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Introduction: Peter Hoppenbrouwers: portrait of a dedicated, versatile and skilful medievalist

Stein, R.; Weeda, C.V.; Sicking, L.H.J.

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Introduction

*Peter Hoppenbrouwers: Portrait of a Dedicated, Versatile and Skilful Medievalist**

On 11 November 2020, Peter Hoppenbrouwers took leave as Professor of Medieval History at Leiden University under somewhat surreal circumstances, in the midst of the corona pandemic and online conferencing. Glasses were raised online and a few kind words were spoken, but all in all it was an unworthy conclusion to a wonderful academic career that had begun 47 years earlier in the same city. At that time, Peter had travelled from the small village of Zundert to Leiden with his gymnasium diploma in his pocket to read history. In hindsight, we can conclude that he was a talented pupil, but at that time an academic career was not a matter of course for someone from the Brabant countryside. Peter would express his gratitude for his parents' stimulating support, as they considered it important for their children to extend their education. From that moment, the history department in Leiden became a fixture in Peter's career.

Peter was born in 1954 in Zundert, which is situated on the Dutch-Belgian border. Following Catholic tradition, he first attended the minor seminary of St Vincent in nearby Wernhoutsburg, close to Zundert. When the Sisters of Charity ceased their activities in 1967, he moved to the Gymnasium IJpelaar in Breda. This too originally was a minor seminary, but it was above all an excellent secondary school, where Peter acquired his knowledge of Latin. It is at this time that the seeds of Peter's love for history must have been sown. Day in, day out, he cycled the 18 kilometres from Zundert to Breda and back again. During these endless bicycle trips, he rehearsed the popes, emperors, kings, dukes and counts from St. Peter, Julius Caesar, Pippin I and Gerolf up to the 1960s.

In 1973, Peter made the leap from Zundert to Leiden University to read history. It soon became clear that his heart lay with medieval history. Later on, he commented that he was attracted to the Middle Ages because of the fascinating tension he felt between recognisability and alienation. It was, after all, an era

* With contributions of Marie-Charlotte le Bailly, Wim Blockmans, Dick de Boer, and Tess Hoppenbrouwers.

featuring all sorts of phenomena that are familiar to us today, yet whose material living conditions, customs, social relations and morality were also different. Peter's choice for the Middle Ages was heavily influenced by the presence of an ambitious staff, including H.P.H. (Huub) Jansen and the young lecturer Dick de Boer. Huub Jansen worked in Leiden from 1972 and was appointed Professor of Medieval History in 1975. He had obtained his doctorate with a thesis on Brabantine agricultural history (Jansen, 1955). His ambition was to transform the Medieval History group into a research community focusing on the history of the late medieval county of Holland (Jansen, 1976). It soon became clear that Peter was a very talented student. Together with Jansen he published an article entitled 'Heervaart in Holland', for which Jansen provided the framework and Peter did most of the archival research (Jansen – Hoppenbrouwers, 1979). Jansen was an important example and source of inspiration for Peter and later he would show his gratitude to his mentor by dedicating his own dissertation to him. To emphasize the fact that he continued to work in Jansen's spirit, Peter proudly mentioned in his 2008-inaugural lecture how he had adopted Jansen's toga – its length had had to be taken in by Jansen's widow Thera (Hoppenbrouwers, 2008: 15).

Closely linked to Jansen's ambition to revive the late medieval history of Holland, the Leiden historians embarked upon an editing project of the oldest accounts of the Counts of Holland, with Dick de Boer as its main executor. The project not only concerned the central accounts of the counts, but also those of the lower officials, such as bailiffs and receivers. In 1976, Peter was appointed as a student assistant to this project, and it was obvious that he, with his roots in Brabant, would take responsibility for the archives of the bailiwick (*drossaardschap*) of Heusden, a contested region on the border between Brabant and Holland. It resulted, in 1980, in a heavily annotated chapter in the first volume of the edition (De Boer – Faber – Jansen, 1980: XIII-XIV, 1-28).

Alongside the study of history and the Holland-Brabant archival research, Peter also took a minor in Italian language and literature. A stay at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome (KNIR) led to a continuing love of and fascination with Italy and much, much later to a publication about the city of Todi (Hoppenbrouwers, 2013a). In this respect, it is no coincidence that Peter, in his Leiden inaugural lecture, addressed the dilemmas Italian city-states faced when dealing with *malgoverno* and Good Lordship (Hoppenbrouwers, 2008). He was not only engaged in historical research though. He amazed his colleagues by appearing as an extra in the film *Rembrandt fecit 1669*, directed by Jos Stelling (1977).

After obtaining his doctoral degree in 1978, Peter became a teaching assistant at Leiden University and ZWO-fellow. These appointments enabled him to conduct doctoral research into the late medieval Land of Heusden. However, before he had finished his dissertation, Peter was appointed director of the at that moment somewhat languishing Netherlands Agricultural Historical Institute (NAHI) in Groningen, in 1984. As a cooperation between Wageningen and Groningen, this institute focused on the documentation and research of agricultural history, not specifically of the Middle Ages, but from the prehistorical age

to the morning paper, so to speak, with a strong emphasis on modern history. The *Historia Agriculturae* series was (and still is) the NAHI's flagship publication (Gerding, 2009). In addition to his editorial and administrative duties as director, Peter also taught agricultural history at Groningen University.

When he was appointed at the NAHI, the expectation was that he would complete his PhD shortly, but this took another eight years. In his own words:

Not only was the dissertation difficult to combine with other work during the first years, and difficult to integrate into the research programme in Groningen, but my thoughts about the most adequate solution to a number of technical problems that were inherent to the research gradually changed as well. (Hoppenbrouwers, 1992: [iii])

His extensive – 1000 pages in two volumes –, exemplary and methodologically innovative dissertation was defended in 1992 under the promotorship of Ad van der Woude, Professor of Agricultural History from Wageningen, and Wim Blockmans, successor to Huub Jansen as Professor of Medieval History in Leiden (Hoppenbrouwers, 1992). It was received enthusiastically by the reviewers, but without an English translation, its impact remained limited.

In 1994, Peter returned to Leiden for the first time. At the time, most of his scholarly attention was focused on the history of agriculture that he had addressed in his dissertation. His transfer was marked by a conference in June 1994 on the Brenner thesis and its applicability to the Northern Netherlands. Perhaps even more important, certainly in the Leiden academic setting, was Peter's commitment to education. He became an enthusiastic and popular teacher, who supervised many theses. He gave lectures on a large number of subjects, incorporating his extensive knowledge of historical films, using moving light images – which was exceptional in those days. The most striking result, or at least the most influential product was the new textbook of medieval history that Peter started to write in this period, together with Wim Blockmans – to be discussed below.

With the new textbook, Peter established himself as one of the leading medievalists of the Netherlands. It was therefore no surprise that he was appointed Professor of Medieval History at the University of Amsterdam in 2001, succeeding Piet Leupen. Without abandoning his expertise in agricultural history, he focused on new subjects, starting research projects on the development of medieval identities, on the late medieval chancelleries of Hainaut-Holland and on party/factional strife in the Northern Netherlands.

In 2008, Peter again returned to the Institute of History of Leiden University, his alma mater, where he took up the position previously held by Huub Jansen and Wim Blockmans. He remained there until his retirement in 2020. He lectured with great commitment and enthusiasm, but above all with a broad theoretical background and deep knowledge of primary sources, historical developments – and anecdotes, to the delight of his students. For instance, he shared his pearls of wisdom about the sad end of Duke Godfrey the Hunchback in the so called

‘Vlaardinger toilet murder’ (1076). As a member of the Leiden Institute of History and as chair of the Medieval History department – he would always consider himself to be *primus inter pares* – Peter was, and as emeritus still is, a fantastic colleague, combining knowledge with humour and a healthy level of self-mockery. He was a driving force within the Leiden research group ‘Europe 1000-1800’ and for a long time chair of the Examination Board. However, his relations with the ‘higher authorities’ and the growing bureaucracy at the Faculty and University were characterised by a certain level of discomfort.

This chronological overview does not do full justice to Peter’s significance to Dutch and international medieval studies. Throughout his career, he devoted himself to committees, editorial boards and graduations. Between 1995 and 2005, he was an active member of the International Research group CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area). Among other things, he was member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of Medieval History*, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* and The Medieval Countryside-series at Brepols. From 2019 until his retirement, he acted as Director of the Research School. In this capacity he was at his best, both as a scholar and as a teacher: he addressed the advanced students and PhD-candidates with insight, knowledge and catching enthusiasm.

Peter as a scholar

In an interview that appeared in 2010, Peter remarked:

I find it difficult to focus for a long time on developments in, for example, Burgundian Holland; I begin to wonder, so to speak, about “what was going on in Poland at the same time?”

Indeed, during an academic career spanning nearly half a century, Peter published a large number of works: popular contributions, critical, sharp and to-the-point reviews, source editions, inventories, articles and monographs. He became an academic glutton, with a significant breadth (and depth) in his research and teaching. At one end were the immense steppe empires and the steppe warriors over a period of about two millennia. The handbook on the ‘entire European Middle Ages’ between 300 and 1550 must be mentioned again in this context. At the other end was his research on the micro-history of the farmers of Heusden and Drenthe in the late Middle Ages. Between the two ends are a series of lectures and articles on the development of identities in (especially) England and the political organisation of and the city militias in the medieval Italian cities. It is striking that some topics feature throughout Peter’s career. Among these, two themes stand out: social relations and economic patterns in rural communities, with a special focus on justice, feuding and vengeance on the one hand, and ethnicity and the construction of national identities on the other.

Social relations, economic patterns and feuding in rural communities

Villages and peasant society are one of the continuums in Peter's career. It is reflected in his longstanding editorship of *The Medieval Countryside* series, published by Brepols, in numerous articles, and of course especially in two of his monographs: his dissertation on Heusden and his recent *Village Community and Conflict in late Medieval Drenthe* (Hoppenbrouwers, 1992; idem, 2018). As we mentioned before, Peter developed his interest for rural history during his student years at Leiden University. He defined the village as 'a territorialized organization of local administration, legislation, jurisdiction, religious observance, and defence – in short as a public body, consisting of all local inhabitants' (Hoppenbrouwers, 2018: 5). In his choice he was initially inspired, not only by the example of his supervisor Jansen, but also by the micro-historical approach of Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou* (1975) and the theoretical models drawn up by the neo-Marxist Rodney Hilton and the structuralism of the Toronto School. In the course of time, these models were filled in, supplemented and partly replaced by empirical research in French historiography, by the retrospectives of Philipp Schofield and by the *Kommunalismus* of Peter Blickle.

Peter's extensive knowledge of the social and economic history of the Middle Ages is visible in other publications as well, for instance in survey articles on the agrarian history of the Netherlands (Hoppenbrouwers, 1986; idem, 2006) and more recently in an article on Dutch-Belgian historiography on the topic (Hoppenbrouwers, 2015). Of special interest is his publication on the applicability of the Brenner-thesis for the Netherlands (Hoppenbrouwers – Van Zanden, 2001).

The monograph on Drenthe, mentioned above, which Peter proudly commented was the first book in English on this region in the Middle Ages, is mainly based on legal sources. It focusses on rural life, property relations and kinship in the vicinity of a prince, religious institutions, local lords and a town which all faced the crisis of the late Middle Ages. It analyses conflicts between villages, feud-like violence and litigation about property. He thus provides insight into how conflicts were managed or resolved and how legal or non-legal solutions aimed at reducing violence among villagers and their relatives.

The closely connected phenomena 'feuding', 'factionalism', 'party strife' and 'private warfare' are a recurring theme in Peter's work. These took place in what he called a 'twilight zone', a vast arena in late medieval society in which various interest groups had great leeway to manoeuvre. Principalities did not yet have a monopoly of violence. These principalities may have undergone certain processes such as bureaucratisation and fiscalisation, yet in many respects they functioned as weak or failed states which allowed for various forms of private violence in the public space (Hoppenbrouwers, 2021: 116). Most eye-catching in his work, in this respect, was the Twilight Zone project which juxtaposed party strife and factional quarrels with typical ways in which the late medieval period dealt with political tensions: feuding, the creation of negotiation networks, and popular

revolts. While within the northern Low Countries research on party strife traditionally focussed on the so-called strife between the Hooks and the Cods, which dominated Holland's political landscape in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Twilight Zone project extended research to Friesland, Utrecht and Guelders, which were incorporated in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands much later than Flanders, Brabant and Holland. While his students focussed on the relatively understudied regions of Friesland, Utrecht and Guelders, Peter himself continued to work on Holland and Brabant, resulting in various new case-studies on these core regions (Hoppenbrouwers, 2010a; idem, 2010b; idem 2014; Gerrits, 2010; Noordzij, 2010; Smithuis, 2010). His most significant contribution to the debate on feuding is the recent, above-mentioned monograph on village communities in medieval Drenthe. In it, he shows that two different forms of feuds, which correspond to *Rachefehde* and *Adelsfehde*, apply to Drenthe, with the latter not only involving noblemen but commoners as well. The general tendency 'to make more of individual responsibility and personal financial liability at the expense of unfaltering family solidarity' also applies to Drenthe.

In all, Peter's work on rural society and feuding is fundamental, as it unveils aspects of late medieval society in the Low Countries whose historians mostly focussed on its urban and noble dimensions. In it, an admiration for the small, orderly village societies, sometimes territories, that succeeded in maintaining their legal and administrative autonomy, without taking much notice of a prince or other dignitaries, shines through. His work gives an intriguing insight into the way small societies dealt with conflict, kinship and property, and is characterized by an extensive theoretical conceptualisation and thorough political-institutional framing, combining high procedural content with catchy stories, in a highly readable blend of theory, empiricism, and anecdote. Those who know Peter personally will recognise him in this.

Ethnicity and identity

Peter's interest in kinship, communities and territories almost inevitably meant an immersion in the studies of ethnicity and identity. It therefore came as little surprise that his inaugural lecture, in 2001 at the University of Amsterdam, raised the issue of what nationhood meant in twelfth-century chronicles and songs in the world of Norman and English warriors (Hoppenbrouwers, 2002). In his lively address, building on the work of John Gillingham, he mused about what sense of identity these fighters might have shared. The rallying cries of tailed Englishmen, drunken Brits and belligerent Normans filled the university hall, in an analysis of the employment of ethnotypes.

His work, combining socio-psychological and anthropological approaches, led Peter to produce a multifaceted review of scholarship on ethnicity in 'The Dynamics of National Identity in the Later Middle Ages' (Hoppenbrouwers, 2010). In his contribution, he courageously tackled the history and theories within existing

scholarship on the emergence of national identity and nations across centuries. Particular attention was paid to explaining the relevance of boundary maintenance theory developed by Fredrick Barth and discussing the (limited) applicability of the concept of identity argued by Rogers Brubaker. He went on to stress that it was highly unlikely that ‘the age-long persistence of an ethnonym in the same area means that the people indicated by that name are members of one ethnic group or nation’ that did not change over time. Instead, they were constantly under construction, whereby ‘ethnicity is as much a geographical as a social phenomenon’.

While acknowledging the presence of ethnotypes in numerous chronicles, songs and jokes, in these and other contributions, Peter considered the hurdle faced by many historians of this era – the lack of sources produced by community members beyond the men of the pen or the aristocracy. How to step outside of the representations and staging of ethnicity controlled by centres of power? He himself made a marked contribution to overcoming this pitfall. For already in 2007, he had published an extensive and invaluable survey article pertaining to ethnicity, from *origo gentis* myths and narratives of migration, constructions of kinship and chosenness, to ethnic jokes and racial stereotypes (Hoppenbrouwers, 2007). His work thereby offered a gateway to new research on the construction of ethnicity beyond the nation-state. In 2013, his work was expanded in a contribution exploring ethnicity in the personality of law in Charlemagne’s empire (Hoppenbrouwers, 2013b).

Textbook

When Peter had returned for the first time to Leiden in 1994, an intensive collaboration developed with Wim Blockmans, when both started to teach the general course on medieval history for first year’s students, in a variety of contexts, from the early Middle Ages until the sixteenth century, and beyond.

Both teachers shared a dissatisfaction with the existing textbooks, in English and Dutch, which they considered to be too much focused on traditional political and institutional history. They were also convinced about the need for an up-to-date textbook in the Dutch language, focussing more on long-term political-state, socio-economic and religious developments. Such an approach might support school teachers by clarifying key concepts and processes using the correct terminology. As a veritable intellectual omnivore, Peter took the challenge most seriously, aiming at familiarizing the students with the most recent scholarly debates. He has an exceptionally broad range of interests, and deep knowledge, but he also is a perfectionist in all his undertakings. This was a welcome addition to the broad perspective that Wim Blockmans had developed during his long academic career. The writing of the new textbook took some years, during which students were treated with the latest insights in fundamental aspects of medieval history, often acquired during the nights preceding the lecture and presented in

syllabi. Not all of the students were happy with the exquisite bits and pieces of scholarship they were offered, preferring a tailor-made overview.

In 2002, the new textbook appeared in print under the challenging Dutch title *Eeuwen des Onderscheids*, literally ‘Ages of Discernment’, referring to a Dutch saying in which ‘age’ is applied to the moment in a person’s life. It was a nicely produced, high-standard and weighty textbook, in line with the latest scholarly insights. Peter’s lively writing style, salient descriptions, and humoristic details had by now enticed several cohorts of students to consider the creativity of the medieval mind – although they complained that the book was too heavy. Peter convinced a major English publisher to publish the textbook for the international student community, entitled *Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500*. Over the next two decades, the two authors continually produced new updates to both the Dutch and English editions – the fourth English, and the tenth Dutch edition will appear in the near future. Meanwhile, translations appeared in Portuguese and Chinese; a Russian translation is forthcoming.

Announcement of the volume

The contributions in this volume in Peter’s honour have been written by twelve of his closest friends and colleagues. It is impossible to address Peter’s versatility in a single volume, but they were asked to write an article in which the relationship between people and their natural environment stands central, with a particular focus on the regulation of the use of the natural environment through customs and laws, ideas and practices at courts, in cities, and rural communities. In recent years scholars of history have turned their gaze to the impact of the natural environment on, and its mediation through, societies. The social, material, legal and symbolic impress of epidemics, floods, and famine on communities has led to a plethora of studies about crisis and transformation, memory and mobility. Numerous studies have attested that over time, programs and practices constantly reshaped the natural environment, while societies attempted to channel the flow of energies and materials. Yet the coalescing of the natural and sociocultural spheres also opens up fresh perspectives on community formation, legitimation, property rights and the technologies of power and culture as well. In our view this perspective offers a fruitful approach to the relation between people and their natural worlds.

The first two contributions to this volume take a bird’s eye view, approaching the relationship between networks and environments, in historiography and contemporary practices. Jeroen Duindam traces the history of the discussion of female-biased kinship from Bachofen’s *Mutterrecht* to current paleobiology and linguistics. Did female-biased kinship ever predominate, and, if so, in which circumstances? What was the impact of ecology, environment, and migration? Can specific social characteristics be attributed to groups practicing matrilineal descent or matrilineal settlement? Wim Blockmans, in his contribution, concurrently re-

considers Slicher van Bath's question whether economies based on cattle-raising shared common features, broadening the scope from personal freedom to political participation. Various forms of power regarding the use of land and the relations to supra-local authorities have since been scrutinized. Blockmans explores the effects of the factors identified by Slicher on peasants' participation in political power, from German and Austrian *Landschaften*, in the Swedish Riksdag, to various levels in the Swiss territories and the Low Countries.

The following section consists of three articles dealing with climate, famine and public health crises. First, Tim Soens reviews how a new and powerful lord has emerged at the horizon of economic history: Lord Climate. Even more so than his feudal predecessors, Lord Climate is considered a formidable and indefatigable adversary, easily overcoming the most elaborate societal coping mechanisms in the past as well as today. But did climate and climate variability matter for peasant communities? How did they buffer the potential damage of adverse weather, or adapt to changing climatic conditions? Was climate indeed the one Lord peasants were unable to defeat? Thereafter, zooming into one community, Claire Weeda goes on to explore how in the city of Sint-Truiden, a market town and pilgrimage destination in the principality of Liège, was struck by several waves of famine and plague in the fifteenth century. How did the city deal with these crises through the regulation of the in- and outtake of people, food, and waste matter moving past the city's gates? Weeda argues that the local government's response mirrored the biopolitical technology of the modulation of the body. The organic politics of Sint-Truiden thereby involved an approach integrating the city and its hinterland. Judith Pollmann, thirdly, examines memories of the famine of 1574 and plague in Leiden. Memories of famine were echoed on commemorative stones in the city, and it was also the central theme of histories of the siege. Nonetheless, memories of plague were less prominent than those of famine. Pollmann explores the alternative ways in which contemporaries described and interpreted famine, and points to the significance of older descriptions of the siege of Jerusalem and their influence on medieval accounts of famine, as were also narrated in sixteenth-century Leiden.

Moving from crisis management to the regulation of the environment, in the following section Maaïke van Berkel asks the important question who owned and controlled water in medieval Cairo. She analyses the juridical and administrative regulations as well as their practical application in the everyday management of the drinking water supply in Cairo. Offering water to the poor and needy, and building public water works, were important acts of charity from early Islam onwards. Manuals of Islamic law argue that water is one of the resources man holds in common, and selling water was only permitted if value was added, for example by transporting the water from the source to the city. Examining debates about entitlement to water and for instance *hisba* treatises, van Berkel looks at the negotiations over access to and the quality of the drinking water sold by water carriers. The regulation of the environment was also echoed in the forms of accounting for the wilderness in the administrative, political and financial systems of

the Netherlands. Robert Stein's contribution focuses on the Forestry of the Haarlemmerhout, also known as the 'Wilderness'. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth century it was the favorite hunting ground for the counts and countesses of the Holland dynasty. As such it was carefully preserved and maintained by a forester. Around 1430, this role was however lost when the dukes of Burgundy took over the administration of the county and gradually integrated the Wilderness into their administration of their domains. The changing significance is reflected in a growing bureaucracy and in the manner in which the Wilderness was accounted for. Petra van Dam goes on to discuss the significant physical and socio-economic changes that occurred in the dune ridge landscape of Holland between the towns of Haarlem and Leiden, in the period from 1400 to 1650. One condition for the development of the landscape was the improvement and expansion of the drainage system. How were the local drainage units, peat and sand extraction organized? Not only did urban demand for peat and sand stimulate the extraction of these raw materials, but the supply itself was also important. The contribution of Louis Sicking and Jan de Klerk navigates the laws in the counties of Flanders and Holland dealing with an important economic asset: shipwrecked property. With many competing interest groups, the rules regarding (ship)wreck reveal who held political power and what their priorities were. Like many legal-historical subjects, the study of the 'ius naufragii' has for a long time focused strongly on doctrine: what did legal scholars write about it over time? Adding to new historiographical developments, Sicking and De Klerk further explore the question of how the right of wreck developed in practice or rather how the rules were applied in time.

The final three contributions move away from the regulation of the environment to the interactions between territories, communities and their social and political organization. In his contribution, Mario Damen addresses the multi-layered role of the counts of Nassau in the society of the Netherlands. Damen discusses the strategies used by the Nassau dynasty when building up a power base in the Netherlands, based on (urban) lordships which provided them with a solid economic basis, political influence, military power, and noble prestige. He analyses how the Nassaus acquired seigniorial power in fifteenth-century Brabant, both vis-a-vis their feudal lords, the dukes of Brabant and Burgundy, and vis-a-vis their own subjects and sub-fief holders. A detailed examination of the Joyous Entry into Diest in 1499 provides a glimpse of the direct dialogue, demonstrating how the Nassaus dealt with their subjects in the lordships, and how these subjects in turn had to accommodate their lord. Hans Mol explores, covering a period of six years in the early sixteenth century, physical and verbal private violence in the Frisian countryside on the basis of accounts in which judges report on the income they earned from fines. Within the total crime spectrum the vast majority of cases related to violent crimes, and this was no different for the rich regions on the clay soils near the coast or the poor areas on the sand and in the moors in the hinterland. Nonetheless, he argues, the homicide rates for the heath and peat regions appear to be comparable to those of cities like Leeuwarden and Sneek. Our last contribution zooms out to the period of the Safavids (1501-1722),

which is often perceived as a kind of watershed in the history of Iran, being the transitional link between medieval and modern Iran and the beginning of the modern history of Iran. Though the Safavids were not nomadic conquerors, their emergence can only be fully understood and explained through the historical context of nomadic conquest and post-nomadic empires in the Middle East and Central Asia. In Gabrielle van den Berg's essay, aspects of the Safavid rise to power and subsequent developments are discussed by looking at the interaction between the Turco-Mongolian ('nomadic') and Islamo-Persian ('sedentary') legacies in the Safavid empire. It examines, on the basis of contemporary Persian historiography, aspects of Turco-Mongolian legacy, such as the role of a council that may be compared to the phenomenon of the nomadic warband.

This volume on *Community, Environment and Regulation in the Premodern World* is a tribute to Peter's expertise and versatility, and an expression of our gratitude for his role as colleague, advisor, chairman, director and friend. We would like to thank Marilyn Hedges, MA, and our student assistant Elaine Hoekzema for their contributions to this volume. Marilyn edited the texts of five of the contributors, and Elaine offered invaluable support by ensuring that the references and bibliography throughout the volume were consistent and managing the production process. We also thank Chris VandenBorre from Brepols and the editors of the CORN series Erik Thoen and Thijs Lambrecht for their help and generous support, as well as the HPH Jansen Fonds and the Institute for History at Leiden University.

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