other revenues and remunerations has become the most important income source of agricultural holdings. Off-farm employment and off-farm incomes play a crucial role for survival and provide funds for investments, including the education of children (Knific 2013; Bojnec and Fertó 2013).

Strategies of agricultural holdings and family household farming objectives are focusing on preserving family tradition and the survival of agricultural holdings. Diversification of incomes with non-agricultural employment is inevitable for the survival of most of the agricultural holdings, but income diversification with off-farm employment depends on the age and education of agricultural holding members (Bojnec and Dries 2005; Knific 2013). Diversification of incomes with supplementary activity and thus on-agricultural holding non-agricultural employment is more in favour with the younger members, with vocational or secondary employment, while those with a university education give priority to off-farm employment. A head of an agricultural holding is often most engaged with maintaining agricultural production as a crucial labour force and the management of the agricultural holding for agricultural activity and the transfer of the agricultural holding to a successor (Knific 2013). Abandonment of agricultural production on an agricultural holding is most likely at a stage of transfer of farm to a successor, especially if non-agricultural self-employment on-agricultural holding and off-farm incomes are ensuring the economic survival and if the farm is economically too small to be able to ensure incomes for at least one of the agricultural holding members.

Finally, in the EU member states, including Slovenia, the EU agricultural holding typology has been developed as the methodology to simplify, harmonise and standardise in a homogeneous way cross-country farm data comparability. This agricultural holding typology is used by the Farm Accountancy Data Network (FADN) (Eurostat, 2012), censuses of agricultural holdings (Farm Structure Survey, FSS) and the statistical offices in the EU member states. Farm structures are different between the EU member states (Eurostat 2016b).

In Slovenia the FADN has started in the mid-1990s, but a reliable FADN dataset at farm level has been available since 2004 when Slovenia entered in the EU. The EU agricultural holding typology has been also used by two censuses of agricultural holdings in 2000 and 2010. The EU agricultural holding or farm typology as a uniform classification of agricultural holdings in the EU classified farms by type of farming classification of agricultural production and economic size classes of the agricultural holdings in euros. Since 2005 the EU farm typology classification has switched from the calculation of standard gross margins (SGM in economic size units, $ESU = 1,200$ euro) to standard output (SO) in euros on the agricultural holding, which includes a new classification variable for the other gainful activities (OGA) that are directly related to the agricultural holding. Therefore, agricultural holdings can be classified also according to the importance of the OGA directly related to the agricultural holding as the share of the OGA turnover in the total turnover of the holding (including direct payments – DPs).

FSS defines pluriactivity as a concept related to the farm manager with the existence of OGAs for the farmer, activity other than activity relating to farm work, which is carried out for remuneration such as external employment and setting up of tourism activities. In 2005, 36% of EU-27 family farm managers were engaged in pluriactivity, which is more a specificity of small farms (Barthomeuf 2008; Eurostat 2016a).

FSS defines diversification as a concept related to agricultural holdings with the creation of any gainful activity that does not comprise farm work but is directly related to the agricultural holding, which can be seen in Table 1. In 2005, 12% of EU-27 agricultural holdings or farms were engaged in farm diversification, which depends on farm size and type of farming. Diversification is more widespread on big farms. Processing of farm products is the most widespread diversification activity on 55.8% of farms in EU-27 member states, for example in Italy on 84.0% of farms and in Hungary on 62.7% of farms. In addition, 7.1% of farms with diversification activity in EU-27 member states diversified in tourism, for example in Austria 35% of farms, in Sweden 22.8% of farms and in Slovenia 20.0% (Barthomeuf, 2008; Eurostat, 2016a).

Table 18.1: Other gainful activities on family farms in Slovenia

	Number of holdings					
	2000	2003	2005	2007	2010	2013
Total	3,987	2,867	3,146	3,116	12,517	11,676
Meat processing	221	101	189	68	155	337
Milk processing	247	115	185	129	242	241
Fruit and vegetable processing	394	354	390	525	502	342
Other activities connected with food processing	172	104	200	219	1,637	1,135
Wood processing	699	508	449	398	513	520
Agricultural services (for others)	750	905	796	689	310	262
Farm tourism	692	675	628	655	642	726
Handicraft	268	130	171	165	167	181
Aquaculture	75	13	13	z	28	61
Forestry services	200	98	300	360	173	239
Sale of wood products	104	26	80	28	9,078	8,705
Public utility services	330	149	297	491	328	391
Renewable energy production	-	38	79	58	78	96
Other	...	17	16	174	407	81

Source: AIS/MAFF (2015, 162).

In 2013, Slovenia had 11,676 family farms with OGAs (Table 18.1). This means 16% of farms in comparison to less than 5% in 2000. The majority of family farms with OGAs were engaged in the sale of wood products. On Slovenian family farms, important OGAs were connected with food processing, farm tourism, wood processing, public utility services, fruit and vegetable processing, meat processing, milk processing, agricultural and forestry services for others, handicraft, renewable energy production, aquaculture, and other activities on family farms. Reforms of CAP by the EU have changed farm subsidies, as the majority of DPs have been decoupled. Government subsidies have become an important element of farm and agricultural holding incomes in the EU member states (European Commis-

sion, 2015). For example, in 2014, the percentage producer support estimate (%PSE), which represents policy transfers to agricultural producers, expressed as a share of gross farm receipts, was 18.1% for the EU-28, 49.5% for Japan and 60.2% for Norway (OECD, 2016). These data sets provide opportunities for further research on various aspects of the evolution of agricultural holdings and farming developments, including income diversification of agricultural holdings in the integrated agricultural households and rural development.

Conclusion

This study has aimed to explain the meaning of concepts, historical evolution and co-existence in theoretical and empirical concepts that have led to the concept of integrated peasant or agricultural holding or rural household economy: first, from part-time farming to pluriactivity and pluriactive households, then to different types of off-farm employment and various drivers of non-farm sources of total family (peasant) income, and finally to an integrated and inclusive rural development and various types of diversification of employment and incomes of agricultural holdings and rural families.

Definitions, concepts and practical experiences of pluriactivity, part-time farming and farm diversification in an integrated and inclusive agricultural and rural household development in contemporary economics differ due to the diversity of agricultural holdings, specific situations in rural areas and thus associated different on- and off-farm employment and income diversification survival strategies in an evolution of integrated and sustainable long-term development. These specific agricultural holdings, rural and economy specific characteristics can be observed between the countries and evolution in development over time. The diversities between countries and within the country regional diversities, specific and complex agricultural holding and rural characteristics have aimed to be harmonised and standardised by the statistics. In this context they have been conceptualised and developed in to comparable data at least between the EU countries, including for Slovenia with the FADN data set, with censuses of agricultural holdings or FSS data sets and with needs of national accounts statistics. The concept of pluriactivity is related to the farm manager with the existence of non-farm OGAs for the farmer carried out for remuneration. The concept of farm diversification is related to the creation of non-farm work gainful activity directly related to the agricultural holding.

In the case of Slovenia and its territorial and municipal diversity it has been illustrated in the case of the Škofjeloška hilly-mountain rural areas the presence of diversity of incomes, which has resulted from the pluriactivity of agricultural and rural holdings with part-time farming and farm diversification in an integrated and inclusive rural household development. These patterns in development and outcomes are caused by internal agricultural holding factors and characteristics, and external factors of policy environment with the crucial role of subsidy policies for agriculture and rural development (CAP-based policies) and cohesion and regional development funds in the case of the EU countries. The aims and objectives of policy transfers have changed over time and similarly can be expected in the future. This brings new context and complexity in risk sharing in an integrated and inclusive rural household development in contemporary economics. Rural economies have become more similar to urban economies in terms of the structure of employment and sources of income, particularly in more developed economies, which are at the same time advanced information and communication societies.

A greater dependence of farm and rural economy incomes on various forms of government transfers has become the reality in most developed countries, including the EU member states. This policy-driven role in mitigating the gap between agricultural, rural and urban household incomes depends on government and citizen willingness to pay for such policy transfers. Thus, it depends on possible agricultural and rural development policy reforms such as the CAP reforms and associated changes in policy transfers. Agricultural and rural development policies can stay important for farm and rural household incomes that are related to remoteness, periphery and depopulation of agricultural and rural areas. This complexity in income sources of agricultural holdings can be one of the reasons that in contemporary economics co-exists different terms and definitions for phenomena related to the concept of integrated rural economy. Therefore, farm efficiency, government transfers (subsidies) and off-farm sources of incomes will likely stay important as issues for investigation of the long-term sustainability of the integrated and inclusive agricultural and rural household development in contemporary economics in the future.

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Index

A

Agapito, G. 262, 263, 272
Ahlberger, C. 408
Albera, D. 100, 379
Almàs, R. 410
Åmark, K. 397, 400
Andrejka, R. 265
Appuhn, K. 193
Arell, N. 119
Aronsson, K.-A. 119, 149
Awebro, K. 145
Axelsson, A. L. 139, 147
Aymard, M. 26, 172

B

Backåkers Johansson, E. 403
Baedeker, K. 264, 267
Banelli, M. 100
Banfield, E. 182
Bankoff, G. 304
Barbacetto, S. 99
Barthomeuf, L.-T. 428

Bartolomé, J. 422
Baš, A. 69, 336, 340, 343, 344
Baš, F. 340
Battilani, P. 265
Bauer, D. M. 421
Béaur, G. 230
Beguš, I. 14, 19, 235, 255
Belingar, E. 345, 346
Berardi, M. R. 169
Berdegué, J. 421
Berengo, M. 104
Bergman, I. 119, 139, 140
Besana, C. 376, 385, 387
Bessant, K. C. 419, 420
Bianco, F. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105
Bilimovič, A. 353
Bizjak, M. 13, 41, 84, 85, 88, 89
Björklund, I. 140
Bjørnstad, G. 120
Blaznik, P. 52, 63, 64, 67, 69, 88, 89, 338,
340
Boegan, E. 273

- Bogataj, J. 334, 335, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 346
 Bojnec, Š. 41, 416, 417, 421, 422, 423, 425, 426, 427
 Bonin, F. 70, 71
 Bonin, Z. 70, 71
 Bosco, F. 98
 Bourdieu, P. 182
 Bras, L. 73, 336, 339, 340, 342, 343, 346
 Bratko, I. 361
 Braudel, F. 26, 379
 Braverman, H. 408
 Breclj, A. 224
 Bredefeldt, R. 396
 Breschi, M. 109, 209, 213, 215, 218
 Broad, J. 230
 Brodmann, G. 214
 Buchenrieder, G. 425
 Bugarič, B. 345, 346
 Bulgarelli Lukacs, A. 38, 43, 162, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 177, 180, 183, 184
 Bull, A. 377, 417, 419
- C**
 Cacciavillani, I. 193
 Cafagna, L. 29, 30, 32, 34, 377
 Cafaro, P. 386
 Calasso, F. 183
 Calegari, M. 384
 Campagne, P. 417, 418
 Caravale, M. 183
 Carera, A. 377
 Carrière, G. 417, 418
 CateLAN, D. 100
 Cavazza, S. 236
 Cazzola, F. 201
 Celli, L. 223
 Chayanov, A. V. 26, 27, 28
- Chevet, J.-M. 230
 Cirillo, G. 172
 Clementi, A. 165
 Coleman, J. 182
 Colli, A. 376
 Conca Messina, S. A. 377
 Coppola, G. 7, 21, 24, 25, 26, 38, 96, 163, 201, 202, 378
 Corner, P. 377, 417, 419
 Corti, P. 379
 Costa, E. H. 267, 268
 Costantini, M. 162
 Cova, A. 377
 Curtis, D. R. 175
- Č**
 Čec, D. 266
 Čepič, Z. 52, 64, 340
 Černič Istenič, M. 337, 338
 Čuk, A. 261, 266
- D**
 Dahlström, A. 122
 Darovec, D. 70, 71
 Davies, E. 121
 Davis, B. 421
 Davis, J. C. 236
 Deganutti, A. 98
 Della Misericordia, M. 381
 Della Peruta, F. 377
 De Majo, S. 171
 De Matteis, A. 162, 164
 de Moor, T. 119, 132
 De Panfilis, E. 176
 De Rosa, D. 223
 De Stephanis, P. 176
 de Vries, J. 9, 21, 36, 37, 230, 334, 335, 408
 Di Bérenger, A. 193

Di Stefano, E. 169, 173
 Dopsch, A. 85
 Dopsch, H. 84
 Dorsi, P. 222, 225, 237
 Dribe, M. 310
 Dries, L. 425, 427
 Drnovšek, M. 73
 Dular, A. 336

E

Edeles, E. 267
 Ehrenmalm, A. 143, 144, 145, 151, 152
 Eikeland, S. 419
 Ellis, F. 417, 424
 Ericsson, B. 397
 Erjavec, F. 354, 421, 425
 Ersgård, L. 121, 125
 Escobar, G. 421
 Evans, N. J. 418

F

Faber, E. 211
 Faccini, L. 377
 Fajnzylber, P. 424
 Farinelli, F. 162, 168
 Federico, G. 30, 31, 161, 312
 Felice, C. 162, 169
 Ferigo, G. 100, 102, 103, 106
 Fertó, L. 423, 427
 Fjellström, P. 139, 142, 146, 147, 148,
 149
 Fontaine, L. 105, 168, 230
 Fontana, G. L. 378
 Fornasin, A. 13, 41, 42, 97, 98, 99, 102,
 104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 230, 240, 248,
 253
 Francks, P. 417, 419
 Fritz, G. 195
 Fritzschn, J. 425

G

Gadd, C.-J. 122, 312, 315, 396, 406
 Garricr, G. 33, 34, 201
 Gasson, R. 420
 Gašperšič, J. 63, 64
 Gentilcore, D. 104
 Gestrin, F. 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 52, 53,
 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 64, 65, 68, 69,
 70, 72, 75, 85, 87, 88, 232, 235, 338,
 340
 Golec, B. 72
 Golob, F. 336
 Gomiršek, T. 65
 Gosak, I. 369
 Goto, M. 299
 Goujon, P. 33, 34
 Graan, O. 142, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151
 Gradišnik, M. 73
 Graeub, B. E. 417
 Grafenauer, B. 14, 15, 17, 20, 52, 56, 58,
 59, 60, 75, 338, 340, 354
 Granata, L. 162
 Granda, S. 73
 Gribaudi, G. 182
 Gri, G. P. 100, 103, 104, 105
 Güll, P. 174

H

Habe, F. 261, 266
 Hallegatte, S. 175
 Hall, J. W. 284
 Hansen, L. I. 138, 139, 140
 Harnesk, B. 312
 Hassinger, H. 19
 Hayami, A. 286
 Head-König, A.-L. 231
 Heckscher, E. F. 397, 398
 Hermelin, S. G. 138

- Hidetoshi, H. 173
 Higashi, N. 285, 292
 Hildebrand, K.-G. 396
 Hill, B. 423
 Hodnik, M. 64, 67
 Högström, P. 142, 145, 146, 148, 150, 151, 153
 Hrobat Virloget, K. 14, 275, 345, 346
 Hubscher, R. 30, 32, 33, 34, 201
 Huggert, A. 144, 152
 Hülphers, A. A. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131
 Hultblad, F. 119
 Hutchinson, R. 408
- I**
 Iancis, P. 236
 Ilbery, B. 418, 421
 Ilešič, S. 353, 354
 Imhof, A. E. 285, 286
 Isacson, M. 314, 320, 398, 401, 403, 404, 407, 408, 409
- J**
 Jamnik, A. 357
 Jansson, P. 400, 402, 404
 Janša, O. 273
 Jantunen, J. 310
 Jingzhong, Y. 417, 424
 Jörberg, L. 315, 322, 323
 Josefsson, T. 139
 Jussaume, R. A. 420
- K**
 Kačičnik Gabrič, A. 73
 Kalc, A. 41, 207, 209, 210, 213, 215, 218, 221, 222, 235
 Kandler, P. 222
 Kariž, S. 266
 Karlovšek, J. 368
 Kaspret, A. 87
 Kavčič, I. 67
 Kavrečič, P. 42, 235, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 273, 345
 Kinsella, J. 417, 419
 Kitahara, I. 290
 Kitou, H. 286
 Klemenčič, V. 345, 346
 Klun, V. F. 85
 Knežević Hočvar, D. 337, 338
 Knific, K. 417, 422, 425, 426, 427
 Kolenc, P. 65, 66
 Kosi, M. 72, 89
 Kos, P. 89
 Kovačič, M. 425, 426
 Kramarič, F. 426
 Kranjc, A. 261
 Kravos-Lombar, A. 368
 Kresal, F. 358
 Kriedte, P. 171, 398, 409
 Križanič, F. 359
 Kuhar, B. 337
 Kuvaja, C. 121
- L**
 Lago, L. 236
 Landsteiner, E. 310, 312
 Lange, U. 125
 Langthaler, E. 310, 312
 Lantto, P. 119
 Larsson, J. 13, 40, 41, 43, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 404
 Larsson, L.-O. 125
 Latruffe, L. 416, 421, 427
 Lavaléc, J. 261
 Lazarević, Ž. 13, 19, 20, 41, 42, 43, 343, 355, 359, 364
 Legiša, Z. 224
 Lennartsson, T. 404

- Leonardi, A. 378
 Lerman, Z. 424
 Levander, L. 127, 128, 129
 Liedgren, L. 119, 140
 Liljewall, B. 312
 Limberger, M. 39, 40
 Lindberg, E. 397
 Lindblom, E. 311
 Lindegren, J. 119
 Lindström, H. 397
 Linnæus, C. 143, 144, 145, 146, 147,
 148, 149, 151, 152
 Linné, C. v. 127, 128
 Litvine, A. D. 36
 López-i-Gelats, F. 422
 López, J. H. 422, 424
 Lorensen-Schmidt, K.-J. 312
 Lorenzetti, L. 13, 35, 40, 105, 112, 379
 Lorenzini, C. 99, 100, 104, 106, 111
 Losch, B. 423
 Ložar, R. 340
 Lundgren, N.-G. 120
 Lundius, N. 142, 146, 147, 148, 149,
 150, 151, 152
 Lundmark, L. 119, 120, 140
 Lundqvist, P. 404
- M**
 Magnusson, L. 314, 398, 401, 403, 404,
 407, 408, 409
 Mainardis, L. 100
 Maister, H. 354, 355, 358
 Maitte, C. 171
 Makarovič, G. 18
 Makarovič, M. 336, 338, 343, 346, 347
 Malanima, P. 19, 36, 230
 Marchesi, G. C. 376
 Marciani, C. 165
 Marino, J. 166, 176, 178, 183
 Marklund, B. 119, 140
 Markun, A. 365, 366, 369
 Marn, R. 265
 Marsden, T. 418
 Marx, K. 193, 194
 Marzona, A. 97
 Mathieu, J. 26, 40, 104, 379
 Matičetov, M. 73
 Mattsson, N. H. 129, 130
 Matteson, K. 194
 Mattiocco, E. 176
 Mayaud, J.-L. 29, 32, 35
 Maye, D. 421
 Medick, H. 26, 171
 Melik, V. 269, 338, 352
 Mendels, F. 171, 202, 398
 Merkü, P. 206
 Merzario, R. 105, 106, 376, 377, 379
 Mihelič, D. 39, 64
 Milán, M. J. 422
 Mizoguchi, T. 289
 Mocarelli, L. 13, 38, 40, 43, 376, 377,
 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 387
 Moder, J. 367
 Möderndorfer, V. 358
 Mohorič, I. 63, 364, 365, 367
 Moioli, A. 377
 Möllers, J. 425
 Montanelli, P. 206, 207, 209, 210, 215,
 218
 Montelius, S. 402, 406
 Morassi, L. 97, 98, 100, 102
 Morell, M. 8, 40, 41, 42, 43, 315, 396,
 397, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406,
 409, 410
 Moreno, D. 192
 Moroni, M. 200
 Müller, F. 270, 271, 272

Murayama, S. 40, 42, 43, 285, 288, 292
 Murray, J. 264, 267, 272
 Myrdal, J. 119, 123, 312

N

Nakamura, S. 288
 Nalepa, R. A. 421
 Nardone, P. 162
 Narimatsu, S. 290
 Navarra, E. 209, 213, 215, 218
 Nečák, D. 340
 Nelson, M. C. 311
 Netting, R. McC. 104, 124
 Nielssen, A. R. 140
 Nienaber, B. 421
 Niurenus, O. P. 142, 148
 Norstedt, G. 139, 147
 Novak, A. 337
 Novak, V. 340, 368

O

Odstedt, E. 129
 Ogilvie, S. 171, 182, 183, 185
 Ogorelec, B. 369
 Ōkuma, T. 286
 Olai, B. 126
 Olsen, B. 138, 139, 140
 Olsson, M. 310
 Orel, B. 73, 340
 Orožen, I. 88
 Östlund, L. 139, 147
 Ōtani, S. 305
 Otorepec, M. 73, 85, 86

P

Pahor, M. 71
 Päiviö, E.-L. 42, 120
 Panjek, A. 7, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 40, 42,
 52, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69,

70, 74, 75, 96, 102, 108, 132, 140, 154,
 163, 180, 181, 202, 208, 210, 222, 224,
 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 240, 254,
 255, 335, 378, 399, 422

Patik, L. 369
 Pазze, P. A. 271
 Pescosolido, G. 201
 Peterson, G. 126
 Pettersson, T. J.-E. 128
 Pevc, A. 356
 Piardi, F. 384
 Piccioni, L. 162, 165, 166, 167, 179
 Pichler, R. 383
 Pickl, O. 19
 Pierucci, P. 162, 165, 173, 174
 Pirc, I. 359, 360
 Porcedda, D. 236
 Potočnik Slavič, I. 421
 Poulsen, B. 312
 Predali, R. 384
 Pretnar, J. 369
 Puc, M. 262, 271, 273, 274, 275
 Putnam, R. D. 182

R

Račić, B. 368
 Rajšp, V. 64
 Rautio, A. M. 139, 149
 Reardon, T. 421
 Reis, J. 418
 Rheen, S. 142, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151,
 152
 Rinaudo, Y. 33, 34, 35
 Romani, M. 376, 377
 Romano, R. 19, 377
 Rosa, G. 385
 Rosander, G. 127, 131, 400, 404, 407,
 408
 Rossetti, S. 387

Rossi, R. 166, 179, 180
 Ruong, I. 145
 Ruosteenoja, K. 310
 Rydström, G. 144, 152

S

Sahlins, P. 194
 Saito, O. 286, 287, 288
 Salvemini, B. 165, 168
 Sansa, R. 34, 42, 193, 197
 Savnik, R. 266, 267
 Schaffenrath, A. 266, 267
 Schefferus, J. 141, 142
 Schön, L. 405
 Schuurman, A. 39, 230
 Schwind, E. 85
 Sedej, I. 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346
 Semerani, L. 223
 Serova, E. 424
 Seume, J. G. 265
 Shaw, T. R. 236, 261, 262, 263, 264, 271,
 272, 273, 274
 Shimura, H. 299
 Simoni, C. 384
 Simoniti, V. 14
 Simonton, D. 123
 Slavec Gradišnik, I. 336, 337, 338
 Smerdel, I. 336, 338
 Smith, T. C. 287, 288, 290, 305
 Söderberg, J. 119
 Sommerseith, I. 140
 Spagnoletti, A. 183
 Spufford, P. 89
 Sreenivasan, G. P. 36
 Stranieri, S. 385
 Svanberg, I. 139, 149
 Svenske, J. 313, 316, 320
 Svensson, P. 310
 Swinnen, J. F. M. 416

Š

Šmitek, J. 64
 Šorn, J. 14, 16, 17, 18, 53, 64, 248, 254
 Štih, P. 14

T

Tedeschi, P. 38, 43, 376, 377, 378, 381,
 382, 385, 386, 387
 Tenenti, A. 19
 Terpin, M. 67
 Thoen, E. 37, 39
 Thompson, E. P. 194
 Tino, B. 164
 Tobin, J. J. 264
 Tornacus, J. 142, 143, 146, 148, 152
 Totman, C. 284, 285, 305
 Trezzi, L. 378, 384
 Trošt, J. 73, 368
 Tuderus, G. 142
 Tunón, H. 139, 149

U

Udovič, A. 426
 Ulväng, G. 126, 400
 Umek, E. 72
 Unay Gailhard, I. 421
 Uratnik, F. 358, 364
 Utterström, G. 312, 397, 398, 402, 404,
 405

V

Valceschini, E. 417, 418
 Valenčič, V. 64, 74, 338, 341
 Valentinitš, H. 16, 19
 Valsangiacomo, N. 105
 Valvasor, J. W. 13, 52, 62, 63, 68, 69, 71,
 72, 73, 74, 342, 343
 van der Ploeg, J. D. 202, 417, 424
 Velková, A. 241

- Verbič, M. 67
 Veronese, G. 98
 Viazzo, P. P. 105
 Viggiano, A. 97
 Vilfan, S. 14, 58, 69, 70, 71, 73, 84, 89,
 238, 240, 338, 340
 Villani, P. 29, 30, 33, 201, 378
 Villstrand, N. E. 120
 Visceglia, M. A. 165
 Vogrič, I. 224
 Voje, I. 68
 Volpi Lisjak, B. 221, 223
 Vrhovc, I. 56

W

- Warriner, D. 416
 Watts, D. 421
 Westin, A. 41, 42, 404
 Winberg, C. 126

Z

- Zackrisson, O. 119, 139, 140, 149
 Zahn, J. 89
 Zalin, G. 380
 Zamperetti, S. 97
 Zanier, C. 98
 Zaninelli, S. 377
 Zdovc, H. 368
 Zubini, F. 222
 Zvyagintsev, D. 424
 Zwitter, F. 52, 56, 219

Ž

- Žiberna, J. 274, 275
 Žitko, S. 70
 Žontar, J. 52, 56, 57, 58, 59, 64, 66, 67,
 69, 86, 87



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