CHAPTER 9

Switzerland – A ‘Peasant State’?

Stefan Sonderregger

It is hardly possible to better describe the ground on which Swiss historical tradition is built than with this history painting from the nineteenth century. One hugely determined and fearless man – Uli Rotach – fights alone against vastly superior numbers of well-armoured warriors. He is wearing peasant dress from the nineteenth century, symbolizing the confederal peasantry who, according to the national historiography of the nineteenth century, were supposed to have liberated themselves in glorious battles during the Middle Ages from the yoke of aristocratic oppression.

Peasant heroes like William Tell and the depicted Uli Rotach contribute to medieval Switzerland often being seen as an exemplar of a ‘peasant state’. For instance, under the heading ‘peasant states’ in the Lexikon des Mittelalters (Encyclopaedia of the Middle Ages), you can read that the lack of a centralized ducal power in particular in the southwest of the Empire in the thirteenth century had led to the unfolding of the confederal peasant movement. The alliance of the Swiss cantons of the valleys in 1351 had been a direct result, behind which the free peasants, encouraged by the local aristocracy, were the prime moving force. Both from a Swiss perspective and in the perception from across the borders, there is a noticeable tendency to glorify the history of the Confederacy, combining it sweepingly with concepts of peasants and freedom and seeing Switzerland as representing a ‘lucky case’ in Europe. The Old Swiss Confederacy is equated with ‘peasant associations’ and a ‘peasant state’, as well as a ‘peasant populace’ or ‘mountain people’, and the inhabitants of the Swiss Ländereorte (Uri, Schwyz, Ob- and Nidwalden, Glarus, and Appenzell) are called ‘self-governing rural producers’. The national historiography in...


Switzerland also claims the term ‘peasant state’ for the late medieval Confederacy, in order to point out the singularity of Swiss statehood. In this, the belief assumption is that of a general peasant mindset that supposedly had existed since early times:

In the traditional national historiography there is [...] general agreement that the Confederacy could be traced back to the foundation of a peasant state, that the peasant elements were a part of the nature of medieval confederations, and that the national consciousness that apparently emerged in the fifteenth century was to have shown a tendency to be influenced by the peasant population.5

Considering the still scanty knowledge of the peasant population in modern Switzerland, it is surprising to read with what certainty the history of the medieval Confederacy is associated with assumed character traits of the peasants. It has been the achievement of a research project led by Roger Sablonier at the University of Zurich in 1994 to fundamentally question labels of this kind.6 Using examples from recent scholarship about the economic, political, and social situation in the late Middle Ages, this contribution shows that the idea of Switzerland as a 'peasant state' is simply not tenable.

In 2006, the so-called Bundesbrief of 1291, the Letter of Alliance documenting the union of the three founding cantons, travelled to the US in order to be exhibited and – this was probably the main intention – to promote Switzerland. The fact that this icon of Swiss history was going to leave the country stirred the minds of many Swiss people.7 Even though scholarship had some time earlier been able to prove convincingly that this letter was simply a standard thirteenth century document produced in connection with the securing of the general peace, wide circles still see it as the one document that cements the foundation of Switzerland. This point of view is based on the stories concerning the oath made by three proud peasants on the Rüti – a meadow by Lake Lucerne – in 1291; about William Tell – heroic freedom fighter; and about the battle of peasants and cowherds against the Habsburg authority.8 Roger Sablonier sums up this foundation history succinctly and ironically:

freedom-loving Alpine peasants successfully battle against oppression and exploitation, come together in solidarity amongst equals in 1291 and oblige each other with mutual aid and loyalty, chase the aristocracy and the reeves out of the country, start the foundation of the independent Swiss state, and defend their fatherland as a united people at the battle of

6 In that year, the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Confederacy was celebrated with great extravagance. For the culture of this kind of celebration, see Georg Kreis, Jubiläum und Schlachtgedenken. Zivile Überlegungen zur militärischen Erinnerungskultur der Schweiz, in: Appenzellische Jahrbücher 2004, 13–27.
7 Political liberals and the political right especially exhibited outrage at this journey, as is visible in the media coverage and countless letters to the editors of Swiss newspapers. Numerous politicians of the Swiss People's Party wanted to buy the Bundesbrief in order to stop it leaving the country.
For Johannes von Müller, who wrote a monumental work of history in the 1820s, it was absolutely clear that the first Confederates had been peasants; he concludes his depiction of the so-called Rätsel Schweiz with the comment: at the time everyone went to their huts, was silent, and overwintered their livestock. This quote from Müller leads us to a discussion of the role of the cowherd, which has also been a significant part of the national historiography until present. Müller will have been thinking predominantly of cowherds as he wrote, as it was he who was responsible for bringing the term 'herdsman country' to prominence for the pre- and northern Alpine regions between the Appenzell and the Gruyère district.

The figure of the herdsman had a special relevance in the assessment of the national Swiss historiography that was focused on the peasant. Towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the European bourgeoisie began viewing the Swiss Alps in a highly idealised manner, and it followed that the inhabitants of the Alps, with the cowherds seen as their main representatives, were also idealized. In the Schweizerhirte (Swiss herdsman), travellers – often townspeople tired of civilisation – found their saving ideal. The Frankfurt professor Johann Gottfried Ebel, author of the book Schilderung der Gebirgsvölker der Schweiz (Depictions of the Swiss Mountain people), travelled to Glarus and the Appenzell and admired in the 'herdsman of the Appenzell [...] the traits of a healthy mind and proper feeling [...] of these uncrumpled sons of nature [...] and believed to be able to find in them [...] what seemed so hard to combine: simple customs, true humanity of unaffected nature, healthy intelligence, directness of character, rectitude of the soul, and simple trustworthiness. But the travel writers found not only Arcadia in the Alps, but also a stronghold of liberty, as shown by the following quote from Ebel:

That form of government that is called democracy, or the pure rule of the people, and of which we read so much in the history of Greece, is now nowhere in existence but in Switzerland. The range of the Swiss Alps is inhabited by many small peoples who have lived for the last four to five hundred years in a pure democratic constitution, and seem happy. Here though are the herdsmen, reduced in their desires, simple, uneducated, and rough like the mountains that surround them. How exceedingly beneficial were by contrast the conditions with which the Greeks were favoured.16

2 Democracy of the Cantonal Assembly (Landsgemeinde)?

Ebel's enthusiasm was fed by, amongst other things, his visit to an assembly of the Appenzell (Landsgemeinde), the yearly gathering of the male Landeute (fellow countrymen) eligible to vote.17 The assembly will have cemented his notion of the 'pure democratic constitution' of the mountain people. In this, he misjudged the real situation, since Ebel's depiction differs widely from the actual political and social circumstances of eighteenth-century Appenzell. Early information about the cantonal assembly is scarce, not very informative, and above all not contemporary. In the introduction to the older Landbuch of the Appenzell, a cantonal register from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the process of legislation is set out and legitimized.18 According to this entry, in 1409 – shortly after the Appenzell wars – an unnamed Landammann (the chief magistrate) and the Landeute had come together to consult (zu Rate kommen).19 This can be seen as a collective of eligible voters under the leadership of the magistrate, so something akin to an assembly, called Landsgemeinde, functioning as a legislative power. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the legislative competency had obviously moved away from the assembly to the council.20 This loss of meaning as a legislative authority for a certain type of assembly can also be seen in the fewer by-laws (Satzungen) made out by the assembly itself. In the so-called Older Landbuch from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the number of decrees published by the assembly and those by the council members were about equal. Since the 1570s,
However, there is no sign in the sources that the assembly still had anything to do with legislation. The right of co-determination the Landeute held was thus at best slim in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. For instance, the assembly of Appenzell Ausserrhoden did not have the right of discussion. Had the Landeute had a general right of determination, the Landsgemeinde would have decided on all daily business, as was the case in the twentieth century until the assembly of the canton Ausserrhoden was abolished in 1907. This would mean that the assembly decided over war and peace, published new laws, elected the government, conferred citizenship, and swore in members. In actual fact, however, only three of these issues were continuing concerns of the whole assembly: the election of the council members with the magistrat at their head, all conferring of citizenship until the nineteenth century, and the swearing-in. Everything else was addressed by the council members, the so-called gnädige Herren.

Of the democracy of the assembly as Ebel described it in the nineteenth century, there was in actual fact only very little in existence. What he saw on his travels resembled an ‘aristocracy of the Landsgemeinde’ far more. In Ausserrhoden, many political functions remained in the hands of a small leading group for generations, whose members were not peasants or herdsmen but belonged to the social and cultural elite. For over 200 years, the two branches of the textile trading families Zellweger from Trogen supplied provisions to the council member 193 times. Over the course of seventy-four years, a Zellweger sat in the so-called chair, on the platform erected for members of the government at the assembly, and thus held the position of uncrowned cantonal king.

1 According to Nathalie Büser at the book launch of the Appenzeller Landbücher in 2009. Her speech is available to the author of this contribution in manuscript form.

2 For example, Dubach, Gesetz und Verfassung, 105ff. For the eighteenth century, Fabian Brändle, Demokratie und Centralismus. Fünf Landsgemeindekonflikte im 18. Jahrhundert, published dissertation, University of Basel, 2002 (Zürich: Chronos, 2005), 49–110. Brändle cites the two Bernese brothers, Vinzenz Bernhard and Niklaus Emmanuel von Tscharnetz, who visited the Glamer Landsgemeinde in 1749, and afterwards stated: ‘If I am to tell you the truth it seemed to me that this Landsgemeinde which they are so proud of is simply playing a game with freedom and is basically a show to please the people. They have a council of 100 members who decides over war and peace, on the law, and has high aristocratic powers.’ For the lack of modern democratic principles in the democracy of the Landsgemeinde, see Andreas Sutter, ‘Die Genese der direkten Demokratie – Aktuelle Debatte und wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse (part 1), Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte, 61(1) (2003), 456–79, esp. 462–65.


Politically important families such as the Zellweger from Trogen or the Wet- ter from Herisau were also at the top of the economy. Appenzell Ausserrhoden was one of the most highly industrialized regions of Europe in the eighteenth century. Industries in linen and then cotton-weaving had existed there since the late Middle Ages. In the eighteenth century, the so-called Verlagswesen was common: the weaver families received the raw material from the traders, processed it into textile for pay, and in turn left the Europe-wide trade to the merchants. The Zellwegers were one of the most important of these: they visibly expressed their wealth and power by surrounding the assembly place in Trogen with stone palaces. This strongly contradicts the idealized and idyllic peasant and cowherd picture of Ebel and others. The lauded assembly democracy of the ‘mountain people’ of the Appenzell was in reality an aristocratic system governed by textile barons, rather than by herdsmen and peasants.

What do we know about the political structures and the development of communes? How can the participation of the peasants in the government be characterized for the Middle Ages? Was their role really as great as is frequently written? If it is already unclear for the early stages of the Confederacy in 1300 whether peasants took part as ‘founders of the state’, in the fifteenth century the situation becomes even more opaque. That the Confederacy grew like a seed that was planted 1291 in central Switzerland is a widespread topos. Until the fifteenth century, hardly any overriding, pan-state structures existed. The particular interests of the towns and states that kept allying themselves in new and different constellations were predominant. The other notion, also built on the glorified view of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, that the federal states provided a model for the constitutional development of the Confederacy – as was proposed in the earlier quoted example of the travel writer Johann Gottfried Ebel – is also false. In actual fact, the role of the towns was probably much more important, as the examples of St Gallen and the state of Appenzell demonstrate.


Urban Constitutions as Role Model

The Appenzell is a model case for showing that the towns impacted rural constitutional development. In this case, it was the southwestern imperial cities – in the fourteenth century allied in the Swabian League of Cities – with their close relationship between the town of St Gallen as regional centre and regions of the Appenzell as part of the economic catchment area that played an important part. In the late Middle Ages, St Gallen was connected to the most important towns around Lake Constance. The active policy of alliances within the framework of the Swabian League of Cities, of which included more than thirty imperial cities in the 1380s, was the main medium. On 26 September 1377, the inhabitants of the Appenzell, Hundwil, Umnisc, Gaist, and Teufen allied with fifteen Swabian imperial cities, including St Gallen. These Appenzell ‘Ländlein’ (little countries, as they were called) were the first and only non-cities to be admitted to the League. The nearby town of St Gallen and the town Konstanz, by Lake Constance, stood as sponsors. The reason for this lies in the mutual interests of the Appenzell and the town of St Gallen, mainly that of detaching themselves from the authority of the abbey, and to assist each other in that goal. In joining the League, they expected the imperial cities to assist them in their process of emancipation. The conditions for admission, set out in a later document of 22 May 1378 are enlightening; they show the beginnings of constitutional power moving in the direction of a Land (country) Appenzell. St Gallen and Konstanz were to aid the four Ländlein and represent them at the assemblies. The people of the Appenzell were thus put under the care of St Gallen and Konstanz. Konstanz and St Gallen were given comprehensive rights to act in the name of the League and were established as a protective power (Schutzmächte).

The following is important in connection with the question of how the development of the constitution proceeded in the countryside: for the time before the acceptance of the Appenzeller Ländlein into the Swabian League, hardly any traces exist of a Land Appenzell with secure institutions of a political and legal constitution. Contact with the town of St Gallen, whose constitution had been developing since the fourteenth century and was partly

27 Chartularium Sangallense, IX, no. 5966.

already firmly established, was stimulating. The acceptance into the League of Cities now started a new development: the towns demanded that the Land Appenzell institute a body of thirteen men who were to have the capacity to act and take decisions relating to the outside – in contact with the towns – and within. In the towns, these tasks were attended to by the councils. What we can see here are the beginnings of the development of an Appenzell constitution, set in motion by the town of St Gallen and the Swabian League of Cities. There is hardly any sign of a communal movement emerging from the peasantry towards a peasant-influenced democracy of the assembly.

The strong urban influence on the constitutional development of the country is confirmed through a physical seal: attached to the documents of the alliance formed on 4 July 1379 between the thirty-two imperial cities, amongst them St Gallen, and the Appenzell, with the Dukes of Bavaria, the count
furthered mainly by the city of St Gallen, and therefore, from the outside. The leading role of St Gallen is obvious, as the imagery of the newly created Appenzell state seal is closely modelled on that of the city of St Gallen.

The written and illustrated depictions of the Appenzell wars at the beginning of the fifteenth century are in a line with the tradition of the national historiography. The wars are seen as a ‘movement of the people’ (‘Volksbewegung’), a ‘peasant rebellion’, as a battle between the peasants and the regional rulers – the Abbey of St Gall. The Appenzell wars, often called the ‘Appenzell wars of liberation’, are thus presented as an exemplar of communalism emerging from the peasant population.

The historiography of the Appenzell reads like a smaller version of the early history of the Swiss Confederacy. Both for the Appenzell and for central Switzerland, similar constitutional developments – the ‘state formation from below’ – have been promoted. In both cases, the topos of the cantonal assembly-herdsman democracy (Landsgemeinde-Hirtendemokratie) is common. Both – the people of central Switzerland in the wars for freedom in the fourteenth century and the people of the Appenzell in the battles of Vögelinsegg in 1403 and by the Stoss in 1405 – had apparently heroically fought to rescue themselves from territorial rule. A quote from the book entitled *Schweizer- schlachten (Swiss Battles)* by Hans Rudolf Kurt exemplifies this:

> The hot pursuit of freedom from the power of the aristocracy in order to independently control their fate that in the fourteenth century ruled the thoughts and actions of the states and towns of the eight confederate localities and that forced a violent decision through the wars of liberation also led to bloody controversies between the Ländchen and the Abbey of Saint Gall [...]. In the same spirit, the victories won at Morgarten, Sempach, and Näfels gave enormous stimulus to the striving for freedom of the people of Appenzell [...]. In a surprising inner and outer similarity in both battles of the Appenzell, the battle for freedom of the forest cantons (*Waldstätten*) and the Glarus repeated itself. In both cases, a people filled with the aspiration of freedom rises against its oppressors and rather chooses death in battle than the continuation of an unbearable rule.\(^\text{35}\)

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The parallels drawn by Kurt are striking. Both the people from the Appenzell and those from central Switzerland are seen as being unafraid, courageous, freedom-loving peasants. William Tell, the confederate figure of battle and freedom, is opposite the equally legendary figure of Uli Rotach who, as the picture at the start of this contribution showed, is to have given his life in heroic battle, with his back to the wall in a hot seat on fire by his enemies. As the most important detail of the legend, it is recorded that he chose — after killing some of his enemies — to give up his life in the flames rather than allow himself to be taken.

The common name 'Appenzeller Freiheitskriege' points to the widespread idea that it had been a fight limited to rural society against territorial rulers. This view is false and indebted to the local patriotic viewpoint of the Appenzell. The so-called Appenzell liberation wars are in fact a perfect example of town and country acting in conjunction against their rulers.

The urban contribution is especially obvious when you ask the question of who actually fought in the so-called Appenzell wars. The battle of the Stoss on 17 June 1405 is seen as the culmination of the wars and as an exemplar of how the peasant fighters defeated an army comprised of nobles and townspeople. The not wholly historically verifiable figure of Uli Rotach symbolizes the courage, the power, and the willingness to sacrifice oneself of the Appenzell people. The sources tend to argue against a real existence; however, due to numerous paintings and prints, Uli Rotach took on an ever more real appearance in the nineteenth and twentieth century. One decisive contribution undermining the existence of this symbol of the Appenzell struggle for liberation came in 1936. At the behest of the Appenzell Innerhoden government, a so-called Fahrtribef (pilgrimage letter) had been created for the yearly pilgrimage to the place of the battle, the Stoss. The text written by the Landschreiber (head clerk of the chancery) was to '[...]' on the basis of irrefutable historical facts, impressively show why the procession to Stoss was being undertaken. This rather late testimony was justified by the fact that it was 'what actually would have been expected from our ancestors when they took the pilgrimage oath.'

In 1933, the Fahrtribef was looked at by a conservator from the Swiss National Museum, and the text was translated into understandable High German. Finally, the Fahrtribef was given a "proper charter-like appearance" and the state seal attached. With this pseudo-medieval document, a state-sanctioned conception of history including Uli Rotach was constructed that — due to the religious context of the pilgrimage — ultimately eludes any critical discussion — but could easily be used for the geistige Landesschutz (the moral defence of the nation during and after the Second World War).

Peasant state ideology and facts could hardly lie further apart than in this case. There are hardly any reliable sources for the battle of the Stoss, and even archaeological finds are lacking. This is quite different from the second military operation on the same day in front of the gates of the town of St Gallen. One part of the attacking army under Austrian command had not moved towards the Stoss, but beleaguered the town St Gallen, as an ally of the people of Appenzell. In front of the town — and thus not at the Stoss — was the Duke of Austria, from one contemporary entry in the oldest necrology of the St Gall church of St Laurence, it is evident that thirty members of the ducal army and two St Gall citizens ("de nostris") fell in battle and that, to commemorate them,
Economic Spread of the Town to the Surrounding Countryside

The facts presented here show clearly how strongly the idea of Switzerland as a ‘peasant state’ distorts the view of the facts. In the Middle Ages, the towns were the economic centres with strong ties to the countryside; this is the case for Switzerland as a whole, and also for the eastern part of it. St Gallen was the largest and most important town in the region. The food supply of grain, meat, dairy products, and meat stock was based in large part on the delivery from the surrounding countryside. Conversely, the rural population bought commodities at the town market. Added to that, many estates in the countryside were the possessions of townspeople and urban institutions. This enabled the town to directly influence the rural economy and enforce commercial interests.


44 Peter Bickel, Aufbruch und Ernährung, 195.

After 1390, significant changes are noticeable with the emergence of social climbers in the fourteenth century. Many of these came from the hinterland of Glarus, some of which violently enforced their economic interests, which were focused on export. Similar to the northeastern part of Switzerland, where the strong influence of the town of St Gallen on the countryside is perceptible, in Glarus you can see the influence of Zurich. The economic interests of this centre were what played the most important part, something that can be demonstrated very well by the animal husbandry and Alpine economy. The beginning of commercialization of the Alpine economy, at first with foreign livestock, became the most influential economic system in Glarus, and this lasted until the mid-fifteenth century. The loans for the capital-intensive trade in animals mainly came from Zurich; the farmers mentioned above, between Glarus and Zurich, functioned as 'door-openers'. As in the case of St Gallen and the Appenzell, in the case of the intertwined economy of Zurich and Glarus, hardly any distinctions can be made between urban and rural interests. The dependency of the town manifests in yet another aspect: it was not only Glarus's exports that tied the Land to the town, the imports did, too. Glarus imported massive amounts of grain, with Zurich playing an important part as the place of acquisition.  

We can assume that this grain came from southwestern Germany in the Middle Ages; Zurich was effectively the regional distribution centre. This dependency of Glarus on the transport of foodstuffs is connected to the intensification of the export-orientated Alpine and pasture economy. Here, too, there are parallels to eastern Switzerland: the specializing in livestock farming in the pre-Alpine Appenzell backed by the town of St Gallen and the dependency on Swabian grain imports.  

Economic interests were a strong reason to intensify political relations. In eastern Switzerland, one can draw attention to the Swabian League of Cities discussed above, where the town of St Gallen urged the Swabian cities to accept Appenzell from own economic interests in its surroundings. Later, during the Appenzell wars at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the town of St Gallen again formed alliances with surrounding communities. Here, too, we can see parallels between the town of St Gallen / Appenzell on the one hand, and the town of Zurich and parts of its surrounding countryside on the other: in 1408, Zurich entered into an alliance with Glarus, although one that was strongly tailored to the interests of Zurich. Glarus represents only one of the places Zurich was reaching out to in relation to economic and political issues.

The region of Schwyz also presented a natural hinterland, and in a slightly less pronounced way this was also the case for Uri. Over a long period of time, the influence of the town was primarily tied up with the activities of the towns' citizens. What Roger Salzmann has observed concerning Zurich and central Switzerland agrees with our observations of eastern Switzerland: he starts with the premise that the political influence of the towns was already greater in the fourteenth century than previously assumed. He also believes that: '[...] the written constitutionalism of central Switzerland as we see it in alliances and royal documents may well have occurred due to stimulus from the town. The interest of the towns to organize the hinterland is shown in the inclusion of the Länder in the League of Cities in 1327.'

The circumstances depicted here show the role played by the towns in the late Middle Ages: in the fourteenth century, the towns grew more and more important, generally and also within the Swiss Confederacy. They were not only economically, but also politically setting the tone and reaching out to the countryside.

5 Instead of Peasant Myths

Concluding, we can say that the assumption that the late medieval Confederacy had been a 'peasant state' cannot be upheld. Regional studies, based on the evaluation of archival sources, show that in late medieval Switzerland the towns grew increasingly prominent. It has become clearer and clearer that the towns, rather than the Länderorte, were the most influential in the politics and economy of the Old Confederacy. The examples mentioned above of the town-countryside relations in eastern Switzerland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries underline this. Images of Switzerland as a peasant state have no basis in academic historical research and need to be explained through the political discourse that ultimately in Switzerland still exists to this day. In a political study of the early 1990s, it was shown that although only 4 percent of the Swiss population are farmers, 40 percent of Swiss people still identify strongly with agriculture and the rural farming population.

Much more important than celebrating myths surrounding the peasant is the study of the living conditions of real peasants. This means that the discussion

47 Kamm, Landwirtschaftliche Entwicklung, 20ff. and 24ff.
49 Salzmann, Gründungszeit ohne Eidgenossen, 50. See also Thomas Maisen, Geschichte der Schweiz (Baden: Hier & Jest, 2001), 24-25.
50 Salzmann, Gründungszeit ohne Eidgenossen, 189-190.
51 See Urs Paul Engeler, 'Der Tanz ums Kälb. Hirne, Held und Heimatschütze – der Schweizer bleibt in seinem Herzen, was er nie war: ein Bauer aus dem Bilderbuch, Bauern, was man's 112. Folio (3/1994), 49-55, esp. 42.
should be guided again towards the study of rural society – by far the greatest part of the population until far into the early modern period. It is to be remembered that there were close links between town and countryside – cooperation and dependencies.\textsuperscript{52} Swiss historiography has already much innovative research to offer, but the archives still contain many sources that have not yet been studied. The challenge of the future will be to make sure the rich tradition of economic and social historical research is not abandoned. To achieve this, the combined effort of many different institutions is needed, above all that of universities and archives. How fruitful the cooperation between teaching, research, and archival study can be is shown by such long-term projects as that on historical demographies\textsuperscript{53} led by Markus Mattmüller (University of Basel) or that of Roger Sablonier (University of Zurich) on rural society.\textsuperscript{54} These have led to countless MA theses and doctoral studies on different Swiss regions that have significantly broadened the current state of research on the economic, social, and cultural history of the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and that also found their way into international discussion.\textsuperscript{55}


The Northern World
NORTH EUROPE AND THE BALTIC C.400–1700 AD
PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES

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VOLUME 89

Peasants, Lords, and State

Comparing Peasant Conditions in Scandinavia
and the Eastern Alpine Region, 1000–1750

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The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/nw

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Other titles: Comparing peasant conditions in Scandinavia and the Eastern Alpine region, 1000-1750.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2020] | Series: The Northern world, 1500-1462 ; Vol. 89 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020044555 (print) | LCCN 2020044556 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004455769 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004455783 (ebook)
Classification: LCC HD1596.S9 P33 2020 (print) | LCC HD1596.S9 (ebook)
| DDC 955.5/6395680902—dc23
| LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020044555
| LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020044556


ISBN 1569-1462

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Heine & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mensis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Printed by Printforce, the Netherlands

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