

Abstract¹

GUIDO ALFANI, Social and economic mobility in preindustrial Europe

This article surveys and discusses the available literature on socio-economic mobility in preindustrial societies. Beginning with the mobility-promoting impact of the Black Death, the article explores more generally how “calamities” of various kinds offered (or not) opportunities for upward mobility. Thereafter, it discusses long-term mobility trends, also in the light of new research about economic inequality. Finally, the article discusses how, in certain historical phases, ruling elites acted as the “enemies” of mobility, defending their positions – but possibly contributing to entrench economic stagnation.

GUIDO ALFANI, Round table comments

This brief article expands on the Prolusion given to the LV Settimana Datini, clarifying some additional aspects and proposing a few examples of upward socio-economic mobility. Particular attention is given to two topics: the importance of the acquisition of nobility for social ascension in medieval and early modern times, and the connections between historical processes of social closure, economic closure, and political closure.

FRANCESCO AMMANNATI, Misurare la mobilità sociale in Toscana tra Medio Evo ed Età Moderna

Questo studio esplora la mobilità sociale in Toscana dal Medioevo all'Età Moderna, concentrandosi sulle metodologie e prospettive interdisciplinari che hanno rinnovato l'interesse per questo tema storiografico. Partendo dall'analisi di alcune comunità del Contado fiorentino sulla base dei registri fiscali, in particolare degli *estimi* per il basso Medioevo e della *Decima granducale* per i secoli dal Cinque al Settecento, la ricerca si propone di analizzare le dinamiche e i fattori condizionanti

¹ In questa sezione del volume abbiamo inserito gli abstracts inviatici dagli Autori.

la mobilità socio-economica, sfidando la nozione di una società di ancien régime rigidamente strutturata.

This study explores social mobility in Tuscany from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age, focusing on the methodologies and interdisciplinary perspectives that have renewed interest in this historiographical theme. Building on the analysis of a number of communities in the Florentine countryside on the basis of tax registers, in particular the estimi for the late Middle Ages and the Decima granducale for the period from the 16th to the 18th century, the research aims to understand the dynamics and possible determinants of socio-economic mobility, challenging the notion of a rigidly structured ancien régime society.

GABRIEL BREA-MARTÍNEZ, JOANA-MARIA PUJADAS-MORA, Socioeconomic mobility and inequality persistence. The area of Barcelona, 16th-19th centuries

Preindustrial social mobility is still primarily understudied in present times. Most preindustrial and early-industrial social mobility research focused strictly on occupational mobility, not fully capturing the substantial socioeconomic disparities within occupational groups that presumably always existed. In this study, we aim to contribute to the literature by estimating long-term trends in intergenerational social mobility in Barcelona and its hinterland. We use the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database to assess disparities between socially and non-socially mobile individuals within occupational groups through unique data covering occupational prestige and economic information via genealogical reconstitutions. Using a combined SES approach (occupational prestige and economic capacity) can capture both class differences and within-occupation disparities. Socioeconomic mobility increased since the beginning of the 18th century, during Catalan protoindustrialization, but with significant class disparities. SES persistence increased for Non-Manuals' children, stagnated for Artisans' children, and declined for Farmers'. Moreover, within occupational groups, we find that intergenerational class-mobile individuals had always been disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms compared to the immobile, a constant characteristic from preindustrial times until the end of the 19th century. These results suggest that socially immobile (intergenerationally) individuals always benefited from the privilege of having fathers within the same occupational class, independent of the period, which recalls the sociological concept of the class ceiling.

DAVID CARVAJAL DE LA VEGA, HILARIO CASADO ALONSO, VANESA ABARCA ABARCA, An approach to inequality and social mobility in Northern Castile (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries)

This work is a first approach to economic inequality and social mobility in the north of Castile in the 15th and 16th centuries, aspects that are little known and, especially, scarcely measured. On the one hand, the sources for their study are analysed. The second part establishes some quantifications of the evolution of economic inequality in different parts of the Duero Valley (the most populated and richest region in Spain at that time), showing how inequality increased as economic

growth progressed. The third part studies social mobility in these two centuries, starting with two specific cases: access to the lower nobility in Castrojeriz; and socio-economic mobility and advancement in Olmedo. In both places, which are very representative of Castile as a whole, we observe a growing social mobility and the emergence of new elites in the heat of economic growth and, especially, the rise of trade.

ALBERTO CONCINA, MAÏKA DE KEYZER, JAN PEETERS, *Economic growth and prosperity: Two sides of the same coin? A comparison of the countryside of Antwerp and Piedmont in the long eighteenth century*

This paper proposes a comparative study of social mobility between peasant and commercial societies in two distinct rural areas of Europe, namely the Low Countries and Piedmont. The paper focuses on changing consumption patterns under the frame of the premodern consumer revolution to identify what kind of society was more mobile. The adoption of new facets of consumption especially in the form of novel luxuries and colonial products has long been identified as an effort from households to adopt more refined lifestyles thus improving their prestige and status relative to the rest of society. It will be shown that while commercial societies appeared better at promoting the circulation of prestigious goods across social groups, the phenomenon remained highly elitist.

SABRINA CORBELLINI, *Reading and writing for success: literacy, knowledge and social mobility*

This contribution examines the nexus between literacy and social mobility during the late medieval period. Proceeding from an analysis of autobiographical Italian primary sources, it concentrates on patterns of presentation and self-representation, particularly as they concern education, literacy and participation in literate activities as instruments for the creation of new social identities. The various source materials (e.g. diaries, libri di famiglia, treatises discussing the performance of literate practices, manuscript colophons and probate inventories), are then contextualised within a broader European perspective, specifically with reference to France and the Low Countries.

BENEDETTA MARIA CRIVELLI, *La mobilità occupazionale a Verona tra tardo Medioevo ed Età Moderna: fonti e questioni metodologiche*

Recenti studi sulla relazione tra ineguaglianza economica e mobilità sociale hanno dimostrato che un contributo significativo alla comprensione del grado di mobilità sociale viene dalla misurazione della mobilità occupazionale. Le fonti disponibili per la città di Verona permettono una classificazione delle professioni che si avvale degli strumenti utilizzati nelle ricerche internazionali. Ancor prima che fornire risultati sull'andamento della mobilità occupazionale nel lungo periodo, questo paper intende confrontare la classificazione fornita dall'Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO) con i dati raccolti dai registri

fiscali della città di Verona al fine di elaborare una codificazione che possa adattarsi al contesto italiano.

Recent studies on the relationship between economic inequality and social mobility highlight the significant role of measuring occupational mobility in understanding social mobility. The available data for the city of Verona enables the classification of professions using internationally recognized methodologies. Before presenting long-term trends in occupational mobility, this paper seeks to compare the Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO) with the data collected from Verona's tax records. The goal is to develop a coding system tailored to the Italian context.

MATTEO DI TULLIO, La mobilità sociale a Bergamo tra tardo Medioevo ed Età Moderna: fonti e metodi d'indagine

Il saggio discute fonti e metodi utili ad analizzare le dinamiche della mobilità sociale nelle società d'antico regime, focalizzandosi sul caso di Bergamo tra Quattrocento e Settecento. Dopo una breve riflessione metodologica, si delinea l'evoluzione del contesto economico e demografico orobico nel corso dei secoli presi in esame. Grazie all'analisi di fonti estimative e allo spoglio dei registri delle deliberazioni del comune, si propongono dunque due indicatori per misurare la mobilità sociale in relazione alla distribuzione della ricchezza e all'accesso al potere politico locale. Infine, selezionando alcuni casi famigliari esemplari, si considera la possibile relazione tra le due dinamiche della mobilità prese in esame.

This article discusses sources and methods to analyze the dynamics of social mobility in the ancient régime, focusing on the case of Bergamo between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. After a brief methodological reflection, the evolution of Bergamo's economic and demographic context over the centuries examined is outlined. Thanks to the analysis of fiscal sources (tax-land registers) and the registers of municipal deliberations, two indicators are then proposed to measure social mobility in relation to the distribution of wealth and to the access to local political institutions. Finally, by selecting some exemplary cases among the local kinships, the possible relationship between the two mobility dynamics examined is considered.

MAS FERRER JOSEP, Female social mobility in an impartible inheritance society at the end of the pre-industrial era (north-eastern Catalonia, 1750-1825)

This paper aims to contribute to the study of female social mobility through marriage, by presenting a study case for north-eastern Catalonia, during the second half of the 18th century. This is a region where there was a strong system of impartible inheritance based on male primogeniture, so that it was women who moved into the families of the heirs, while paying a dowry accordingly. It is precisely the combination of the value of the dowry with the occupation of the bride's and groom's family that permits to better understand the dynamics of social mobility that brides experienced at the time of marriage. The results obtained

suggest that male primogeniture pushed many women towards downward social mobility, despite certain mechanisms to mitigate it.

MATTIA FOCESATO, FRANCESCO BETTARINI, A new method of expanding the reconstruction of the occupational structure in Renaissance Florence: A preliminary investigation with insights into the economic impact of political and economic changes

Previous analyses of occupational structures in the urban centres of Western Europe in the late Middle Ages and Early modern times have attempted to estimate the shares of the labourers employed in different sectors using the information reported in the fiscal censuses. These contributions have often had to deal with the unavoidable limitations of the sources, such as their coverage of almost only the male declarants or that only a fraction of those censused declared their profession. As a result, the reconstruction of the occupational structures and the derived analysis of labour mobility based on these sources presented severe coverage limits of the labour force, for a large part of which, usually 40-50% of the active labourers, it was not possible to know the actual profession. We analyse seven fiscal censuses from Florence, ranging from the second half of the 14th century until the mid-15th century, to reconstruct the urban occupational structure among the male declarants. In addition, for a selected sample of neighbourhoods in one of the fiscal documents, we show a possible new method to integrate the existing information to increase the fraction of known occupations among the urban labour force. We show that our proposed method 1) significantly increases the proportion of the labour force with a known occupation and 2) substantially improves the knowledge of the occupational structure compared to the one obtained from the analysis of the sole declared occupations.

FRANCO FRANCESCHI, Intervento alla Tavola rotonda

Muovendo dalle indicazioni contenute nella call, l'intervento prende in esame i dati, le ipotesi, le idee e le suggestioni emerse dai lavori della LV *Settimana di studi*. Il commento si concentra su alcuni degli aspetti più rilevanti trattati dai relatori: gli effetti delle epidemie sulla mobilità sociale, il rapporto fra mobilità e disuguaglianza economica, la resistenza degli esponenti dei ceti più elevati all'ascesa della 'gente nuova', le interrelazioni fra mobilità geografica e progresso nella scala sociale, il ruolo dell'emulazione e dell'ostentazione nella scalata alle gerarchie sociali. Indica inoltre un certo numero di temi suscettibili di ulteriori ricerche e di approfondimenti, come la mobilità sociale delle donne, delle élite tecniche e delle minoranze, ma anche i processi di declassamento.

Based on the indications contained in the call, the text examines the data, hypotheses, ideas, and suggestions that emerged from the work of the LV *Settimana di studi*. The commentary focuses on some of the most relevant aspects addressed by the speakers: the effects of epidemics on social mobility, the relationship between mobility and economic inequality, the resistance of the upper classes to the

rise of the 'new people,' the interrelations between geographical mobility and social advancement, the role of emulation and ostentation in climbing social hierarchies. It also points out a number of themes that could be subject to further research and insights, such as the social mobility of women, technical elites, and minorities, as well as processes of downward mobility.

ANTONI FURIÓ, Round table comments

The comments made at the round table focused first of all on the sources (fiscal, notarial and other) and methodology (the necessary combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, including prosopography and individual trajectories) for the study of social mobility. Secondly, the need for context was stressed in order to better understand and explain the results. In particular, in the chronology that concerns us, the rise and development of the so-called fiscal state, from the 14th century onwards, with the need for an ever larger and more specialised administrative bureaucracy, as well as the opportunities for prosperity and social advancement, through the tenure of political posts or the pursuit of an administrative career. Finally, the importance of cultural, sociological and anthropological aspects (such as consumption, living standards, emulation, ostentation), hitherto rather overlooked, is highlighted.

ANTONI FURIÓ, CARLOS LALIENA CORBERA, PERE VERDÉS PIJUAN, Social mobility, economic growth and inequality in the late medieval Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Mallorca, 13th-15th centuries)

This paper examines social and economic mobility in the Crown of Aragon in the long term. It is divided into three main sections. The first deals with the processes of social mobility linked to both the colonisation of territories taken from the Muslims in the 12th and 13th centuries and the impact of the Black Death and other calamities in the second half of the 14th century. The second section addresses both the shorter-range migrations, especially from the countryside to the city, and the dynamics of social mobility in rural world and urban society. Although related to the latter, we wanted to highlight, as a separate section, the case of the converts from Judaism, as an original and important phenomenon both quantitatively and qualitatively, and for both its success and failure, in the Crown of Aragon and the other Iberian states. Finally, the third section is devoted to some questions of approach and methodology, in particular political (from the lists of families who held public offices in certain cities) and economic (from tax records or wealth registers) ones.

JAN MICHAEL GOLDBERG, Transformation of urban occupational structure and mobility (Leipzig, 1550-1850)

Located at the intersection of two major trade routes, Leipzig in Saxony, Germany, became a European trading hub, presumed sensitive to economic shocks. This

study examines the effects of upheavals, shocks, and trends on Leipzig's occupational structure using data from over 200,000 genealogically linked residents between 1550 and 1850. Occupations are coded using HISCO and KldB 2010, enabling detailed analysis of occupational changes, including intergenerational shifts. Results show surprising stability in Leipzig's occupational structure despite significant upheavals. Only the Saxon Rétablissement after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) significantly increased intergenerational occupational mobility and altered the occupational structure, contributing to Leipzig's significant economic rise in the 19th century.

ARISTEA GRATSEA, Marriage alliances and socio-economic mobility in Venetian Crete (16th century)

This study examines socio-economic mobility and marriage alliances in sixteenth-century Venetian Crete, focusing on the Curcumeli family from the middle social stratum (cittadini). It analyzes the marital strategies and motivations behind the formation of unions and their connection to the business practices highlighting how marriage was used as a tool to forge alliances, consolidate wealth, elevate social status and enhance their role in the public sphere. Additionally, the study delves into the transfer of dowries, which provides valuable information about the wealth distribution, financial strategies, and familial dynamics of the time. Lastly, it examines other practices employed by the Curcumeli family in order to rise in social hierarchy and/or retain their wealth.

MARCO H.D. VAN LEEUWEN, INEKE MAAS, Social class mobility in the early modern Europe: a first international comparison

Preindustrial occupational datasets do exist, and in sufficient quantity. So, although they are rare compared to those for later periods, it is quite possible to extend the debates regarding intergenerational social class mobility into the preindustrial era. This article is the first attempt to do so for several countries comparatively. We reanalysed existing datasets and coded the data from France, Germany and Sweden uniformly in the occupational coding scheme HISCO and the social class scheme HISCLASS - and for a few analyses into the social status scale HISCAM. We investigated total, upward, downward and sectorial mobility. The questions we seek to answer are: (1) How did intergenerational social class mobility change over time? (2) Are there variations in intergenerational social class mobility between countries and regions? The focus is on observed rates of mobility (total mobility), that is the share of persons that change classes, in this case between the generations, and not on unequal chances of mobility (relative mobility).

We begin by a literature review and discuss two main theories on social mobility, namely modernisation theory and status maintenance theory. And we describe the potential disrupting force of wars and revolutions. We also give an overview of other possible determinants of social mobility, pertinent to early modern societies. Next we discuss the various datasets in the three countries, and the social class scheme used.

In the country for which we presently arguably have the best data, France, the rate of intergenerational mobility increased, albeit irregularly from the 1720s until 1850 (and from there on until the end of the twentieth century, as we showed in another study). For the German and Swedish places, no clear picture can yet be observed: total mobility trajectories vary among places and over time, as do upward and downward mobility. Sweden stands out by a relatively high rate of downward mobility, mostly consisting of farmers' sons becoming farm laborers. More than expected, however, sons with fathers from outside the farming class succeeded in becoming a farmer. Barriers between the sectors seem to have been weak in Sweden.

We draw two broad conclusions. The first is that pre-modern social class structures were not as stable as either modernization or status maintenance theories claim. The second is that in the case of France, for which we have excellent long-term records, even the major shock of the French Revolution and its aftermath did not cause an observable Sorokin effect for men.

LUCIANO MAFFI, *La mobilità sociale nel Basso Piemonte durante la prima Età Moderna. Gli estimi del territorio di Tortona: fonti e metodi d'indagine*

L'articolo intende illustrare e analizzare le fonti utili alla ricostruzione della mobilità sociale nel Basso Piemonte nei secoli XVI e XVII, con specifico riferimento al territorio tortonese, che nel periodo considerato apparteneva al Ducato di Milano. A tal fine vengono presentate e descritte le fonti conservate negli archivi dei comuni di Tortona e Castelnuovo Scivia, mettendo in evidenza limiti e opportunità offerte da questa tipologia documentaria, al fine di monitorare l'evoluzione dei patrimoni familiari in quel periodo. Tali riflessioni sono relazionate al contesto socio-istituzionale sia di ambito locale sia di livello regionale. Si effettua infine un'analisi di queste fonti per studiare la mobilità sociale a Castelnuovo Scivia per alcuni decenni del Seicento.

The article aims to highlight and analyze the sources relevant to the reconstruction of social mobility in Southern Piedmont during the 16th and 17th centuries, with specific reference to the Tortona area, which belonged to the Duchy of Milan in the period considered. The sources preserved in the archives of the municipalities of Tortona and Castelnuovo Scivia are presented and described, highlighting the limitations and opportunities offered by this type of documentation in order to monitor the evolution of family assets during that period. These reflections are connected to the socio-institutional context at both local and regional levels. Finally, an analysis of these sources is carried out to study social mobility in Castelnuovo Scivia for a few decades of the 17th century.

JOSÉ ANTONIO MATEOS ROYO, Peaceful conquest or skilful adaptation? The rise of Genoese merchants in Aragon (1580-1620)

This study analyses the strategies used by Genoese merchants to control trade and credit in Aragon between 1580 and 1620 without arousing social opposition, unlike the French merchants in the rest of the seventeenth century. The adaptation of their business both to the political and economic context and to the legal and

institutional framework of the kingdom made it easier for them to gain the acceptance of the elites of Aragon and the representatives of the Spanish monarchy. Endogamous marriages were encouraged among the Genoese and any aspiration to political posts or honorary offices was sidelined to favour their professional progress. Only some decided to establish roots by marrying into regional petty noble families, acquiring houses, land and long-term debt in order to obtain income and create lordships and entailed estates, bringing their way of life close to that of the petty nobility.

HANNELORE PEPKE, *La mobilità sociale ascendante des vigneronns dijonnais dans le contexte d'une crise multiforme à la fin du Moyen Age (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*

In the troubled period of the Late Middle Ages, the Burgundian vineyards and Dijon experienced great changes. The secular rise in wages allowed winegrowers to gain economic autonomy. The exceptional richness of the Burgundian archives permits to identify various techniques used by them, especially structural pluri-activity, speculative trade in cereals, and intermediate investment of their savings in cattle (one or two cows), acquisition of own vines. Collectively, they acquired recognition in Dijon for their expertise, taken into consideration for the management of the local vineyard.

GABRIEL RAMON-MOLINS, *Prosperare a credito, rovinarsi con i debiti: l'indebitamento come catalizzatore della mobilità sociale nel nord della Catalogna (1785-1800)*

Il paper si concentra sullo studio del sistema creditizio agricolo e la sua influenza sulla mobilità sociale e sui cambiamenti economici in Catalogna, specialmente nell'area dell'Empordà, durante gli ultimi anni del setecento. Si analizza come l'indebitamento fosse strettamente legato all'attività agricola e allo sviluppo economico di quel periodo. Si descrive l'uso del credito e si indagano le motivazioni che portavano a contrarre debiti, così come le conseguenze sui diversi strati sociali. Si mette in rilievo il ruolo dei censi come principale forma di indebitamento e ne viene esplorato l'impatto sulla configurazione economica e sociale della regione. L'articolo offre una visione dettagliata di come il credito agricolo abbia modellato le dinamiche sociali ed economiche della Catalogna durante quel periodo storico.

This paper focuses on studying the agricultural credit system and its impact on social mobility and economic changes in Catalonia, especially in the Empordà area, during the late 18th century. It analyzes how indebtedness was closely linked to agricultural activity and the economic development of that period. The use of credit is described, and the reasons for incurring debts are investigated, as well as the consequences on different social strata. Emphasis is placed on consignative census as the main form of indebtedness, and their impact on the economic and social configuration of the region is explored. The article provides a detailed view of how agricultural credit shaped the social and economic dynamics of Catalonia during that historical period.

ALBERT REIXACH SALA, PAU VICIANO, Social mobility in the towns and countryside of late Medieval Crown of Aragon (c.1300-c. 1550): sources and methodological approaches

This chapter deals with the sources and methodologies available to study dynamics of social mobility in Late Medieval Crown of Aragon. We discuss the strengths and limitations of three different kind of sources: fiscal registers, municipal records and notarial sources (wills, probate inventories and wills). Secondly, we present four case studies based on the cities of Girona and Majorca, as well as the small towns of Sant Mateu and Castelló de la Plana (both in northern kingdom of Valencia). In Girona we trace family names through local tax registers combined with an approach centered on lists of municipal offices. We compare the latter approach with another on Palma (Majorca). Finally, we seek to detect changes in socioeconomic status through the minimum threshold of income fixed in general tax records in Sant Mateu, along with the evolution of families recorded in local wealth registers in Castelló.

WOUTER RONSIJN, WOUTER RYCKBOSCH, Income and wealth mobility in the smaller towns of the late medieval and early modern Low Countries: an exploratory analysis

In this paper, we set out to explore trends in mobility levels in six smaller towns in the Low Countries during the late Middle Ages and early modern period. We use pairs of tax lists to divide the population into quintiles and draw up mobility tables. We estimate mobility as the proportion of people moving into a different quintile. We did not find a long-term trend in mobility levels. Mobility levels did fluctuate in the towns we investigate, but we did not find any relation to trends in or levels of population or inequality. Our results suggest that preindustrial urban societies remained fairly rigid. Many people remained either in the top or bottom half of the distribution. It seems particularly people at the top managed to stay at the top.

WOUTER RYCKBOSCH, Towards a new history of old mobility: obstacles and prospects

A new wave of empirical and data-driven studies on the history of social mobility in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period has been emerging in recent years. This trend bears some resemblance to the wave of historical inequality studies that successfully changed the consensus of long-run trends in inequality in the past decade. In this short reflection, I argue that there are important obstacles to overcome before a similar consensus in the field of historical mobility studies can be reached. Pre-modern historians should be careful to distinguish between different types of mobility, should take contemporary perceptions of social ambition or fear into account, and should Always specify which social groups their results apply to.

SONIA SCHIFANO, TIAGO FERREIRA FLORES, ANTOINE PACCOUD, Inequality in pre-industrial Luxembourg (1766-1842): comparing the effects of the end of feudalism in rural and urban areas

This paper uses the land distribution derived from the Maria Theresa cadastre in Luxembourg from 1766 and a land registry of 1842 to compare wealth inequality in Luxembourg City and Dudelange, a rural municipality in the south of the country. The Gini coefficients for the two areas show a big difference in inequality. In 1766, Dudelange, with a Gini coefficient of 0.84, seems to be much more unequal than Luxembourg City that registers a Gini coefficient on land distribution of 0.53. The inequality analysis in 1842 shows a reduction in the inequality estimates mainly driven by the abolishment of the feudal taxes and a reduction in the inequality gap between Luxembourg City and Dudelange. When looking at social mobility, however, the results for the two places are quite similar.

MATTIA VIALE, The *estimi* of the Republic of Venice as a resource for studying social mobility in rural areas during the pre-industrial era

This paper illustrates the sources and methods for reconstructing social mobility in the rural communities of the Republic of Venice, focusing on the territory of Vicenza. Vicenza was consistently subject to neighbouring powers during the Middle Ages, fostering the development of rural communities that gradually gained significant autonomy from the provincial city. Venice recognized and promoted this autonomy after taking control of the Mainland in the early fifteenth century. Tax collection was largely entrusted to local communities, which had considerable freedom in managing their tax registers. Some of these registers, characterized by annual revisions, allow us to analyse social mobility with high detail and precision through methodologies developed within the SMITE project.

