

Agronomic economics

Colerus *Oikonomiae*

1 Introduction

In the Lutheran areas of the Holy Empire the printers/publishers meet next to the land owners an additional market segment: the Protestant vicars, who have to feed themselves from their own fields. Many of them are familiar with the *Oeconomia Christiana*, because they had read it as students. Justus Menius had become the authority for economics at the Universities with a Protestant signature. These vicars do look at their neighbors in order to find out what and how to sow and grow, as Critoboulos had suggested in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*, when he refused to teach Socrates the art of agriculture. But as confirmed and eager readers they also buy the classical works on agronomy and the *Ruralia Commoda* by Pietro de' Crescenzi.

These farming and gardening vicars in the Lutheran areas of Western Europe constitute not only a specific market segment of readers, quite a few of them also become authors on agronomy themselves. They endeavor to describe the sowing, growing and harvesting practices of the local farmers but feel that the rules for the government of the house should precede the extensive description of these agricultural habits. This way still on more kind of original economics seems to enter the scene, because these vicars like to use *Oeconomia* in the title of their works.

The first person to do this is Johann Colerus or Johannes Colerus (1570-1639) as he called himself in Latin. Still in his twenties he composes such a work, very much helped by the notes on the local agricultural habits which his father Jacob, also a vicar, had penned down in Silesia. Son Johannes gets his *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* (*House government of the land and of the house*) published from 1592 onwards. This monumental work consist of one chapter with traces of original economics and many books about agronomy but they are not all. He brings all the arts which have to do with food production together.

Being a Lutheran vicar he addresses not only the pater familias, but also his wife. Colerus inserts two books about the activities that the mother of the house manages. The second book of the *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* elaborates her function of preserving the goods that are brought into the house, it tells how she should grind the flour, bake, make vinegar and brew all sorts of beer and brandyⁱ. The third book offers a handbook for the art of cooking in the German speaking countries. Moreover, in the book about horticulture is still discussed which medicinal plants should be present in the garden and the governess of the house should handle them.

So the *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* deals primarily and foremost with the acquisition and production of food, in one word with the alimentation (Germ.: Nahrung) of the house. So a more truthful title of his work than *House government of the land and of the house* would have been *The art of alimentation, preceded by some house government*.

The book of Colerus is an immediate successⁱⁱ. From 1618 onwards life in Middle Europe becomes very difficult, when a series of religious wars start, called the thirty years war (1618-1648), one of the most destructive wars in history. It begins when the Holy Roman Emperor tries to impose religious uniformity in his empire, and its protestant northern states band together but are defeated. Then Sweden and France decide to help the league of Protestant states. Spain supports the Catholic emperor and gradually all European powers get involved. The war only ends in 1648 with the peace treaty of Münster.

After 1648 not only this book of Colerus, who had died during the war, will be reprinted regularly but in due course some fifteen authors, vicars in the first place but also a few members of the landed gentry, will elaborate his theory and adapt his agronomic concepts. Some of these successors will direct their attention to the higher personnel; other authors specialize on a particular region. These huge works together will later become called the *Hausväterliteratur* (*Housefathers literature*), which title unfortunately does not show that house mothers are addressed as well.

One may observe that original economics is recognizable indeed in the first chapter of the *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica*, which I translate and summarize here. It only seems to function, however, as a kind of introduction to householding rules, which appear already on the fifth page. As the *Hausväterliteratur* evolves, the tenets of original economics become more and more invisible, to become completely invisible in the eighteenth century. (to be checked).

Johannes Colerus was born in 1670 in Adelsdorf in Silesiaⁱⁱⁱ. He studied medicine at the University of Frankfurt/Oder, which and during this study travelled to Vienna and Italy. He seems not to have finished this study. In any case in those years he acquired a substantial knowledge of medicinal herbs. He then studied law in Breslau, which study he did finish. . Then he started a study in Theology. In 1595 he received his master of theology in Jena. In the meantime he had achieved the editing of a *Calendarium* (*Calendar*) , containing the agrarian activities grouped per month (in 1592) and the first volume of his *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* (in 1593), which are the books 1,2 and 3. Both were based on the notes of his father. The rest of the six volumes of this work he successively publishes after his masters in theology, the last one in 1599. This editing must have absorbed him, because he only took s up his first vicarship in 1601, six years after his graduation as theologian. He was not able to fulfill his ambition to write a Politics^{iv} and a Military handbook, because he became too busy with the work for his parish. As 'Streit-theologe' (fight-theologian) he decided to write quite another book. In 1616, working as a vicar in Parchim, he published *Oeconomia Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical government of the house*^v), which has nothing to do with original economics. Herein Colerus systematically compares the doctrines of the Calvinists, the Anabaptists and the Muslims with the Lutheran belief. He becomes Professor in philosophy at the university of Frankfurt/Oder, from which he retires in 1629. He dies as a vicar again in Parchim in 1639.

2 Summary of the first book of *Oeconomiae* or *About householding*.

Ch. 1: About the people also that have written before about the oeconomia:

Many people will declare me a fool *that I am going to take upon myself to write about such bad and low things*. (p. 1) If they were wiser, however, they would acknowledge that oeconomia is a difficult art and be glad instead that we write these books and they rather should study them day and night. The love for the good requires that one assist one's neighbor in word and deed, which is the reason for me to write this book..

In early times excellent thinkers, who occupied themselves with high, powerful matters *also even dealt with such matters long before me and have written many beautiful things about householding, cattle-breeding, agriculture, gardens, wine-mountains, bees and other domestic matters*. (p. 2) One sees it in Xenophon, Aristotle, Hesiod, Theocritus^{vi}, Vergil, Cato, Varro, Columella, Cicero, Pliny, Pietro de' Crescenzi, Constantine IV^{vii} and many other good masters of a house and physicists.

That is why we have to say: < Let the present time judge badly, the judgment of posterity will be better.> (p. 2)

Ch. 2: What Oeconomia or house holding is.

Οικονομος, dispensator, a householder, from οίκος and νεμειν, what distributes, disposes and decides about the things that belong to the family good^{viii}; οικονομική, ars Oeconomica, or house holding, is nothing else than a special skill with regard to everything which a master of the house within and outside the house has inherited and acquired to make it productive in such a way, that not only he, his wife, children, servants and cattle stay alive in difficult circumstances, but he also the whole year through can avail of something more, so that he can do good to and serve churches and school in his country, wife and children, good friends or other members of the house or else to poor people. (p. 2) For the right householder should not only acquire but also create a surplus and preserve all and put this surplus away against disaster and corrosion and for honor and service. Otherwise he would be like the proverbial bucket with holes in it and never become rich. A German proverb expresses the same. That is why a master of the house has to be wise, prudent, careful, thrifty and moreover industrious (--) (p. 2)

Given this, a master of a house has to divide his house holding in three or four parts. The first part is for seeds for agriculture. The second part is for the maintenance of himself, his wife, his children, his personnel and his cattle. The third part is for the blacksmith and farmstead constructor, the church and the government. What is left is, is put away. *In short: Oeconomia is an art or skill to manage the manor. The subject or materia in qua, with which she deals, of this art is to drive the house holding, that is to stimulate the house holding and act in such a way that the food does not diminish but builds up and from to day to day becomes more and larger, grows and increases, so that one can have his temporary existence from it. (p. 2)*

A master of the house should pay attention to three things: (1) avoiding all bad and not to let arise vice in the house; (2) being prudent and industrious and to knowing his art and diligently practicing it in order to it acquire the necessities of life and (3) maintaining discipline and honorability in the house and on the farmyard and knowing how to behave towards his wife and his children. (p. 2)

He should especially beware of the bad, especially laziness, rudeness, negligence and games, desire to eat delicacies, to drink and to wear beautiful clothes. Unchastity, drunkenness and ambition should be avoided too.

If somebody asks here what kind of art a father of the house needs to know, Cicero says that amongst the acquisitive activities, nothing is better than agriculture. In my eyes, however, the artisanal professions usually make it possible to make a living and often earn a good income as well. That a good master of the house takes care well of garden, meadows, dikes and wood personally cannot be reproached to pious and industrious people. Cattle breeding is important too. *With all these things the master brings the whole year through much goods into the house and ensures that he, his wife, his children and his personnel will not be in want. (p. 2)*

Ch. 3: How many oeconomiae exist.

There are generally speaking two kinds of oeconomia in the world, a spiritual and material one. (p. 2)

The spiritual one is a matter of bishops, vicars and preachers, about which we are not going to say anything. The second one is a matter of citizens, farmers, nobles and princes. So we can talk about the princely household, the baronial household, the household of cities and the civilian or private household^x. The princely household, *which deals with coins, toll, commerce, war and other business (p. 3), we will mention in passing. About the baronial householding, which everybody has on its grounds and soil we will not particularly much here^x but only about the civilian and farming (householding), that is the private alimentation^{xi}. (p. 3)* In our chapters to come, however, we will try to make available material that is also useful for princes and nobles and all others who deal with alimentation.

Ch. 4: About the persons that belong to a household.

The oeconomia is a monarchy, that is a government in which only one rules and governs, namely the landlord in the house, who alone must be the master lord in the house (p. 3) to whom the whole house has to direct itself, that is a wife, a bunch of children and a bunch of farmhands and maidservants, who have to follow the master. For when the farmhand wants to be more than the lord, the maidservants more than the wife in the house, than the house government^{xii} will not last long, like Homer writes^{xiii}: Many cannot govern at the same time. Only one ought to be in a monarchy. (p. 3)

Ch. 5: About the master of the house

A master of the house should be a devout, wise, prudent, experienced and well-behaving man, who has God before his eyes, diligently prays and works, and does not do injustice to anybody, nor to his neighbors, nor to his personnel, because this way one receives love and friendship and goodwill from of all people. (p. 3). He should know the local situation well, govern his wife, children and personnel with great modesty and tell each of them every day their tasks in the alimentation. He should also know the nature and properties of the locations in his power and know the usage of the different fields, fishing rights, etc., as well as what on every location grows and what does not grow there, because every field has its own characteristics. See Pliny, book 17, ch. 5 and book 18, ch. 22.

Columella confirms this on two places. (p. 3)^{xiv}

He should watch carefully what his neighbors with a long experience grow and should follow them. As Socrates used to say: he should be the last to go to bed and the first to rise again (p. 3) and visit all locations in and outside the town or village often and industriously check if one is dealing well with his estates. As one uses to say <The best manure, which feeds the field the best, falls from the shoe of the master> and <The eye of the master compels the horse.> and <The eye of the master makes the horse fat.>

*The governor of the house should not be ashamed to visit the farmsteads in the morning and even to rise at night to check if no thieves are around and no personnel is still active, as Aristotle says in *Oeconomia* and Xenophon too. He should possess the heart of a man and not allow that the wife, the farmhands or the maidservants dominate him. If their advice is wise, however, he should follow them as Cato says, because <more eyes see more than one>. Sirach 4 says too: <Don't behave yourself like a lion in the house >. Only in case of emergency go against wife and personnel and break their disobedience. He should also make himself surrounded with industrious, capable personnel, that prays to God and is disciplined and honorable: forbid cursing and all rash. He should spend much energy and all industry on the children, so that they are educated in the right true fear of God, in good arts and habits, and that they are kept very honest.*

Because they are the anima domus, the soul of the house, for the benefit of whom God blesses the whole house and grants success with all alimentation (p. 4). If they behave well, they can accomplish much with God. So it is rightly said that the children do not eat with us but that rather we eat with the children (p. 4)

*The master of the house should protect his wife and stick to her and not treat her badly for if personnel sees or hears this it does not respect the mistress of the house anymore and will not obey her any longer, which might do substantial damage to the alimentation of the master of the house. In short: the way the master behaves in the house, is the way the personnel behaves towards him (p. 4). He should not mix with the personnel too much to talk and play with them, because by doing this he might lose his authority. He should prevent distress of his personnel from a lack of drinks and food or because of cold, as Cato says in book 5. According to this author he should also prevent that they have nothing to do. Aristotle in *Oeconomia*, I <Up to farmhands are three things: work, punishment and food and drinks. This wants Sirach 33 too. Aristotle, by the way, does not want to give wine to the laborers. (p. 4)*

Here occurs to me one necessary rule, which I have to give to every master of the house but with which I will entrust him in secret, so that his wife will know nothing about it. (p. 4) After the first fall the devil has equipped the poor female sex with the desire to be held in esteem and to ask their husbands regularly for beautiful clothing, conspicuity, jewelry and a large, high house. The devil suggested Eva: <You should become like the Gods> (Gen. 3:4). *That is why a master of the house often has to call his wife < fundi sui calamitatem>, that is the disaster of his alimentation^{xv}. (p. 4)* He should therefore convince his wife that one cannot spend more than one has. It is crazy to spend money on cloths that are worn in one year or on a large heap of stones. A small house with something inside is much better than a large house with empty barns and large debts. A good master of the house will have always enough money in his cabinet to be able to buy everything for his alimentation that he does not produce himself during the year on the right moment, like wood, for supply is not constant.

Nevertheless, he should not be an *emax* (buyer, purchaser DN) but rather a *vendax* (seller DN), not buy but rather sell much. He should, for instance, stimulate his wife, children and personnel to make cloths from the hides of the horses, oxen and goats and only sell those if they are not needed for own consumption. Grease and fat should be on stock for the maintenance of the utensils and carts. Old parts should not be burned but stored. It is quite annoying to borrow something from the neighbor for this will not be a problem the first time but the second time he will say. <buy one yourself!> , in your face or behind your back. *In short: Money and goods are acquired by industry and trouble, and by a honorable and honest thrift, as Cicero says: Thrift is like a continuous toll, which unexpectedly comes to fly into the house^{xvi}. (p. 4)*

He should also watch that the buildings are repaired so that the rain nowhere enters. The fires should be extinguished and at night and the oven should be closed. The personnel should be warned to be careful with the lights at night.

Ch. 6: About the mistress of the house

The house wife should also be pious and devout, love her husband and like to sleep with him, should like discipline and virtue and just like the master of the house she should give the proper examples to children and personnel. (p. 5) The most effort should be spend on the education of the children. She should not trust the personnel and close well away what is hers and *wear the keys always on her belt, certainly when she is not at home. (p. 5)* One rather should not give any of the keys to the personnel and the lord and the mistress of the house should not hesitate, if they need something from cellar, coffin or cabinet, to go and get it themselves. Neither should they trust the keys to their children, who often are seduced by the personnel.

That is why the honest master and the honest mistress of the house have to be good detectives (p. 5). They should look especially in the beds and the bedstraw of the farmhands and maidservants as well as the other locations which they themselves do not regularly visit, because those are the places where they are hiding things. One should once in a while, when they are away, open their chest for which one needs a master-key. *Of course one should keep this key away from the personnel, to prevent to be paid back in one's own coin as the saying goes : < malum consilium consultori pessimum (a bad advice turns out the worst for the advisor DN)>. (p. 5)*

The thieves often have receivers in other houses. The government should punish them more severely than other ordinary thieves, because receivers *are thieves in duplicate and triplicate. (p. 5)*

Smoked meat, sausages, dried fish, etc., which one use to hang up in the house has to be counted every day and stored well, (one had rather use a special room for this), *because it uses to get feathers and wings and flies away, so that nobody knows unto where it has disappeared. (p. 5)*

One should especially watch the personnel at the gates. Often there are secretly slaughtered sheep etc., and the flesh is brought to the woods and hidden there in caves. If one permits this to happen, how easy it is to hide eggs, fruits, etc. there. I have experienced this.

As soon in the morning as the mistress of the house arises, she should walk through the whole house to see if something should be done and especially if the cattle has been fed well. This round should be repeated several times during the day.

Because a drawing ox requires its food and feed, also the personnel should be given food and drinks according to need and at the proper time which should be prepared in such a way that it can enjoy it for its health and strength it brings. (p. 5) At the end of their contract they should receive their loan honestly and preferably be rewarded better than one had agreed.

A master of the house should not praise his personnel in their presence (--) to prevent that it becomes proud and after this will do no good anymore. (p. 5) In many cases they will start to reign and govern^{xvii} and will stop with obeying master, wife and children.

A mistress of the house should not be excessively interested in clothing, and ornaments. This makes the house holding difficult for the lord. Not beautiful cloths but virtue, discipline, honorableness, truth, piety, mildness, taciturnity, softness, humility, thrift and a fair and reasonable mind decorate the image of a wife.

A female should also stay inside the house and take into the house what the husband has acquired and brought to the house and put it on the right place and conserve it well, and distribute faultlessly whatever one can and wants to consume. (p. 5) She should not spend in a month what should be kept for a year. What she has to keep, she cautiously should put away, so that dogs, hares, rats and large and small mice do not drag them away. (p. 5) She should not object to getting imposed heavier burdens from the husband than the personnel of the house. For the house-personnel is only charged with the conservation and care of the goods but the lady also has the enjoyment of them as mistress and possessor of the whole house. (p. 5) She should not leave the house and much less even leave the window half open to lean outside and talk with people. Going out to dance and theatre plays is not a proper thing for a honest wife to do because she can be accused of frivolity and it does not contribute to alimentation. That is why the Old have compared the wife with a snail, which always takes her house with her. (p. 6) She should obey her husband in all reasonable matters and when he makes mistakes, accept them. She should follow him not only in times of fortune but also in times of hardness and then pray to God to relieve the problems. We could write here much more about the function of the spouses but in our opinion this is not really necessary. Now we are going to discuss the household and we discuss only with regard to these persons how they should behave themselves in their householding or alimentation. (p. 6)

Ch. 7: About the children

Children should be obedient to their parents and their tutors, help them by observing what is happening in all corners and if they see something which is not right, not keeping this from their parents. (p. 6). They should not collude with the personnel and certainly not scold at them, for when discord reigns amongst the servants the alimentation of the master is damaged, because they will forget some of their tasks. That is why Cato writes in book 5: < Litibus familia supersedeat: Let the personnel not quarrel >. (p. 6) They should not let down their parents by secretly giving something to the personnel. They should not become too close with the personnel in other ways either, in order to avoid that they will be become stained with bad morals, which will not be cleansed from them during the rest of their lives.

Children should be less stimulated to spend their free time with eating, drinking or playing games and dice than with soberness, thrift, sincerity and honesty, in order that the personnel during the absence of the parents will not make them do something shameful, what they do not dare to tell to their parents. Parents and children should not discuss in the presence of personnel what they want to keep secret, because it will soon be known amongst the neighbors. It is not bad that children because of their corporeal development learn to fight, shoot, hunt, fish and catch birds, etc., because this all serves the alimentation, just like (they learn) cooking, procuring, writing, counting, speaking languages, negotiating about prices, in short all what is useful and advantageous for the household. (p. 6)

Ch. 8: About the farmhands

Without farmhands and maidservants a master of the house cannot feed himself. That is why Plutarch and Aristotle call the farmhand a living member of the master^{xviii}. (p. 6) What kind of

farmhands and maidservants and how many he needs, however, the actual house holding will teach him. *For a large house one should take a house holder, curator, villicus, oeconomus, or even a bailiff, who sees to everything of the other farmhands and governs^{xix} them, like Abraham's Eliezer had all Abraham's house holding under his authority and power.* (p. 6) In the large households one also needs a cattle-mother, who looks after the maidservants and the cattle. These two persons should be invested with authority and he should admonish the personnel to obey them and not easily believe the other servants when they make complaints about them.

The farmhands should be pious, sober, alert, loyal and industrious. They should faithfully care for the horses, oxen and sheep; day and night.^{xx} They should also industriously look after the fields and be prepared to perform the choruses at the times that they have to be done in agriculture.

A farmhand who does not love the horses and likes to give them food but instead for instance beats them or steals their oat to sell it, should be punished by the master of the house immediately after, because he may causes huge damage to him. Horse meat is expensive and the lord sees fast whether a horse is badly cared for. That is why the saying <The eye of the master makes the horse fat> is right. *There is an old proverb: <As many farmhands someone has in the house, as much thieves one has too>*(p. 6) . So a house father should keep the cupboards and cellars with victuals closed, whatever loyal the servants are. He should also once in a while secretly nose around: often he will find beer, cheese, smoked flesh and so on. When the horses are being fettered with straw and oats, he should join the farmhands, to make sure that they do not separate anything for themselves to sell it. They should not be allowed to visit other houses frequently and to come home at night lately.

Farmhands from other houses should not visit them frequently in the barns either because it keeps the farmhands from working. Farmhands should not joke around with maidservants and nor should couples separate themselves in corners, to avoid suspicion. It often happens that one has to ask those who are badly needed to stop with it or to make their marriage but if one observes their intention to form a family, one had better dismiss them as soon as possible. Because troubles usually are made in the harvest time, when the servants are most wanted, it is right to give everyone his wage at the end of the contract, in order to keep some power over them during the year *One should know that personnel that so lightly and often demands its wage, seldom serves till the end of its term.* (p. 7)

Often farmhands as well as maidservants, soon after they have become employed, make the keys lost, so that they are not able to do anything. The master of the house has to react understandingly so that they can grow in their work. But later he should address them strictly, so that they get respect for him. *When the farmhands want to manage the gentlemen and the maidservants the ladies, something goes quite wrong with the alimentation.* (p. 7)

Often personnel does not accept the distribution of the work and do not take up some of the activities, which should be performed and come up with alternative suggestions for organizing the activities. These lose thoughts one should accept. One, of course, knows what is usual, like that menservants normally do not spin but if a farmhand or a maidservant wants to be of service by doing something unusual, why not? It might be useful in case of emergency, when everybody has to give a helping hand to everybody and nobody can stick to his own job. Generally spoken, however, everybody wants to eat, drink and sleep in a soft bed to the same degree.

Ch. 9: About the maidservants

Although almost everything what we have said about the farmhands is valid for the maidservants as well, *necessity and order require that we say specifically something about the maidservants.* (p. 7)

They have to be disciplined and quiet, meek, industrious and laborious. They too have to keep themselves to the word of God and the holy Sacrament, being conscious that they serve God, Who will reward them for their services later greatly, rather than man.

These people should especially guard against thieving, hanging about, fight and discord, cursing, swearing, witchcraft and all disorderly being and living. Cato: Book V: <Litibus familia supersedeat.>. The servants should not quarrel amongst themselves (p. 7), although sometimes quarrels between

them help to discover what otherwise stays hidden. Neither should they make agreements with the farmhands and secretly steal some food or drinks and then at night, when husband wife and children have gone to bed, go drinking and gossiping together. This way the female cook and female cellar custodian often are close. All secret get-togethers are dangerous. That is why the wife has to watch that the maidservants stick to their jobs and do what is commanded them. Moreover, they use to let in the female bear trainer or poor women-thieves or female friends in the very early morning, before the lord and his wife have come down or when they are gone, to give them the leftovers of the day before. They pour them sometimes a large finger of milk and tell them that nothing more can be given, because the cattle still needs to eat. To these practices one has to put to an end.

They should with special industry and faithfully take care of the cattle, like to feed them and to lay the food before them, observe the right feeding time (p. 8) If they get awake at night they should listen to the cattle if something is wrong with it. When a cattle does not eat or shows other symptoms of illness they should warn the master and mistress who then can take the proper measures.

A shameful matter is personnel that is slow, lazy and sleepy, (p. 8) because they sleep the night through and rise difficultly in the morning. There are people whom one has to carry away with their beds, before they wake up! At night the maidservants should have a good sleep, but they should be attentive to the cattle too. Lazy maidservants are not really helpful to the wife when it comes to spinning in the evening either, because they fall asleep over the spinning wheel.

The personnel should in the evening, before the meal begins, check if the doors and gate are closed, so that nobody enters during the meal.

The maidservants should also pay attention to the torches well, so that these are always prepared and ready, when one needs light or fire, be it during the day or at night. (p. 8) At night a birth may happen of a child or a young calve or the master and mistress may become ill. When one has to make light and does not get it, disaster may follow.

Moreover, one should watch at all times fire, stoves and lights. Maidservants and farmhands should close gate and doors summer and winter, day and night, just like the doors of the rooms and the house. The cattle should be watched. At night one should have active dogs that run around the house and start barking if a stranger comes near the house. A dagger and a loaded gun at the bed are not bad either. *The point is that at night nobody is a friend; let nobody come near the house, that you do not know well.* (p. 8) In winter time the fire from the hearth has to be thrown in the stove and the stove closed well, to prevent that the dogs or hares run away with piece of coal and create a fire. It has happened that children in the summer crept under the bed with candles lit and started a fire that made a total village disappear or that this happened because parents and personnel were busy with harvesting, while the children made a fire. *That is why a master and mistress or personnel always have to pay attention to the fire, because a small spark easily burns down a village or city.* (p. 8).

Likewise lords and wives should look well after their keys and locks and maintain them securely guarded: it is to be expected that the servants, once lords and wives have turned their back on them, get hold of the keys and rapidly steal something. (p. 8) Moreover one should have a pass-key and copy-keys. Although these are the tools of thieves but in this case the possession of them is honorable because necessity does not know laws. They are useful when a key is lost or broken. *I have also heard say, that they sometimes visit the cabinets of the maidservants and farmhands, and often found therein, what was stolen from them.* (p. 8) Although one should not praise the master and mistress for this but one should take also into account that they do not do this to steal but to proof that servants are to be trusted. On the other hand who steals will move the stolen goods not to his cabinet but rather to other houses.

The maidservants should watch their words and gestures so that they do not give offence to the children and lose their good name (p. 8/9) They should not be obstinate and not revolt against the wife. *If this happens the heart of the wife should snap shut and she should address the girl, so that the farmhands and the maidservants as well as the lord himself dislike her.* (p. 9) A servant that obeys his master and mistress and once in a while can listen and is industrious in what he has to do, leads to honor. His master and mistress will promote him later and make it possible to improve his own

alimentation. What is disloyal, thievish etc., will certainly receive his judgment later, for our Lord God does not leave anything without retaliation. <*Loyal hands come through all lands.*> <*Loyalty brings bread, disloyalty suffers scarcity.*> (p. 9)

Still one thing, more or less by way of a conclusion of the doctrine about the servants, has to be mentioned here. *The masters of the house always have the largest complaints about the bad, disloyal and perjurious behavior of the servants.* (p. 9) If they talk to them about it, however, the servants do not want to listen and run away, especially in times when it is very busy, like in the harvest time. Therefore the government should keep a special eye at such personnel and seriously, by toughness in prisons and heavy punishment force them to serve their lords and ladies to the end and to obey them.

It would be a good thing if one would not put up or employ such unemployed personnel, unless it can show a letter of good conduct, which tells why it was dismissed, as Emperor Maximilian of Austria decreed in Vienna on October 26th in 1568 for maidservants. His majesty will be able to punish her when she deviates from what this passport says. Not being able to write or read will not be an excuse. *Lord and maidservants should find the landowner, overseer, judges or other authorities of the places where they live and ask them to write such a message against payment (--).* (p. 9) The Emperor has commanded all authorities to enforce this decree.

A bad custom in this region is to hire personnel and especially maidservants only for a quarter of a year and not for a year. The servants and the master and mistress only have three months to get used to each other and then they leave one another. The mistress of the house has to instruct every three months new persons. *This costs the master of the house and the mistress of the house much trouble and then I do not even talk about the disadvantage that the personnel this way is reinforced strongly in its bad will.* (p. 9) It might, however, turn out into an advantage for the master and mistress, for if they some hired a bad eye for a short period they get rid of him or her in the very near future.

Such unemployed servants are also in the habit to demand to be paid out little by little. Lords and ladies should be careful here and pay in principle the full sum at the end of the contract, unless some calamity has to be covered. The reason is that the servants should be kept anxious that they will not receive the full sum at the end of the contract, for otherwise they will leave at will.

[Colerus discusses from now on the baronial household and the extra functions there]

Ch. 10: About the bailiff (Germ.: Amptman) or overseer (Germ.: Hauptmann)

If in a house holding are large domains, to which belong many farmsteads and villages, then one has to have a bailiff or householder, who is the head of the total household. (p. 9), who usually gets a secretary, a corn secretary and some more such assistants. Firstly a bailiff has to be pious and in order to give an example to the personnel he has to follow diligently God's word and the Holy Sacrament. He has to forbid profanity, swearing and cursing as well as cheating, lying and behaving unchastely. He should go the church on the weekdays that God's word is preached and not excuse himself because of a honest business that should be carried on. *Moreover (he should effectuate), that they always before and after the meals together step forward to pray to God to thank him faithfully for his blessing and rich benefits* (p. 9)

Secondly every bailiff should stay sober and avoid the shameful boozing up, also avoid fornication and neglect of duty, sleep with his wife and not allow the personnel whoring, adultery or other sins, in the farmsteads or elsewhere. (p. 9/10). He should not permit sins to his colleague either and try to exterminate them as far as this lies in his power.

Thirdly every bailiff should loyally and industriously keep up to date his official letters, books and registers and make a note of everything and enter the revenues and expenditures in the registers every day (p. 10) He should nobody give anything without a command of his lord and do this only for an explicit professional need.

Fourthly he should arise as the first and go to bed as the latest, as Socrates used to say, and then wake the servants and put them to work and occupation and keep them to it. (p. 10) At night take care well of the fire and the lights, so that there is safe light in the rooms where this is needed. He should not rely on the personnel, especially when there are guests, who drink too much and then use the candles carelessly when visiting the room and farmsteads .

Fifthly the bailiff should make an effort to employ pious and loyal servants, with whom he first communicates mildly with the good, but whom he also, if this does not help, addresses with sharp words and commands. (p. 10) If this does not help and they stay obstinate and infect the other servants, he should jail them or at least take them apart from the other personnel. And that one avoids other measures and terrible name calling and cursing. Because by this the personnel becomes only more annoyed and negative, so that God does not give his blessing or prosperity to the house holding in such places. (p. 10)

Sixthly he should personally take the responsibility that the fields are cultivated with the proper operations at the right time, as well as that the wine-, vegetables-, hop- and kitchen garden are hacked and the other yearly choruses are performed and not omitted because of negligence. (p. 10) This same goes for the hay, important where is much cattle.

Seventhly he has to see to it, that the dikes stay well controlled and are industriously cared for and often ride or walk to them himself, visit also the dams and outlets, (p. 10) to check for obstructions or something else what has gone wrong and repair them immediately. And make sure that the necessary materials lie ready at handy locations.

Eighthly he should not forget the brushwood and make sure that the hiding places for the game are not gone, because the cattle has eaten it away.

Ninthly he should diligently think about and aim at the complete feeding of all animals (p. 10), so that all the necessary kinds of fodder are present and they are fed through the whole winter. Daily and especially every day in the winter he should go to the farmstead, pigsty and fold to check personally if the animals are fed well, especially make sure that the food is put rightly before the pigs and calves and admonish the personnel to perform properly.

Tenthly he should especially in the winter every day go from barn to barn to check their floors and see if they are properly mucked out.

In the eleventh place requires the function that he ensures that the kitchen and the cellar are so filled, that the personnel is fed well and that what is not directly needed is put away properly and moreover that the corn, hop etc. is safely stored and that the crops are turned around regularly and that in the winter the windows stay closed and in general are guarded in such a way that no damage can be done, like water or small animals that enter.

In the twelfth place is it proper for a bailiff to watch the buildings well, (p. 10) to reconstruct the dwelling, farmsteads and barns that have defects on the places with new walls, posts and such-like to prevent them from collapsing. Moreover, he should instruct his guards-servants to diligently close the gate every day once the farmhands have eaten and gotten their sleeping drink, to prevent them from much fighting and secret drinking and to report to him the keys.

In the thirteenth and last place he diligently has to go to and look into all corners and control to the end that the best (goods) of his lord will be produced and acquired and all damage will be averted and prevented. (p. 10)

Summary of his function: he should fear God and keep Him before his eyes; lead a chaste, disciplined, sober and moderate life; serve his lord with the greatest diligence and loyalty, punish the bad, on account of his function protect and maintain the pious, then God will give him in his function happiness, salvation and bless. See Peter de Crescentiis, book I, chapters 12 and 13 too (p. 10/11).

Ch. 11: How a bailiff should be framed and regulated (Germ.: eingefesst and angeordnet)

If a bailiff gets appointed the first thing to do is to make an inventory of the house or farmstead (p. 11) All the animals have to be counted kind by kind starting with the horses and ending with the peacocks.

Secondly all stocks, all corns, like oats and hop and garden seeds. Then the kitchen supplies. *Moreover, what kinds of beer in stock in the cellars.* (p. 11) The same goes for all the utensils in kitchen, cellars and oven-house, and the furniture, big and small, in the house *In the third and last place for the sake of more information should one also register all servants who are working in the house and the farmstead and bring them in the inventarium (list of inventories).* (p. 11) The kitchen clerk should copy this and then keep this list up to date so that the lord may know how many servants and other persons are fed during the year.

The bailiff should record also what money, corn, etc. he accepts for stocking at what data and year as well the cows, sheep and pigs he adds to grow. *He should organize this register in such a way that he can once a year - or whenever asked for- account well for the revenues and expenditures.*(p. 11) The amounts in the kitchen register and the corn register have to be totalized every year as well. He should demand and study them and copy the relevant data in his own register. Because from them one actually gets to know what are the actual revenues in money and goods of the different domains. And also what are the privileges, like the rights on fishing and hunting of every domain, In the same way he should register how many inhabitants, farmers and gardeners, every domain has, *how much land everybody has, how much rent one pays and what services one renders.* (p. 11) Then how much acres in the domains or farmstead are cultured and for what purpose and what is wilderness.

The bailiff should have most diligently pace out and measure all fields, dikes, gardens and woods and write down and add the size of all. *And then after this process make a succession register* (p. 11) in which everything, nothing excepted, should be allocated to future heirs. Later we will return to the proper way to make these measurements.

Ch. 12: About the cattle mom (Germ.: Viehmumme)

The cattle mom or cattle mother is the substitute wife or and female commander that specifically watches the maidservants, the pasturing activities of them and sees to it, that the cattle in the fields and in the farmstead gets enough food. She also should also have the responsibility for the milk, make cheese and butter, and regularly look at the feathered animals and bring the women to picking up and safely guarding the eggs. *If necessity requires this, she should admonish the maidservants severely or, if she cannot achieve anything with them, report her to the mistress.* (p. 11). Such females should be clean people, *because they should handle butter, cheese and whey, etc. in such a way that master and mistress, children and personnel don't detest such food. Honorable, reasonable, experienced and modest females have to be used for this job, who moreover are good masters and enjoy and love all kinds of cattle and get respect from maidservants and the other personnel who like to follow her.* (p. 11) She should daily enter into all corners and all stables, especially when the cattle stays inside, in order to check if the cattle do not get too much food, so that it is trampled upon, or too little food, so that the animals become too thin. *The whole year through she should watch the young cattle, so that she grows enough of them to replace the old ones that die, are slaughtered or sold during the year.* (p. 11). Because she is important, she should be treated a bit better than the rest of the personnel, so that she is more diligent with her overseeing and handwork. She also should count the cattle in the morning and at night, but the feathered animals also, to make sure that no one is lost and if one is lost she should go and find it.

Ch. 13: About the overseer (Germ.: Voigt)

A overseer should watch the farmhands, who have to obey him too. (p. 12) Moreover he should see to it that the cattle, sheep, bees, etc. get the right food at the proper time. He also has to watch if the fields, and gardens are cultivated and sown properly and at the right time. The same goes for the harvesting and checking, if the corn arrives properly at the threshing floor and is treated properly there, especially where one has no corn clerk.. He should see to it that the fruit trees are cared for properly and its fruits are plucked at the right time. If there are no dog-riders, he should walk out the dogs and also book hunters, if they are not around. *He should make that the timber is felled and*

brought in at the right time. (p. 12) He should also see to it that nothing is carried in, damaged or stolen. It is only him who places the orders. Because he represents the master and mistress outside the house, this functionary should get a higher wage than the other, common man-servants. It will also be proper for him to behave in such a way that all maidservants and farmhands and all subjects in the domain do not fear him and that in their trade all are obliging and obedient. (p. 12).

Ch. 14: About several other persons

We still have to write extensively about many more other persons, who are sometimes used in the large households, like kitchen clerks, who have to see to it that kitchen and cellars are well taken care of and that every similar functionary of lower or higher status is given the proper foodstuff at the usual times, which they have to write down all in their registers, the intake as well as the expense and to calculate in due course. (p. 12)

Moreover, about the bookkeeper, who together with the bailiff looks at people and possessions and receives and takes account of the moneys, rents and other income in the seigniori and does the same for the expenditures.

Moreover, about the corn clerk, who takes account of the quality and quantity of the threshed corn on the farm and sees to it that harvested corn on the land does not become damaged.

Moreover, about the very many possible other functions^{xxi}. *But we have not intended here to describe the princely household but the usual baronial or civilian household, as mentioned before in chapter 3. (p. 12)*

We also would have liked to talk here about tenants and people on the farmstead. Moreover, about the cowherds, shepherds, butchers and gardeners (p. 12) but this will be moved up to later chapters. Because the servants often are extremely bad, disobedient, wicked, reckless, stubborn, malicious, thievish and disloyal and sometimes harm their master and mistress seriously and on purpose, I want to demand and admonish the pious Christian house father and house mother not to be idiot and mistaken (--) and muster their courage and address such personnel and stop their recklessness. (p. 12) In some cases they should ask the government for help and the government should enforce obedience and in case of damage on purpose, make the servants repair or reimburse it. For that is the function of the government and when that would not happen also, who would want to household and improve an alimentation? With so many thieves and thugs one rather dies than that one runs a farm. There has to be fear, discipline and modesty in the house. How else can a house holding or house alimentation be run and improved? (p. 12)

For if a master and a mistress are afraid of their servants and not the other way around, then all house holding is done for nothing. I will abstain from an example of such a house holding.

These things start with God. *Before all one should accustom the personnel to the fear of God (--) (p. 13). To become pious implies diligently praying before and after the meal and joining the master and the mistress to the church and after it discussing the sermon with them at the table at home, so that they understand it well. A house father and house mother better punish their few impious servants, because otherwise God refuses to bless the whole house.*

This I tell from my large experience because in all the house I have visited I have seen that in the God fearing ones, God's blessing was present *and that where the fear of God was absent with lords and wives, children and servants, there only was poverty, however hard they worked. (p. 13)*

If a man and woman amongst the servants want to marry and to get children, one should not keep them from this but rather help them or *organize a small wedding oneself, so that these poor kids also can make their way in the world and start their own alimentation. (p. 13)* I said something in Ch. 9 of the first book about this, so I will stop here.

Ch. 15: A conclusion

This should be enough for now about the persons that come with the house holding (p. 13). The master of the wines, gardeners, cook, etc., we will discuss in due time at the proper places.

ⁱ Where Columella in Book XII of his *De re rustica* about the housekeeper had dealt with the preparation of different sorts of olive oil, that still nowadays dominate the Mediterranean diet, makes Colerus much space for the preparation of beers, which were healthy drinks in Germany and elsewhere in Northern Europe when water could not yet be drunk safely. A substantial part of Book II, placed after the discussion of the brewing of different beers, deals with drunkenness, which subject offers Colerus the opportunity of showing his knowledge of the ancients. The citations of the classical poets and philosophers are spread over the 6 double pages concerned.

ⁱⁱ The *Calendarium* got printed in 1592, reprinted in Konstanz by a competitor in 1599 and was improved and again published in 1600 by his familia printer. The *Oeconomia ruralis et domestica* became published in several volumes during the years 1591-1605. Summaries of both books together are published in 1599 and 1600. Both books were completely combined in an 1604 edition. Source: Gertrud Schröder- Lembke: *Die Genesis des Colerschen Hausbuches und die Frage seines Quellenwertes* (*The genesis of the House book by Colerus and the question of the value of its sources*), in idem: *Studien zur Agrargeschichte*. Stuttgart, New York (Gustav Fischer Verlag) 1978, p 98/9.

ⁱⁱⁱ I follow here Gertrud Schröder- Lembke o.c. p. p 93-98.

^{iv} Interestingly, Colerus suggests that he could have written as well about the princely house holding, which *deals with coins, toll, commerce, war and other businesses..* (p. 113) In other words, anno 1600 he could have written a book about political economics but he prefers to talk here *only about the agrarian or private acquisition of food.* (p. 113) Some of his successors will indeed write an *oeconomia* about the state next to their agronomic economics. The few Hausväterliteratur-books on economics for princedoms from the seventeenth and eighteenth century have been a German contribution to the coming into being of political economics.

^v Here a noet about Heils economie ?

^{vi} Theocritus (fl. 3d century BC), the poet from Sicily, who created bucolic poetry. Some poems describe with pasturing and fishing activities.

^{vii} Colerus supposes that Constantine IV wrote the *Geoponica*, the summary of Greek agricultural knowledge which was translated in 1545 by Michael Herr in German. See note iv.

^{viii} Colerus uses Latin here: *Νεμεiv, quod distribuat, disponat ac dispenset, quae ad rem familiarem pertinent*, as if he copies somebody else.

^{ix} This mirrors the structure of the Holy Roman empire in the German speaking countries. The emperor holds together princedoms/duchies, cities, lords and farmers. The princes may be seen as the descendants from the former dukes, who in the time of Charlemagne had been responsible for the defense of complete districts; the lords as descendant from the former knights, who he had given a stretch of land large enough to provide them and the farmers on it enough for a decent living. Here they administer justice and have all sorts of right. The emperor had granted the cities a certain independence. These three are represented in the Estates (his advising committee). Finally one meets the farmers, of which some own their farm but many are tenants. Here and there the farmers are forming their own councils. These four parties are all held together by a large and intricate fabric of judicial obligations. To read for instance: Peter H. Wilson, *The holy Roman empire. A thousand years of Europe's history*. Milton Keynes (Penguin books) 2017

^x Actually specifically the second half of this Book I is dedicated to the baronial household

^{xi} Colerus refers here to the house holding of the inhabitants of cities, not to the householding of the cities themselves. In this chapter he first identifies private house holding with house holding by citizens but later suggest that the house holding by farmers is also a form of private house holding..

^{xii} This is the only location, where Colerus uses *house government* (*Haus regiment*)

^{xiii} Colerus writes down a line in Greek, than a one-line translation in Latin and adds finally a German rendering in two lines, which is translated here, without the rhyme involved. Rather this will be a citation from the *Durandus Oeconomika*, one of the last chapters.

^{xiv} Colerus cites and translates freely lines to this extent by Columella's *De re rustica*, in I, 17 and II, I, 2.

^{xv} Literally.: *the misfortune of his manor*.

^{xvi} Colerus cites Cicero first : *Magnum vectigal est parsimonia* (Thrift is a large toll) Ook ivm masserizia gebruikt door Alberti..

^{xvii} Colerus uses *regieren* (to govern) here.

^{xviii} Colerus specifies: *Plutarch in M. Cause* and in *Nicea*, *Aristotle in NE, 8* and in *Politics, I*. These authors talk about slaves of course, not about farmhands.

^{xix} Colerus uses *regieren* (to govern) here.

^{xx} Here Colerus inserts an etymological explanation of the word 'villa'.

^{xxi} Colerus mentions some twenty of them.