

**University of Pardubice
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**SERVANTS AND DOMESTIC SERVICE IN EAST
BOHEMIA DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH
CENTURIES
(Theses)**

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I. Introduction

Since the 1960s, the issue of domestic service as an important social institution in the early-modern time has received a strong response within Western European historiography as a part of an evolving study of family history. While in France, England, Germany or Austria, a number of researches have been carried out concerning not only the quantification of servants in both urban and rural environments, their position in the employer's household or legal issues related to the definition of domestic service, this issue remains somewhat overshadowed in Czech historiography. Older Czech researches usually reflected servants when describing the history of subjects before 1620, or as a "problematic component" of the late Middle Ages urban society, while ranking this group of wage-earners among the lowest social classes, on the level of urban and rural poor. Most of the more recent works of Czech historiography adhere to the "Western" concept of servants as a temporary age category, dealing, however, most often with the issue of domestic service only on the basis of "discontinuous" evidence sources that do not allow to address many aspects related to this phenomenon.

That is why we have decided, within this dissertation, to address the topic of the legal status of servants in the early-modern time and to prepare an

analysis of the social and economic aspects of domestic service as a part of the life-cycle of the “pre-modern era”.

As regards the first of the above-mentioned topics, i.e. the legal status of servants, there were essentially two reasons for this choice. The first reason was the need to create a basic overview of the development of labour law in Bohemia from the High Middle Ages to the codification of civil law at the beginning of the 19th century, paying special attention to the situation of wage-earners, which is still lacking in the Czech historiography. The second reason was the revision and deepening of the current view of the legal status of the servants, which is a sparse part of some treatises on the history of peasants and burgers in the Middle Ages and early-modern time, or, occasionally, addressed in a separate treatise.

The content of the second part of the dissertation is an analysis of the socio-economic aspects of domestic service in East Bohemia on the example of selected periods of the 17th and 18th centuries. First, we elaborated on this issue based on the register of inhabitants according to faith from the year 1651 for five geographically and economically diverse East-Bohemian locations, where we, in relation to the assumption of socio-economic conditionality of domestic service, we also attempted to apply the historic ecotypes of the Austrian historian Michael Mitterauer. The real core of the research, however, is the study of a series of

Registers of Subjects of the East-Bohemian Choltice manor between 1681–1700 and 1765–1784. It was on this basis of those registers that we conducted both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the domestic service situation. From the quantitative point of view, we tried to capture the elementary indicators defining domestic service as an essential early-modern-time institution affecting about half of the children and young people most often aged 15–24, such as the total length of service, wage conditions, geographic horizon of the domestic service, gender aspects etc. In addition to the quantitative approaches that we primarily use in the study, we also try to look from the quality perspective into some of the sub-topics, by describing the fates of specific individuals.

II. Domestic Service in the Context of European Research into Family History

Already in the past, domestic service came into focus of social and cultural history (family history, historical demography, gender history, research into marginal groups, etc.) in a number of countries, with a wide range of issues and topics that became the subject of discussions for many years. The social status of servants is one of such issues, which has been defined using two main approaches; the first approach assumed that the rural and urban servants belonged to the lowest social class (de facto constituted the rural and urban poor), while this situation remained unchanged. The second approach, to which most historians currently incline, sees servants as an age category and domestic service as a transitional life-cycle phase before marriage of a significant portion of population. This theory has been developed since the 1970s mainly by family historians who reflected in their work servants and domestic service as a significant and unique element in the formation of society, especially in Central and Western Europe (Great Britain: John Hajnal,¹ Peter Laslett,² Ann Kussmaul,³

¹ John Hajnal developed the concept of European Marriage Pattern, which is characterized by an unusually high marrying age and corresponds to today's understanding of the Western Family; see HAJNAL, John. European marriage patterns in perspective. In GLASS, D. V. – EVERSELEY, D. E. C. (eds.). *Population in History*. London, 1965, pp. 101–145. The marriage model with a

France: Philippe Ariès;⁴ USA: John R. Gillis;⁵ Germany: Richard van Dülmen,⁶ Jürgen Schlumbohm;⁷ Austria: Michael Mitterauer⁸). In the Czech Republic, the research

strong focus on family issues is also addressed in the following work: HAJNAL, John. Two kinds of preindustrial household formation system. In WALL, R. et al. (eds.). *Family forms in historic Europe*. Cambridge, 1983, pp. 65–104.

² In the context of domestic service and its understanding, Laslett introduces the term “life-cycle servants”, which refers to servants of the Western type (within Western Family) i.e. a group of mostly young people between the 10 and 30 years of age, for whom domestic service means the transition phase of life between childhood and marriage, while such a system represents a significant specificity compared to Eastern European and non-European cultures. LASLETT, Peter. *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations*. Cambridge, 1977.

³ KUSSMAUL, Ann. *Servants in husbandry in early modern England*. Cambridge, 1981.

⁴ A fundamental and pioneering work dealing with the historical development of the phenomenon of childhood, its understanding and transformation: ARIÈS, Philippe. *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris, 1960.

⁵ GILLIS, John R. *Youth and history. Tradition and change in European age relations 1770–present*. New York, 1974.

⁶ DÜLMEN, Richard van. *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit. Erster Band: Das Haus und seine Menschen 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. München, 1990.

⁷ SCHLUMBOHM, Jürgen. *Lebensläufe, Familien, Höfe: Die Bauern und Heuerleute des Osnabrückischen Kirchspiels Belm in proto-industrieller Zeit, 1650–1860*. Göttingen, 1994; Idem. Gesindedienst als Lebensphase und als Klassenphänomen: Mägde und Knechte in einem ländlichen Kirchspiel Nordwestdeutschlands, 1650–1860. In FAUVE-CHAMOUX, A. – FIALOVÁ, L. (eds.). *Le phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIe-XXe siècles (Acta demographica XIII)*. Praha, 1997, pp. 23–39.

⁸ Michael Mitterauer has recently summarized the research of the historical family (including domestic service) within Europe in a

into domestic service has been carried out only to a limited extent. Leaving aside the older works of Czech historiography by František Graus,⁹ Alois Míka¹⁰ and Josef Petráň,¹¹ who more or less represent the first of the two concepts of servants as the lowest social class whose chances to rise from this category were almost non-existent, there are presently available in particular studies on research concerning servants limited to local areas, focusing on the structure of servants at a particular moment rather than on changing trends of continuous development over a longer period of time.¹² At the same time, Czech sources allow for a wide range of approaches to the study of servants and domestic service, including

well-arranged handbook which, on the one hand, provides useful comparisons of developments in various (and not only) European regions, while, on the other hand, attempts to outline the prospects for further possible research into the social history of family. See MITTERAUER, Michael. *Sozialgeschichte der Familie. Kulturvergleich und Entwicklungsperspektiven*. Wien, 2009.

⁹ GRAUS, František. *Dějiny venkovského lidu v Čechách v době předhusitské*. Praha, 1957.

¹⁰ MÍKA, Alois. *Poddaný lid v Čechách v první polovině 16. století*. Praha, 1960.

¹¹ PETRÁŇ, Josef. *Poddaný lid v Čechách na prahu třicetileté války*. Praha, 1964.

¹² HORSKÝ, Jan. Příspěvek ke studiu venkovské poddanské čeledi v 16.–18. století (panství Třeboň – sonda). In *Archivní časopis* 43, 1993, pp. 145–165; MAUR, Eduard. Čeled' a tovaryši v Čechách v soupisu podle víry z roku 1651. In *Historická demografie* 23, 1999, pp. 85–135; SLÁDEK, Miloš. Čeled' na třeboňských panstvích v polovině 17. století. In *Historická demografie* 11, 1987, pp. 51–96; URFUS, Valentin. Právní postavení námezdních pracovníků u nás v 16. až 18. století. In *Právněhistorické studie* 2, 1956, pp. 198–242.

the monitoring the servant's life cycles or their wage conditions.¹³

As already indicated, the study of servants is closely linked to the research of historical family, and to the issue of the extent of integration of the servants in the family of the householder and their position within the family. In this context, in German-speaking environment, the concept of the “Whole House” (“Das Ganze Haus”)¹⁴ appears, within which there were a number of relationships between relatives as well as people outside the family, and where different levels of common habitation, living and working together intertwined. In addition, the “Whole House” had many functions, of

¹³ The issue of life cycles of the family is, to a certain extent, dealt with by the work of Markéta Pražáková Seligová, who processed a continuous series of Registers of Subjects to study demographic and economic phenomena: PRAŽÁKOVÁ SELIGOVÁ, Markéta. *Život poddaných v 18. století: osud, nebo volba? K demografickým, hospodářským, sociálním a rodinným aspektům života venkovských poddaných na panství Horní Police*. Praha, 2015.

¹⁴ See, e.g., DÜLMEN, Richard van. *Kultur und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit. Erster Band: Das Haus und seine Menschen 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. München, 1990; MITTERAUER, Michael. Vorindustrielle Familienformen. Zur Funktionsentlastung des „ganzen Hauses“ im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. In ENGEL-JANOSI, F. – KLINGENSTEIN, G. – LUTZ, H. (eds.). *Fürst, Bürger, Mensch: Untersuchungen zu politischen und soziokulturellen Wandlungsprozessen im vorrevolutionären Europa*. Wien, 1975, pp. 123–185. Most recently, Reinhard Sieder tried to summarize the typology of the peasant family in different parts of Europe, including a critical reflection of the concept of the Whole House in CERMAN, Markus et al. (eds.). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Europa 1000–2000*. Innsbruck – Wien – Bozen, 2011.

which the economic or educational role, for example, was important.¹⁵

Since the 16th century, “Hausväterliteratur”¹⁶ became the foundation idea of the “Whole House”, which, as a literary style typical of the German-speaking region, was based on reformist ideas and changes in social relations in the early-modern time. It has become a guide for the ideal management of the house, home or farm. Based on this idea, the Austrian historian Otto Brunner¹⁷ tried to determine the principles of common life and family management in the Central European context. However, the concept of the “Whole House” created by him presumed a somewhat idyllic coexistence of all household residents under the guidance of a householder (a man), which is why this understanding of

¹⁵ DÜRR, Renate. *Mägde in der Stadt. Das Beispiel Schwäbisch Hall in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt – New York, 1995, pp. 11–20.

¹⁶ See, e.g., FRÜHSORGE, Gotthardt. Die Begründung der „väterlichen Gesellschaft“ in der europäischen oeconomia christiana. Zur Rolle des Vaters in der „Hausväterliteratur“ des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. In TALLENBACH, H. (ed.). *Das Vaterbild im Abendland, I: Rom, Frühes Christentum Mittelalter, Neuzeit, Gegenwart*. Stuttgart, 1978, pp. 110–123; MEYER, Torsten. Cultivating the Landscape: The Perception and Description of Work in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century German „Household Literature“ (Hausväterliteratur). In EHMER, J. – LIS, C. (eds.). *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times*. Farnham, 2009, pp. 215–244.

¹⁷ BRUNNER, Otto. Das „Ganze Haus“ und die alteuropäische „Ökonomik“. In Idem (ed.). *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*. 2nd edition. Göttingen, 1968, pp. 103–127.

the model became the target of criticism of many researchers.¹⁸

Just like in the not altogether unambiguous association of the Czech lands with the Western European type of family formation, there is a certain specificity in the domestic service, whose different formation in the Czech territory was outlined by Eduard Maur through three factors:¹⁹ (1) unambiguous association of the Czech lands with the Western European type of family formation; (2) the existence of a dense network of western-type towns and townlets established during the 13th and 14th centuries, with relatively broad autonomy and advanced guild production; (3) the existence of the East-Central European Gutsherrschaft in the Czech lands, which was characterized in particular by the developed overhead management of the nobility and by the firm personal dependence of the subjects on the nobility. Based on research by Mikołaj Szołtysek, the situation in the Polish-Lithuanian union at the end of the 18th century appears to be similar, where it is also impossible to use the Hajnal

¹⁸ E.g., OPITZ, Claudia. Neue Wege in der Sozialgeschichte? Ein kritischer Blick auf Otto Brunners Konzept des „Ganzen Hauses“. In *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 19, 1994, pp. 88–98; TROSSBACH, Werner. Das „ganze Haus“ – Basiskategorie für das Verständnis der ländlichen Gesellschaft deutscher Territorien in der Frühen Neuzeit? In *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 129, 1993, pp. 277–314.

¹⁹ MAUR, Eduard. Das Gesinde in Böhmen in der Frühen Neuzeit. In FAUVE-CHAMOUX, A. – FIALOVÁ, L. (eds.). *Le phénomène*, pp. 75–94.

and Laslett historical family models without modification because of different life-cycle services in Western (Poland) and Eastern regions (Belarus and Western Ukraine).²⁰

The basic characteristic of domestic service was formulated in 1983 by John Hajnal,²¹ but its validity is far from universal, it concerns mainly the rural family, because the possibilities of applying some claims in the urban environment are very difficult (it can be used to some extent only for families of urban craftsmen). Hajnal's characteristic reflects most of the basic aspects of domestic service within the "European marriage pattern" and works with assumptions that the servants was a group of young an unmarried people between the ages of 10 and 30, whose overall share in the society was usually around 6–10 %, integrated into the homes of their employers, where the servants worked based on a temporary contractual relationship. What is important is the allegation that domestic service did not have a lasting impact on the social status of the servants.²² For the Central Europe, Hajnal's characterization was later corrected following a research of the registers of inhabitants (Personenstandslisten) in Austria.²³

²⁰ SZOLTYSEK, Mikołaj. Life-cycle service and family systems in the rural countryside: a lesson from historical East-Central Europe. In *Annales de démographie historique* 117, 2009, no. 1, pp. 53–94.

²¹ HAJNAL, J. *Two kinds*, pp. 65–104.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

²³ MITTERAUER, M. *Sozialgeschichte*, pp. 74–75.

The structure of servants and the type of service was also strongly influenced by the economic character of a give region. In the context of relationships between the family structures and the economic and social aspects, Michael Mitterauer introduced 4 ecotypes²⁴ characteristic of different regions with different dominant means of livelihood of the population: (1) Homestead with cattle breeding (high proportion of servants, especially female); (2) Homestead with predominance of grain growing (lower proportion of servants, higher proportion of wage workers); (3) Homestead with wine-growing (low proportion of servants, high proportion of wage workers); (4) Protoindustrial type = with developed domestic crafts (quite a minimal proportion of servants).²⁵ Mitterauer's concept of ecotypes is also applicable in the Czech environment, although it is not possible to assign a specific type to certain areas because

²⁴ MITTERAUER, Michael. Formen ländlicher Familienwirtschaft. Historische Ökotypen und familie Arbeitsorganisation im österreichischen Raum. In EHMER, J. – MITTERAUER, M. (eds.). *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation in ländlichen Gesellschaften*. Wien – Köln – Gratz, 1986, pp. 185–323, especially pp. 190–240.

²⁵ Reflection of Mitterauer's ecotypes in Czech historiography: MAUR, E. *Čeled' a tovaryši*, pp. 133–134; HORSKÝ, Jan. Studium rodinných struktur v raném novověku v českém prostředí (Přehled bádání za uplynulých 10 let). In MARÈS, A. – HORSKÁ, P. (eds.). *Cahiers du CEFRES, n° 22, Česko-francouzský dialog o dějinách evropské rodiny*, 2001 [online], URL: <http://www.cefres.cz/IMG/pdf/horsky_2001_studium_rodinnych_struktur.pdf>.

the types were mixed there (e.g. developed cattle breeding in some proto-industrial areas).

III. Conclusions of the Doctoral Thesis

a. The legal position of servants in the early modern period

In the period under review, labour law, with overlaps into older and newer history, was divided into urban and servitude in terms of its competence. They shared principles of customary law, largely codified in both cases during the 16th century. Some of the elements of the servant law, however, remained within the realm of customs until the 18th century; this concerned, for example, the service of persons with professional background, officiants, etc. The basis of codification of the servant law in an urban environment became *Koldin Code* (1579), which contained general legal norms affecting mainly unskilled workers in both short- and long-term wage-labour relationships, while since the Middle Ages, the status of skilled workers was governed by regulations of guild organizations (i.e. guild status), whose part these workers became. This concerned mainly journeymen and apprentices as representatives of skilled workforce.

Since 1500, these norms of urban law were subject to the codified Law of Land in the form of the *Vladislaus Constitution of the Land* which generally applied to the urban and rural environment, even though it later created the basis primarily for regulating the

employment of subjects. Until its last review in 1564, however, the Constitution of the Land failed to contain any fundamental provisions concerning the regulation of the legal relations of servants. These formed, since 1547, or rather, 1549, a part of the first special codification of the servant law in Bohemia in the form of “*Servant Orders*” which were based on mutual agreement of the provincial Estates depending on the conditions and needs of the regions. The latter of the aforementioned orders (1549) was nevertheless significantly influenced by the dictate of the sovereign, as a result of the revolt of the Estates in 1547. As a result of the death of Ferdinand I and thanks to the favourable political climate, in 1564, the Estates succeeded in including the modified version of the then already invalid Servant Order of 1547 (the “Estates” one) into the new review of the Constitution of the Land, which as a part of Constitution of the Land held in modified version basically until the mid-19th century.

Thus, while the basis for the regulation of the status of servants in the urban environment was, from the 1670s to the end of the first third of the 18th century, especially the *Koldin Code* and the statute of the individual guild organizations, apparently with minimal influence of the Law of Land, the servant labour law, in contrast, was determined by the Law of Land on the one hand and by the norms of land authorities in the form of economic instructions and Servant Orders. The

instructions were intended for the officials of the manor, who should observe them in the administration of the dominion. The Servant Orders constituted a summary of rights and, above all, the obligations of population of the subjects to the nobility, and were the norms of servant law at the basic levels.

In the 17th century, no special labour legislation was created in the Czech environment and, apart from new provincial establishment in the form of the *Restored Constitution of the Land* of 1627, which basically adopted in terms of wage labour the provisions of the previous Constitution of the Land, or rather, its revision of 1564. In this period, we witness a relatively long stagnation in the development of the servant or labour law, which is only disturbed by the intensifying content of the Servant Orders (and partly also by guild statutes). One of the fundamental impulses for the partial revision of labour law was the increase in manufacturing production and the intolerable situation within the guild labour organization as compared with other countries. Thus, in the absolutist spirit, the state began to regulate labour law in a different way in the Central European countries united under the rule of the Habsburgs in the form of police norms, with guilds being the first in the Czech environment in the 1720 and 1730. The issue of General Handicrafts Patent (1731), followed by General Guild Articles (1739), was meant to, on the one hand, curb some of the stereotypes in the functioning of the

outdated guild organization while it probably actually contributed to ensuring easier access to crafts for young people (especially apprentices); on the other hand, these documents were just a logical outcome of certain tendencies leading to the ultimate demise of the guild organization in the following century.

The Servant Order of Maria Theresa of 1765 was the first specialized labour law norm issued after more than 200 years, which made the rural subject–servant practically a “lawless creature” that could be freely treated by the employer and, above all, land authorities acting in this position. Unlike other countries of the Bohemian Crown, namely Silesia and Moravia, the Servants Order for Bohemia was issued with more than a decade of delay, although there was speculation in the past over the existence of its predecessor dating from 1753, whose copy, however, has not been preserved. Nevertheless, there are no logical reasons for the creation of such document.

The Theresian Servant Order did not remain in force for long. Due to the Age of Enlightenment reforms, there were fundamental changes in sphere of servant law made right at the beginning of the independent reign of Joseph II, when a patent on abolition of serfdom was issued in the autumn of 1781. This fundamental act, inter alia abolishing the forced service of the subjects for the nobility and conceiving servants as a separate working class, logically coincided with the aforementioned

Theresian Servant Order, and therefore, there was rather acute need for revision of this norm. As early as in the following year (1782), two Servant Orders were issued, separate for urban and rural environment, which reinstated to labour relations some important and somewhat better specified issues concerning wages, meals, notice periods, possibilities of early termination of service, etc., which concerns especially the version for rural servants. Nevertheless, the order for the rural environment was benefitting the employer considerably, since it failed to define service as a contractual obligation (as opposed to the urban order), but only mentioned “providing services” without any more detailed definition of contractual relationship between an employee and an employer. Thus, the abolition of serfdom and the issuance of a new order did not change much for the ordinary servant compared to the Theresian era.

b. Domestic Service at the Choltice Manor as a part of Life Cycle

Based on the research of the Registers of Subjects of the manor of Choltice in the years 1681–1700 and 1765–1784, we looked into a number of factors influencing the form of domestic service in this period. The first finding concerns the average age of servants, or, more precisely, the proportions of different age

categories of the servants. As in the middle of the 17th century, in the following periods, the most servants are concentrated in the 15–24 age group (roughly 60 %), although we observe their marked “aging”. This process is then accompanied by a change in the gender structure of servants in lord’s farmsteads in favour of women and by a decrease in the total proportion of servants by up to a half (up to the second half of the 18th century). However, the loss of general interest in domestic service, the gradual aging of the servants and considerable feminization are noticeable in particular in the service of subjects.

The situation in the second half of the 17th century, when the social and economic conditions in the country stabilized after the Thirty Years’ War and, in addition, the demand for servants significantly exceeded supply due to the booming of commercial activities of the land nobility while due to gradual toughening of circumstances of the subjects and the shift of a substantial part of the duties to the subjects in the form of increasing *corvée* duties the nobility did not need as many servants as before. This situation, of course, entailed an increasing number of children who stayed in their parents’ homes until the wedding (especially in the land-holding classes), where they were essentially substituting the function of servants. In addition, the number of men leaving for apprenticeship or for the army also increased.

The mentioned feminization of manor, but especially rural service was quite a logical trend. Given the decline in male servants in the manors, it seems that the proportion of female servants has increased, however, their number remained essentially the same. In the rural service, higher demand for women was caused by one crucial factor, namely the financial costs. Women received wages one-third up to one-half lower than men, and, in addition their wages were mostly paid in a non-monetary form, which was why their employment was very beneficial for the employers of the subjects.

As we have already mentioned, compared to the situation in the last third of the 17th century, we observe a fundamental shift in age in the following period, especially in the rural service. The age of men when starting service was generally slightly lower than in women, which was caused by their physical strength. While in the second half of the 18th century, men entered service, regardless of its type, about 1–2 years later (18 years) than at the end of the 17th century (16.3 years), and two years later and in the case of apprenticeship, in less than a century, the average age of entry into rural service in women increased by almost 2.5 years (18.1 years), entering the labour at the manors basically at a comparable age or even slightly younger (19.8 years). In overall average this represents an increase in age by more than a year and a half. These figures only confirm the already stated facts about the decreasing proportion of

domestic service and the larger number of children who stayed home until they married.

The length of service is undoubtedly one of the most important factors. It did not change dramatically over time, with the exception of male servants, for whom both the total time spent in service and the length of manor service have decreased significantly, in the first case by more than two years (from 7.7 to 5.5 years), in the second by even less than three years (from 4.3 to 1.5 years). This was caused by the aforementioned increase in demand for female servants in rural service and, on the contrary, by the reduction of male servants in the landed manors. In female servants, the time spent in service slightly increased (from 4.9 to 5.1 years).

The average age of leaving the service in the 17th and 18th centuries remained exactly the same (not counting those who “ended” the service on death), i.e. 23.2 years (22.4 women, 24.3 men) in 1681–1700 and 23.1 years (22.3 women, 24.1 men) in 1765–1784. This is due to the fact that, although the age of young people entering the service increased, the time spent in service decreased. The average age of leaving the service was somewhat lower than the marrying age in the region, as all of the servants left the domestic service immediately on entering into marriage, although marriage was the most frequent reason.

Defection was another way to leave, or at least interrupt, the domestic service. At the beginning of the

period under review (1681–1700), the share of the deserters in the total number of servants was almost 17 %, but this figure gradually decreased in the 18th century to values of just a few percent. Interesting and perhaps surprising is that most people did not run out of services from the courts, but from employers of the subjects. To some extent, this once again corroborates the opinion that the manor service did not have to be, and for many young people was not, a frightening experience.

Geographical mobility is another subtopic to which we have paid attention, although no surprising finding was expected. The vast majority of persons were within the boundaries of the manor throughout the monitored period, which they left for work only exceptionally. Even after 1781, we are unable to prove increased labour migration.

An important issue, which we have elaborated in more detail, is the wage conditions of servants in the years 1681–1700, which is the period from which we have information on wages in both the subjects and nobility service available. First of all, attention should be paid to the form of wages, which was strictly monetary for men, while for women, in contrast, non-monetary component in the form of clothing and footwear largely dominated. This is what the usual practice was in the rural service, while in the nobility service, even women were remunerated in cash. The youngest servants, regardless of gender (around 15 years), served for

“decent clothing”. Wages of men ranged most often from 6 to 11 goldens, women were paid (converted to money) roughly 5 to 8 golden. Interestingly, the level of wages in rural service was basically analogous to wages in manor service, with only the bailiff being paid better. The remuneration of castle servants is then another matter, which in most cases were somewhat better. When comparing wages with other localities, nevertheless, the wages in Choltice were, with some exceptions, rather below average. The remuneration was closely linked to a specific type of work, and thus also to the age of the servant. In men service, the varlet was the most valued position (10–11 goldens); less paid was the plough boy (7–9 goldens), then the cattle and pig keeper (6 goldens) and other servants.

With regard to the study of the length of service, we also looked into the possibilities the servants had in terms of supporting themselves after leaving the service and getting married. We conclude that the average domestic servant earned over 80 goldens during his service, while the realistic estimate is that he should have been able to save at least half of that amount, which is about 40 goldens. Given the price and the availability of real estate in the Choltice region at that time, adding any inheritance or the wife’s dowry, it was more than realistic for a former servant to purchase at least a decent cottage farm, whose price was around 61 golden at the end of the 17th century.

Based on a comparison of partial results of the study of socio-economic aspects of domestic service in East Bohemia with other domestic and foreign localities, it can be stated that the nature of the service corresponded to the Western European model of family formation, although with some specific aspects, in particular in the urban environment. Nevertheless, the greatest differences appear to be in the age of entry into service and the time spent there, the age of leaving the service being usually determined by the usual marrying age in the particular location, although it was not unusual that servants without ambition to enter into marriage returned to the paternal house. Certain differences existed in the form of the domestic service contract and the associated “ritual” customs of the region. This was undoubtedly also influenced by the different legal developments in the separate localities.

IV. Publication activity

NEKVAPIL, Ladislav. Čeled' ve východních Čechách v roce 1651: pokus o aplikaci Mitterauerových historických ekotypů. In ZÁŘICKÝ, A. – KADLEC, P. – ZÁVODNÁ, M. (edd.). *X. sjezd českých historiků, Ostrava 14.–16. 9. 2011, Svazek IV.* Ostrava, 2015, pp. 195–208. ISBN 978-80-7464-352-1.