

## Book Reviews

**Assunta di Sante and Simona Turriziani (eds.),** *Quando la fabbrica costruì San Pietro. Un cantiere di lavoro, di pietà cristiana e di umanità XVI-XIX secolo*, Foligno, Il formichiere, 2016, pp. 591.

Written on the occasion of the Jubilee of Mercy proclaimed by Pope Francis for the Catholic Church in the years 2015-2016, the volume is a collection of nineteen essays and three thematic insights that are the result of the great number of studies conducted in recent years on the documentation conserved in the historical archive of the *Fabbrica di San Pietro*, the body that since the beginning of the sixteenth century has managed all the aspects of the administration of the most important and symbolic basilica of Christianity. Although there is a rich body of literature on the history of Saint Peter's Basilica, mainly about artistic and religious aspects, until recent years little attention was paid to the institution that for five centuries has governed its life. The volume edited by A. Di Sante and S. Turriziani extends and complements another fundamental contribution on the same subject, *L'Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano come fonte per la storia di Roma*, edited by G. Sabatini and S. Turriziani (Rome, Fratelli Palombi, 2015).

This new work emphasizes matters that have remained in the shadow while reconstructing the story of Saint Peter's and of its *Fabbrica* as well as the relationship between the Basilica and the city of Rome. The essays deal with a variety of important topics: the history of the Basilica's oldest holy door (A. Bellardini, *Piccola ma aurea: la Porta Santa nell'antica San Pietro*), which offers an original interpretation of a fresco painting cycle by Beato Angelico; the financing of the recon-

struction, decoration and maintenance of the Basilica, administration of money collected by the Fabbrica and all the jurisdictional problems related to it (R. Sabene, *Fede, accoglienza e indulgenze nella Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano*; Andrea Gasbarri, *Amministrazione finanziaria e politica sociale della Fabbrica di San Pietro, XVI-XIX secolo*; G. Sabatini, *Ad Beneficium gentium. I tribunali periferici della Fabbrica di San Pietro tra giurisdizione universale, equilibri di potere locali e finalità sociali*), including, in the essays by Sabene and Sabatini, analysis of how the Fabbrica collected money from all over the Catholic world and new information about the use of indulgences as a mean of financing the Roman Church; the living and working conditions of the personnel of the Fabbrica and the food market in Rome in the sixteenth century (P. Zander, *"Allegrezze" in San Pietro: danze, brindisi e pranzetti nella più bella Fabbrica del Rinascimento*; N. Marconi, *Sicurezza, assistenza e misericordia nel cantiere della Fabbrica di San Pietro tra XVI e XIX secolo*; A. Di Sante, *La Fabbrica di San Pietro e la formazione delle maestranze. L'esperienza dello Studio Pontificio delle Arti*; M. Braconi, *"Perché male adatti al genere minuto..." I mosaicisti dello Studio Vaticano, il cantiere di S. Pudenziana e il restauro dei mosaici delle basiliche romane nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*); the level of wages paid by the Fabbrica, an analysis which, on the basis of individual incomes, turns up unexpected results in the comparison between Roman workers and British workers, the latter's wages being considerably lower during the seventeenth century (Mauro Rota, Jacob Weisdorf, *Mercato del lavoro, salari reali e standard di vita a Roma nel XVI e XVII secolo: le evidenze nella costruzione della Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*).

Other essays investigate the role of women in the life of the Fabbrica: wives, daughters or widows of men who died or were seriously injured while working in St. Peter's, but also female workers developing important activities of decoration of the Basilica (S. Turriziani, *L'altra metà del cielo. Le donne nel cantiere petriano*; A. Di Sante, S. Guido, *Francesca Bresciani tagliatrice di Lapislazzuli per il tabernacolo di Bernini "che si fa del Santissimo in San Pietro"*; S. Guido, *Strumenti materiali e*

*tecnica per la lavorazione dei lapislazzuli per il tabernacolo del Santissimo Sacramento di Bernini; N. Marconi, "Ad uso di sua arte": Giovanna Jafrate vetrara della Fabbrica di San Pietro; G. Marchei, Le sorelle Palombi "ferrare" della Fabbrica di San Pietro; P. Torniai, Spunti per una breve storia al femminile della Fabbrica di San Pietro. "Capatrici e fornaciare" degli smalti per il mosaico). Still others highlight the vocation of the Fabbrica in the reception of pilgrims and, in general, assisting the needy, poor or sick (I. Delsere, *Alle origini di piazza di Santa Marta. Una storia secolare di accoglienza e di operosità all'ombra della cupola vaticana*; A. Molnàr, *L'ospizio degli Ungari presso la Basilica di San Pietro*; E. Atzori, *Le opere di misericordia dell'Arciconfraternita del SS.mo Sacramento in San Pietro in Vaticano tra XVI e XVII secolo*; S. Serci, *Le confraternite*). Finally, contributions about the decoration of Saint Peter's concern the cross made by Borromini for the Holy Door and the great marble sculptures of Christian Virtues related to the theme of Mercy, previously not investigated (V. Seifert, *La recente riscoperta di una croce di Borromini per la Porta Santa di San Pietro, posta al centro di una fioritura di opere di carità*; P. Di Buono, *La croce per la Porta Santa della Basilica di San Pietro: Calandra e l'uso del mosaico filato*; S. Magister, *A "sostegno" della Misericordia. Le statue della virtù nella Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*).*

In conclusion, the signal achievement of this book is to present an institution that is unique in the European historical context, the Fabbrica di San Pietro, in the great complexity of all its functions: managing Christian piety, welcoming and caring for pilgrims, developing highly innovative administrative and building practices as well as welfare practices and policies for its workers. The book is enriched by a general bibliography, a useful index of the names of persons and institutions, and valuable images of archival documents, particular objects and paintings of the Fabbrica.

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**Kenneth Dyson, Ivo Maes (eds.),** *Architects of the Euro*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016, pp. 336.

The book offers a set of short biographical sketches (20 to 30 pages each) of ten men who “were directly involved in the process of constructing Economic and Monetary Union... before [its] launch on January 1, 1999” (pp. 2-3). In their introductory chapter, Dyson and Maes premise that “The creation of the Euro Area was one of the most extraordinary and momentous events in modern European history” (p.1), so it is well worthwhile to examine the contributions of some of those who played crucial roles at various stages in the definition of the project. The ten “architects” that Dyson and Maes name are Robert Triffin, Robert Marjolin, Raymond Barre, Pierre Werner, Roy Jenkins, Hans Tietmeyer, Karl-Otto Pohl, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, Jacques Delors and Alexandre Lamfalussy. The book is intended to fill “a niche by examining the history of European monetary union through the lens of biography” (p. 2).

While the biographies are well researched (if not all to the same extent) and singly make for very interesting reading (in particular, one commends Dyson’s portrait of Tietmeyer, Harold James’s biography of Pohl and Maes’s portrait of Lamfalussy as the best of the set), the book as a whole is somewhat disappointing. There are three main reasons for this.

First, there is no full justification of the editors’ selection of the ten “architects”. For instance, they say they chose to exclude political leaders, such as François Mitterand and Helmut Kohl, in order to highlight the role of the architects as intermediaries between the scientific community and the political leaders. Yet they include Roy Jenkins, who unlike the other nine was basically political in his action and was certainly no economist or monetary expert. Of course, Dyson and Maes could argue that Jenkins was included simply as President of the European Commission, but one still wonders why a man whose motivations were essentially political should be in, while Kohl and Mitterand are

out. It is equally difficult to justify the exclusion of other people of strong technical connotation. As an example, while there is no denying the key roles of Tietmeyer and Pohl in the process of European monetary unification, one might well question the decision to exclude Otmar Issing, who was certainly the most intellectually accomplished member of the first ECB Council and a driving force in the early years of the ECB. Equally, one may ask why we have Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, who after all was only one of the two rapporteurs of the Delors Committee, and not Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, who was a member of the Delors Committee and then Italy's Prime Minister and Treasury Minister in the years of Maastricht and beyond.

The second reason is that some of the men who are in, although they certainly played a role in the final design of Monetary Union, cannot properly be termed "architects", if this is taken to imply an express intention to contribute to the design and creation of the common currency. Consider, for instance, the cases of Hans Tietmeyer and Karl Otto Pohl, both of whom were thoroughly opposed to the project. They were clearly most influential in defining the rules of Maastricht, but it seems odd to count them as the "architects" of a construction that they definitely did not want to see the light of day.

The third perplexity arises from the concluding chapter of the book, where Dyson and Maes point to a number of problems of the common currency. They frankly acknowledge that there were design faults, which have emerged since. Yet they tend to exonerate the "architects" from responsibility, instead laying the blame on the political leaders, who were unwilling to commit themselves to full political integration, which was – and still is – the necessary condition for the success of the single currency. This point needs some reconsideration, however. The question, in a sense, is whether you can really separate the project's technical design from the political conditions that were essential to its success. In fact, most of the criticisms of the euro, which Dyson and Maes rightly report, were voiced by people who doubted that the political conditions necessary to make the project successful were

present. Were the “architects” right to separate the political from the technical conditions? Isn’t it too easy to describe technical arrangements while neglecting the political conditions? Architects cannot limit their task to drawing the plans for a new edifice: they have to know whether the foundations of the building can bear the stress, whether there is enough cement and steel to keep it standing even under difficult conditions. If these conditions are lacking, shouldn’t the architect declare that the project is not feasible and ought to be postponed or scrapped? This they failed to see, all in all. They cannot be exonerated of the responsibility of the drawbacks of the EMU. Or at least, those like Triffin and Barre, or even Jenkins, who belong to an earlier stage, can be exculpated, but the others – Delors, Tietmeyer, Padoa-Schioppa – should have known better.

Even with these qualifications, however, *Architects of the Euro* is a rich and stimulating book.

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**Idamaria Fusco**, *La grande epidemia. Potere e corpi sociali di fronte all'emergenza nella Napoli spagnola*, Guida Editori, Naples, 2017, pp. 434.

Emergency events put a strain on *ancien régime* systems. Woven through these systems were jurisdictional privileges that differed according to social body and were the expression of a cluster of rituals; they risked rupturing when the established order collapsed and consolidated equilibria were lost. For this reason, the study of a community’s reaction in the face of a natural disaster such as pestilence, flood, earthquake, and famine, or a man-made one such as war, allows us to better understand not only the workings of the *ancien régime* institutions but also social actors’ potentialities for action.

Endemic or recurring at different intervals, plagues were the emergency

event par excellence. Plagues sometimes broke out suddenly at times of war, in the Modern Age equally common and unpredictable, tragic and inevitable, and disappeared just as suddenly, leaving individuals and peoples bewildered and virtually helpless. Once the plague had broken its banks and had spread, little could be done to fight it or control it; people could only wait for the epidemic to pass, and then draw up the long list of its victims. In addition to the inevitable demographic crisis, epidemics interrupted the normal flow of life, bringing daily economic and social activities to a standstill and almost destroying them.

Still the most populous urban area in Europe in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Naples (and its kingdom) was hit by the 1656 plague. A multiplicity of actors, characterized by distinct behaviors according to their social roles and depending on whether they came from the provinces or from the capital city, trod the stage of the plague-stricken kingdom. The viceroy, the heads of the administrative tribunals, the royal ministers, the municipal authorities endeavored to prevent the contagion, or at least to block it at the city gates. This attempt at control represented almost the only available weapon against the terrible “invisible enemy”, but prevention was also difficult to achieve, because it conflicted with supply, political or military demands or because people who put the defense of their own lives before their duties worked against it.

Idamaria Fusco’s volume on the serious mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Neapolitan epidemic, in which the author gathers together and revises some essays that are the fruit of a reflection developed over the years, focuses on the role played by institutions in the desperate attempt to keep an emergency situation under control, and on the reaction of a disorganized and anarchic society, which seemed to escape any form of discipline in the midst of the crisis. These two central threads intertwine and are disentangled. First of all, the volume analyses the relationship between the institutions and the emergency: central and local, royal and baronial, secular and religious institutions sought to struggle against the epidemic, but at the same time were personified

by individuals who, often in overriding fashion, put their own interests before the common good. Coupled with this analysis of the institutions and the men who represented them is an examination of the behavior of all the groups that took advantage of the havoc caused by plague in order to occupy an otherwise inaccessible sphere of action, according to an interpretation that sees the emergency as a factor determining the appearance of new actors who would push for a social re-balancing and change after the epidemic. In this sense, the plague, and emergencies in general, by releasing new forces, also put rulers on their toes, and spurred them to look at things and to act quickly.

All this is well represented by what happened in the Kingdom of Naples in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The kingdom was ruled by a Spanish viceroy, but also governed by local élites, whom the Catholic Monarchy controlled through grants of lands and privileges and with whom the central power cooperated in order to achieve better governance of the territory, according to a polycentric scheme of power organization. The 1656 plague shattered all the equilibria. It was a cathartic event for Southern Italian society because of its vast diffusion and high mortality rates, but it was also a hard test for the Viceroy Count of Castrillo, who, amidst many uncertainties and the general unpreparedness, had to devise new territorial-control policies, though starting from a revitalization of a dormant institution: the Deputation of Health.

And while, with difficulty, the capital city was working out a sort of health policy, in Naples and in the provinces everyone acted as they saw fit: flight from infected towns, closing of town gates by (still temporarily) healthy villages, quarantines and *cordons sanitaires*, proved over time to be basically futile, in an atmosphere of utter confusion and fear.

In this perilous context, there was only one certainty: without a strong central government providing clear and appropriate preventive orders, the existing equilibria would be overthrown and the kingdom would sink into anarchy. And this was what really happened. The reaction of the provinces to the appearance of the plague, and in particular the

conduct of feoffees and bandits, often united and well-informed, showed that new social balances could develop in this atmosphere.

After the plague, Neapolitan society had partially changed: if old balances were rebuilt, new ones came into being, and at the same time more cogent forms of territorial control were adopted by the central government. The new control was indispensable for allowing Naples to collect taxes again. Rebuilding the capacity to collect taxes, which the epidemic had destroyed, was a vital concern for a kingdom burdened with pressing international commitments.

Above all, as the author underlines in the conclusions of her volume, the plague, deeply marking the history of the kingdom, helped to modify the way in which the central power would act during emergency periods, particularly towards the different local powers, as is demonstrated by the later episode of plague that struck the Kingdom of Naples in 1690, the so-called Conversano plague. In this sense, the volume conveys a much more dynamic and multifaceted image of the Kingdom of Naples in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, also as specifically regards emergency management and the relationship between center and periphery, than customary portrayals up to now.

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**Matteo Pasetti**, *L'Europa corporativa. Una storia transnazionale tra le due guerre mondiali*, Bononia University Press, Bologna, 2016, pp. 336

Recently, historical studies have witnessed a substantial, and more than welcome, production of essays, conferences, meetings and volumes on the topic of corporatism.<sup>1</sup> This new stream of literature has permitted

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<sup>1</sup> The literature on the transnational circulation of corporatist ideas and legislation is by now quite extensive. Let us just recall the following recent volumes: A. Mazzacane, A. Somma, M. Stoleis (eds.), *Korporativismus in den Südeuropäis-*

the creation of a new dimension of analysis, where scholars from different disciplines – history, political science, economic history, juridical history and so on – have all picked up on Gianpasquale Santomassimo's exhortation to "have the courage to take the phenomenon seriously,"<sup>2</sup> overcoming the scission – which had certainly existed – between theory and facts and conferring autonomous historiographical dignity on the topic.

It is now widely acknowledged that beyond the massive theoretical production of the corporatist school itself, which eventually produced few – but not unimportant – legislative results,<sup>3</sup> beyond what Carlo Rosselli called the "corporatist bluff,"<sup>4</sup> there is an intricate theoretical debate worth studying in particular because of its consequences for the general framework and tools of a series of disciplines involved in the corporatist debate – law, political science and economics, to name just a few. Hence, distancing themselves from the out-dated thesis of corporatism as (solely) a capitalist charade or farce, this new generation

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*chen Diktaturen*, Frankfurt am Main, Klostermann, 2006; G. Santomassimo, *La terza via fascista. Il mito del corporativismo*, Rome, Carocci, 2006; I. Stolzi, *L'ordine corporativo. Poteri organizzati e organizzazione del potere nella riflessione giuridica dell'Italia fascista*, Milan, Giuffrè, 2007; *Les Études Sociales*, no. 157-158. *Les sciences sociales et la corporation (1850-1945)*, 2013; O. Dard (ed.), *Le corporatisme dans l'aire francophone*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2011; S. Cassese, *Lo stato fascista*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2010; A. Gagliardi, *Il corporativismo fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2010; D. Musiedlak (ed.), *Les expériences corporatives dans l'aire latine*, Bern, Peter Lang, 2010; A.C. Pinto, F. Palomanes Martinho (eds.), *A vaga corporativa: corporativismo e ditaduras na Europa e na América Latina*, Lisbon, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2016; A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Corporatism and Fascism. The Corporatist Wave in Europe*, London-New York, Routledge, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> G. Santomassimo, *La terza via fascista: il mito del corporativismo*, Rome, Carocci, 2006, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> S. Cassese, "Corporazioni e intervento pubblico nell'economia", in *Quaderni storici delle Marche*, 1968, pp. 402-457, now in A. Acquarone, M. Vernassa (eds.), *Il regime fascista*, Bologna, il Mulino, pp. 327-355.

<sup>4</sup> C. Rosselli, "La riforma corporativa spiegata agli industriali", in Id., *Scritti economici sul fascismo*, Manduria-Bari-Rome, Lacaita, 2004.

of scholars has laid claim to a prejudice-free analysis of corporatist projects and proposals.<sup>5</sup>

Pasetti's new work represents an important step forward within this historiographical tendency, coping with a series of challenges at different levels of analysis. As the title indicates, the volume studies the transnational history of corporatist theory in interwar Europe. However, this ambitious objective poses various analytical problems. First of all the very subject of study is vague, imprecise: neither chronologically ordered nor geographically homogeneous, and above all lacking in semantic stability, posing what the author calls, at the very outset, a "polysemic concept."<sup>6</sup> That complexity has been compounded by the work of "distracted and unaware translators," to use Marco Palla's phrase,<sup>7</sup> who published translations totally lacking in philological precision or accuracy; at the same time, it is undeniable that historiographical analysis was long blurred by the propagandistic appropriation of corporatist ideas by the interwar fascist regimes and movements.

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<sup>5</sup> In this sense the landmark article remains P. Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?", in F.B. Pike and T. Stritch (eds.), *The New Corporatism: Social-Political Structures in the Iberian World*, Notre Dame, IN, Notre Dame University Press, 1974, p. 86. Since then, a vast body of literature has been produced on the concept of corporatism, especially recalling the difference between "social corporatism" and "political corporatism". See, among others, M. Maraffi (ed.), *La Società neo-corporativa*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1981; A. Cawson, J. Ballard, *A Bibliography of Corporatism*, Florence, European University Institute, 1984; L. Ortaggi, *Stato e corporazione. Storia di una dottrina nella crisi del sistema politico contemporaneo*, Milan, Giuffrè, 1984; P.J. Williamson, *Varieties of Corporatism: A Conceptual Discussion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985; P.J. Williamson, *Corporatism in Perspective*, London, Sage, 1989; H.J. Wiarda, *Corporatism and Comparative Politics. The Other Great "Ism"*, Armonk, Sharpe, 1997; J.L. Cardoso, P. Mendonça, "Corporatism and Beyond: An Assessment of Recent Literature", ICS Working Papers, 1, 2012, pp. 1-31.

<sup>6</sup> M. Pasetti, *L'Europa corporativa. Una storia transnazionale tra le due guerre mondiali*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2017, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> M. Palla, *Fascismo e Stato corporativo. Un'inchiesta della diplomazia britannica*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 1992, p. 22.

Well aware of the difficulties, the author navigates these conceptual and linguistic shoals with inquisitiveness, precision and an admirable capacity of synthesis. One element to underscore is the author's interpretation of the transnational historiographical method, which he uses mainly as a tool to cross different types of boundaries: geographical, of course, i.e. the borders between nation-states; but also theoretical, i.e. between disciplines and fields of study; and finally, cultural, transcending political languages and perspectives.

Pasetti's volume has the merit of taking a variegated and sometimes confusing welter of pieces and putting them together in order to give the reader a fascinating, polychrome mosaic of corporatist histories. Applying the transnational perspective, the author successfully intertwines national histories already studied in a genuine, intriguing, plural description of what he himself calls the theoretical course travelled by the corporatist idea.<sup>8</sup> This, in fact, is one of the key ways in which Pasetti's work distinguishes itself from earlier studies – transcending national narratives to achieve a choral explanation of the corporatist projects that circulated in interwar Europe. Obviously, it is impossible to conceive of any such project without the solid, archival research and particular studies that went before. And the author properly acknowledges his debt to previous work in a massive bibliographical appendix that is itself a powerful research tool – a hidden treasure within the volume.

Thus, the most original results of the volume arise in particular from the balance between the national and the transnational dimensions. On the one hand, in fact, Pasetti successfully avoids the black-and-white tone, thanks mainly to his mastery of the difficult transnational approach to history, which enables him to focus on transfers, entanglements, the circulation of ideas, and cultural exchanges. More precisely,

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<sup>8</sup> See in particular M. Pasetti, "The Fascist Labour Charter and its transnational spread", in A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Corporatism and Fascism. The Corporatist Wave in Europe*, London-New York, Routledge, 2017.

as the introduction notes, what is investigated is the “world in between”: a world of continuous transformations and hybrid forms; of reformulations, re-contextualization and theoretical reconstruction and adaptation. At the same time, the author also manages to avoid the simplistic *reduction ab unicum* interpretation, eluding the trap of compellingly bending the facts to one’s hypothesis.

In fact, what results from the analysis is the demonstrated ability of multiple political and cultural subjects operating in different European contexts to receive, reformulate, adapt and propose corporatist-reform projects. Pasetti describes the first transnational corporatist writings, the international circulation of corporatist ideas in interwar Europe. Therefore, with considerable learning and the rare co-presence of historical reconstruction and historiographical interpretation, the volume challenges – rather, definitively dismantles – the monolithic understanding of an idea that has too often been rigidly associated with authoritarian/fascist regimes or movements. The work confirms the impression suggested by a number of earlier authors and explicitly recalled by Emmanuel Rota in a 2006 article, namely that corporatism could represent a benchmark also for non-fascist and non-totalitarian socio-economic projects.<sup>9</sup>

Escaping the cramped walled garden of national historical viewpoint allows Pasetti to lead the reader to discover a multiplicity of corporatist phenomena, encompassing a wide range of cultural and political families as well as nations. The author identifies an evolving path of the corporatist theoretical idea, articulated in a three-step development and a three-stage chronology: “revivals” (1918-1925); “a new model” (1926-1932); and “avatars” (1933-1943).

World War I was certainly a decisive turning point in history, ending the long nineteenth century and inaugurating a new era; among its

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<sup>9</sup> E. Rota, “La tentazione corporativa: corporativismo e propaganda fascista nelle file del socialismo europeo”, in M. Pasetti (ed.), *Progetti corporativi tra le due guerre mondiali*, Rome, Carocci, 2006, p. 86

effects was to create an utterly clear and precise perception of the crisis of the Liberal State. At the end of the conflict, in fact, the emergence of mass society, with its characteristic social, economic and political entities (parties, industrial federations, trade unions, etc.), led various intellectuals to question the validity of traditional liberal, parliamentary democracy and to imagine a different kind of representation, often called “technical” or “functional.” The objective was to find a cure for the decline and fall of a politico-juridical system by furnishing political representation for the collective economic organisations typical of modern industrial society.

So throughout Europe various political cultures – principally social catholicism, nationalism and a non-Marxist leftist corporatism, such as French and then Italian revolutionary syndicalism, or British guild socialism – began to hark back to a medieval-type institutional architecture based on corporations (or guilds), and transpose it to industrial society in order to fix the flaws of nineteenth-century liberal democracy and unregulated capitalism. In this context, as the author notes, it is interesting that the nationalist ideology of the Great War did not preclude the informal transnational networks and the international circulation of ideas, or the possibility of conceiving of Europe and its future as a single historical entity.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, a similar transnational attitude can even be detected in what would become the hegemonic model of corporatism, namely the legislative development of the Italian Fascist regime. Pasetti concentrates on the transnational circulation of the Fascist institutional experiment, providing important insights both into Fascism and into the European response to the crisis of the nineteenth-century liberal state and capitalism. The analysis clearly shows that at least until the mid-1930s the Fascist state was a point of reference for a large number of political movements, regimes and cultures, democratic as well as authoritarian,

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<sup>10</sup> M. Pasetti, *L'Europa corporativa*, cit., p. 38.

which began to see Italy as an interesting laboratory of new responses to the problems of the state and the relationship between the public and private spheres. On this matter, Pasetti is convincing in underlining the fact that, from 1926 to the mid-1930s the corporatist experiment constituted what he calls the *passé partout* for the success of Mussolini's regime abroad.<sup>11</sup>

This historiographical reconstruction raises an interesting question: why was Fascist corporatism, at least until 1936, one of the most widely studied and even acclaimed of Mussolini's legislative proposals? Pasetti's persuasive answer lies naturally in the corporatist tradition that was already present in the rest of Europe, as described in the 1970s in the masterful works of Charles Maier and Philippe Schmitter,<sup>12</sup> which made Fascist Italy a feasible response to the crisis of the liberal state, although many intellectuals continued to denounce its authoritarian and anti-democratic drift.

However, as the author observes, one detects a peculiar attitude in the evaluation of Italian developments in the interwar years. Many writers, in fact, contended that corporatist institutional legislation could be separated from Fascism, leading to two quite different, separate assessments: denunciation of the suppression of freedom and democracy, but also support for a new institutional system that claimed to represent organized interests and associations. The author backs his interpretation with a series of examples of positive judgments of Fascism's corporatist institutional architecture pronounced by authors of differing political persuasions. It is certainly no surprise to see the enthusiastic welcome offered to the Italian legislation of 1926-1927 by the Dutch Catholic thinker Herman de Vries de Heekelingen, who emphasized the corporatist Fascist state's ability to restore and maintain social order,

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<sup>11</sup> Ivi, p. 153.

<sup>12</sup> P. Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism", cit., and C. Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois in Europe. Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975.

or by the Polish nationalist senator Wladyslaw Jablonowski, who saw Italy as the realization of an organic State. But it is more unexpectedly revealing to discover the praise accorded by the French socialist reformer Albert Thomas, director of the International Labour Office, or by a Spanish anti-fascist who admired the 1926 syndicalist legislation, which in his opinion was educating Italian capitalism to labour solidarity and cooperation, or, finally, by such neo-socialist thinkers as Marcel Déat in France and Henri De Man in Belgium.

As the author says, then, between 1926 and the mid- 1930s the echo of the new Italian labour order transcended (once again) national borders, reaching a multitude of intellectuals from different political cultures, each reading into Fascist corporatism an alternative that appeared to respond to challenges common to all Western societies. In that sense, the Italian corporatist experience appears to fit perfectly into the European *milieu* of discussion and debate on the problems of social conflict, the representation of economic interests and the reform of the liberal state. The altered political context of the later 1930s – the rise of Nazi Germany, Salazar's regime in Portugal, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War – helped to marginalize the Fascist corporatist experiment.

To conclude, Pasetti's work represents a notable advance in our understanding of corporatist ideas. In telling this complex, multifaceted story, in fact, the volume evokes and illustrates the sense of a fragmented corporatist season, whose peculiar rhythms were mirrored in its patchy diachronic and geographical development. Unfolding a single, plural and transnational history of corporatism, the book transcends the (necessary) plurality of the more narrowly national corporatist narratives that preceded it and has the indisputable merit of historically explaining, at a glance, the similar – yet different – corporatist attitudes of a multitude of political actors across Europe.

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**Marina Romani (ed.),** *Storia economica e storia degli ebrei. Istituzioni, capitale sociale e stereotipi (secc. XV-XVIII)*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2017, pp. 242.

This book, edited by Marina Romani, stems from the workshop *Institutions, Social Capital and Stereotypes: Economic History and Jewish History (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century). A possible connection*, held in June 2015 at the Department of Economics of the University of Genoa. The workshop was part of the Research Project of National Interest (PRIN, 2015), *The Long History of Anti-Semitism. Jews in Europe and the Mediterranean (10<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> century): Socio-Economic Practices and Cultural Processes of Coexistence between Discrimination and Integration, Persecution and Conversion*. Like the workshop itself, the book is divided into two sections: "Jewish History, Stereotypes and Representations" and "Jewish History, Economic History, General History: Observations on 'Business Minorities'", with introductions by Marina Caffiero and Germano Maifreda, respectively. The conclusions are drawn by Giacomo Todeschini in an article entitled "Jews, Stereotypes and Economy in Italy from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century".

The book seeks to establish the elusive but necessary connection between economic history and Jewish history, possible only if an equally necessary connection, especially in Italy, is made, namely that between Jewish history and general history. With this objective in the background, the first part of the volume sets out several elements to demolish some of the stereotypes of Jewish history, first of all that of separateness. It is well known that in the last few decades historians, abandoning the old thesis of incommunicability between Jewish communities and the Christian majority, have focused on the daily interactions between the two and the countless, constantly oscillating relationships between extraneousness and familiarity, within a complex system of exchange characterised by prejudices and contrasts, but also connection and collaboration. For instance, the records of the court of Volterra in Tuscany, analysed by Alessandra Veronese, show that

throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century there was “an acceptable degree of mutual tolerance” (p. 97). This is also indirectly confirmed by a source that has been very little exploited to date: the commercial handbooks of the day, which as Andrea Zanini demonstrates contain, unlike other literary genres, few accusations against Jewish moneylenders and their activities.

This approach does not ignore conflicts or hide persecutions and institutionalised discrimination. In this respect, given the undeniable importance of money lending, at least in the initial phase of the spread of the Jewish communities, Miriam Davide uses the covenants of conduct for a new analysis of citizenship issues in north-eastern Italy. In the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Venetian territories, we find a heterogeneous legal situation, with rights granted to the persons party to the covenants and their family members only for the duration of the covenant. Since the relationship was not established with the whole community but with individual moneylenders, it resulted in partial and temporary citizenship, stemming from a sense of belonging which a previous work by Romani defined, quite appropriately, as “imperfect”.

This same strand of research also refutes the stereotype of a community as a compact and sympathetic body. This is confirmed by Serena Di Nepi’s essay on the social structure of the ghetto of Rome, based on a trial held in 1624; the court records show that the ghetto was anything but “a completely separate space inhabited by invariably poor people living on the margins of society” (p. 60); rather, it was an articulated and stratified society, with profound economic and social differences that inescapably gave rise to disputes and conflicts. Jews in Rome, as elsewhere, certainly were not occupied exclusively as small moneylenders but also engaged in a range of other activities, mostly in trade and services but also to a considerable extent in production, especially textiles, thanks to the Trojan horse of *strazzeria* (the sale of second-hand clothing and used objects in general). Less important (except, perhaps, in Mantua) was the participation of Jews in public tenders which, according to an essay by Elisa Caselli included in the volume,

allowed the Castilian Jews to play a significant role in the *arrendamientos* and in the market for aristocratic and ecclesiastic incomes. Finally, the essays collected in the first section help to demolish the stereotype of passivity: far from being passive, Jews could also design autonomous strategies, significantly and originally finding their niche in the modern and contemporary economic development of Italy.

The second part of the volume consists of works dealing more properly with economic history, portraying the conduct of the Jews as that of a typical “business minority”, to use the expression employed by Germano Maifreda, inspired by the title of a book of Roberta Garruccio’s. In the last few decades, as Maifreda writes, historiography has shown that in economic activities a minority that is discriminated against may well develop some particular forms of behaviour, notably mutual trust and networks that are hard to reconstruct but fundamental to historical analysis. The essays collected here demonstrate that this is especially evident in the case of Italian Jews, even before the institution of ghettos.

On the basis of a fascinating suggestion of Michele Luzzati’s, Mafalda Toniuzzi shows the existence of a *Res Publica Hebreorum*, a “Jewish Republic” that was virtual (since it had no territory), but nonetheless real. This “republic” was based mostly on the great mobility of individuals and the immobility of the main families. Since it guaranteed cohesion, it stimulated the establishment of robust networks of both economic and marriage relations, as exemplified by the Da Camerino family. The cohesion of the system did not necessarily mean cohesion within the single communities: the case of Mantua, presented by Marina Romani, shows great inner conflicts, due to the diversification of productive activities, as well as increasing social inequalities, with continual conflict over the distribution of fiscal burdens. However, even Mantua confirms the existence of a network of close relationships, in north-eastern Italy in particular but also stretching to more distant areas. The nature of the network involving heterogeneous Jewish communities is clearer still in Ferrara, as analysed by Elisabetta Traniello.

In Ferrara under the Estes there were three overlapping networks, owing to the presence of Italian, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews, engendering economic circuits that differed both geographically and in the goods handled. Yet the demonstrated transversal bonds among the three strata suggest that the standard thesis of separation between the various Jewish nations needs to be corrected. The discovery of these links underscores the contribution that general economic history can make to our understanding not only of the situation in Ferrara but of that of Italian Jews in general.

In addition to relational networks, the second part of the book deals with the *Monti di Pietà*, seen as “a new credit model based on pledge banking” (p. 155). Focusing on the “second wave” pawn institutions, i.e. those established in the sixteenth century, particularly the Monte di Pietà of Bologna, Mauro Carboni traces their evolution through modern history, concluding that the early transformation of the banking system did not entail major changes to their original ethical spirit. When they were established in the fifteenth century they represented “an original financial and political-conceptual synthesis” that ultimately generated the invention of institutional credit. However, as Todeschini writes in his concluding essay, they were also “an aspect of government policies of the Italian states which can only be explained by re-including Jewish history in the political and economic context to which it belongs” (p. 229).

Finally, the essays in the second part foster inquiry into the role played by social capital in minority groups, i.e. the availability of social resources consisting not only in relational networks but also relationships of trust. The concept of social capital, whose importance has been demonstrated in the study of local economic systems in contemporary Italy, may indeed be applied effectively to analyse the world of Italian Jews, made up of localised communities interlinked by countless forms of exchange. This is well shown by Luca Andreoni’s essay on Ancona, which analyses trust on the basis of the estimates of patrimony carried out by the Jews themselves in order to set voluntary taxation levels

within the community. Andreoni's work confirms that in the establishment of relationships of trust the availability of reliable information about the wealth of a merchant house, and also membership in an ethnic or religious group with a solid reputation, played a role of the utmost importance. Commenting on this entire section of the volume, Maifreda singles out a question that is still open, namely "whether oppression and discrimination may not induce a social group to develop specific resources such as to guarantee economic success". However, referring to contemporary sociological research, he also says that, today as in the past, immigrant minorities "build and supply networks, both internally and with their places of origin, getting benefits and thus making up for the disadvantages of exclusion" (p. 122).

In his conclusion, Giacomo Todeschini observes that in the last thirty years historiography has corrected some stereotypes, in particular that of separateness, but it has not fully disposed of two other traditional images: Jews perceived as a uniform, blurred group; and Jews seen as scattered, localised communities dependent on the needs of the majority society. Todeschini suggests that we should not interpret the evolution of the Jewish condition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from an exclusively religious perspective but frame it instead within the tendency of the powers present in Italian society to evolve towards oligarchy. In the same light, the exclusion of the Jews from full citizenship can be better understood if we view it within the broader context of social and economic regulation that characterised the sixteenth century in Italy, owing among other things to a new view of poverty (and, as a consequence, new policies). In other words, Jewish history needs to be set within the great economic and political transformation of Italy between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries and analysed, more generally, in the framework of international economic history. Yet the prevalent view, Todeschini concludes, is still a reductive one that is all the more paradoxical today, in a historiography that now "aims to reconstruct European and non-European history as an archipelago of comparable and interdependent economic-political systems" (p. 226).

There are certainly many issues still to be dealt with: the point is not just to treat Jewish history as an essential part of Italian history in general but to analyse the interconnections between institutions, social conditions and economic approaches and, finally, to examine the relationship between Jewish economic organisation and the surrounding world more deeply. This volume offers important contributions in all these areas.

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**Tiziano Torresi**, *Sergio Paronetto. Intellettuale cattolico e stratega dello sviluppo*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2017, pp. 496.

This book gives us a complete and compelling biography of Sergio Paronetto (1911-1945), including a thorough reconstruction of his thought. Unknown to many even today, Paronetto was a remarkable economist, industrial manager, social scientist and Catholic intellectual. He was part of the generation that came to maturity during the Fascist regime, and he became prominent among the disciples of Giovanni Battista Montini, later Pope Paul VI, who in his role as chaplain of the Italian Catholic Federation of University Students (FUCI) forged an impressive number of future political leaders. In 1931, barely twenty, he was among those who resisted the Fascist onslaught against the Catholic Action organization. At an early age, Paronetto played a significant role as head of the staff of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI), where he made crucial contributions to restructuring the banks of national interest, drafting the Banking Law, and constituting huge industrial and financial holdings. It was at IRI that Paronetto studied the problems of the Italian economic system from the national strategy angle. He would later become one of the most daring and at the same time most constructive Christian Democratic thinkers, a supporter of the Resistance groups and guerrilla troops that fought against

the occupying Nazi-German forces in Rome, and an outstanding intellectual leader of Catholic Action.

Methodologically, drawing on a mass of unpublished documentation and undertaking a profound historiographical inquiry, Torresi's biographical treatment is interesting indeed. In this work, the inner dimension is the privileged point of observation, not only of a single cultural and life path, nor even just of a group of intellectuals and managers, but of an entire era. From this point of view, Torresi's sound research gives us a deeper understanding both of the specific training of the future Catholic leadership and of the concept of "technician", the subject of a running debate among historians of twentieth-century Italy. Above all, Torresi confirms that IRI and the intellectual Catholic movements – in both of which Paronetto was undisputedly a leader, albeit often alone and secluded – were not "ivory towers" or exclusive training sites for an elite. They were the engines of a long-term movement, anchored profoundly in the nation's history, perfectly adhering to the development of the civil community and to the growth of the Italian economy. Paronetto, as the book's appropriate subtitle indicates, was an acute strategist of this development, standing at the crossroads of the diverse worlds – Catholic intellectuals, public managers at IRI, various cultural think tanks – that he put into fruitful connection. In quite a fascinating analysis of Paronetto's unpublished letters and diaries, Torresi shows how his daily commitment combined fine theoretical work with powerful adherence to reality and practical needs. That is, he combined his own personal intellectual baggage with the vocation for practical action, also offering evidence of the main reason for IRI's success: the endowment of skills and scientific preparation of a brilliant group of managers, who did not follow the theoretical acrobatics of Fascist corporatists but made substantial achievements and gained considerable experience in shaping the Italian economy. Knowledge before action: this motto was the guiding principle of IRI, what enabled the Institute to survive as the central economic institution in Italy even after the fall of Mussolini, the demise of Fascism, and the

radical changes that revolutionized the Italian political and economic system following the Second World War. Paronetto defended the necessity for State intervention without degenerating into planning, exalted both free enterprise and the ethical foundations of business, and saw in every economic act the spiritual value of an irreplaceable human being. He reflected on the consequences of technology, grasped the advent of the managerial society and showed interest in the nascent science of management. Thus he sketched out a coherent, long-term project for a vibrant, modern capitalist economy.

Furthermore this economic reflection was bound up with the intelligent consideration of the possibilities and limitations of democracy. His essays – which Torresi has studied in depth – emphasized the significance of the new, irreversible presence of the masses on the political scene, the role of political parties, the forms of an economic democracy that should envisage broad occupational and technical representation. This reflection was a decisive input in the foundation of a new democratic strand within Italian politics during the war and the fall of the regime, and specifically in the foundation of the Christian Democratic party. It enhanced the modernity and international approach to the economy, industry and finance that would mark of some of Italy's path-breaking political leaders – notably Alcide De Gasperi. Paronetto's ideas were finally condensed in the so called "Camaldoli Code" drawn up in July 1943 by members of the Italian Catholic movements, which sought to combine the ideal motivations of Catholic Social Doctrine with technical solutions for a society still oppressed by a tragic war. The Code was intended to serve as inspiration and guideline for Christian Democratic economic policy.

Paronetto died in 1945, at just 34, and so did not live to see the fruits of his labours. There has been extensive scholarly discussion of the eventual failure of the extremely demanding project for modernization produced during those years and of the inability of the subsequent generations of leaders to grasp the project's quintessentially political values and perspectives in the long run.

However, there is no doubt that, thanks to Torresi's praiseworthy research, the life of Sergio Paronetto can finally be remembered as a fine example of responsibility and intelligence at a tormented and crucial moment of Italian history, and his thought rightly characterized as a wise – even prophetic – view of the enormous challenges that Italy's economy and society would have to face.

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