

D. A. BRADING, *Mineros y comerciantes en el México borbónico (1763-1810)*, Fondo de Cultura Económico, México, 1995, pp. 498.

The interest in Mexico and in eighteenth-century colonialism, a period during which - as Brading explains in the foreword - Guanajuato, La Valenciana and San Miguel Allende acquired their present-day configuration, has prompted the author to further his research on the history of Mexico under the Bourbons. The subject, which was first addressed in a work published in English as far back as 1971, demanded greater attention considering the dearth of studies dealing with it; this had been pointed out by Brading himself according to whom Alexander von Humboldt's work of 1811 (*Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*) was the best work on the history of New Spain in the eighteenth century to have appeared until then. The present study is a re-edition of the Spanish translation published in 1975. Brading has spent much of his time researching in the archives, and as a result the book has drawn on valuable and unknown accounts and information which is useful for reconstructing an important period in Mexican history, defined by Brading as "Bourbon Mexico". The main characteristics of the period are thus highlighted, firstly in a long introduction that touches upon several events occurring in the pre-Bourbon era, and then in three sections which, although conceived separately, are strictly related to one another to enable us to have an overall understanding of the country's history.

The first part, entitled "La revolución en el gobierno", examines some of the major changes affecting Mexican politics and the economy in the transition from Austrian rule to Bourbon rule. In the second half of the eighteenth century the Bourbons delivered a severe attack against the old system and against the public and private institutions on which it rested. Driven by increasing fiscal needs and by policies based on Colbert-type mercantilism, the monarchy aimed to stimulate the production of precious metals extracted from Mexican mines and to free the market from old restrictions in order to open it up to the manufactures of the mother country. Broadly speaking, there emerged a will to exercise a stricter control over the colonies compared to the past, a control which inevitably led to the levying of new taxes, greater militarisation and a number of political and economic reforms. This new policy began to take shape in Mexico in 1764 and found its principal exponent in the person of José de Gálvez, General Inspector for New Spain from 1765 to 1771 and Minister for the Indies from 1776 to 1786, the year of his death.

As we can see from Brading's book, Gálvez set out to raise more taxes and to this end he turned tobacco manufacture and sale into a royal monopoly and sought to increase the production of precious metals, freeing mining from old controls. Such controls were severely undermined by a decree of 1778 which by granting free trade eliminated once and for all Cadiz's monopoly over trade with the American colonies. In order to achieve his ends, Gálvez used paid

officers to collect taxes and soldiers to quell revolts, as in the case of the rebellion that arose after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. As regards political reform, he sought to carry out important changes in Mexico's administrative structure, setting up intendencies in 1786 but only after having overcome a number of obstacles which had been laid by preceding bodies under the Hapsburgs whose prerogatives were heavily eroded by the reform. However, the innovations ultimately undermined the role of a cardinal figure in the old political system, namely the Viceroy himself. We can therefore understand Gálvez's difficulty in trying to impose the system of intendants and the attacks against the new system at his death, only one year after the reform had been introduced, attacks which continued relentlessly and which were to slowly but surely alter the nature of the reform.

Nonetheless, despite the many criticisms and the many problems it caused, the reform came to represent a kind of "revolution in government" and above all helped to fulfil the aims set out by the monarchy: to increase mining output and the quantity of money to send to Spain. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, as Brading points out, three quarters of the output of precious metals destined for the Iberian peninsula came from Mexican territory. "The revolution in government" had, in other words, left its mark in the new "Bourbon Mexico", a country which in this very period laid the basis for a close alliance between political forces on the one hand and a group of wealthy merchants and mine owners on the other.

The second part of the book entitled "Mineros y comerciantes" deals in particular with this group. In Mexico the ambition of anyone who aspired to make a large fortune was to become a merchant. Unfortunately most of those who decided to embark on this difficult career ended by dissipating the few resources they had invested. Only a few were successful, at the cost of great sacrifice and thanks to personal capabilities. If at first the market was dominated by several large trading companies based mainly in the Mexican capital, some of which are examined by Brading, the situation was destined to change after 1778 when Cadiz's monopoly over trade with the American colonies was abolished. Henceforth competition grew and some merchants chose to abandon trade and reinvest their capital in other sectors such as mining, in order to absorb the losses sustained as a result of the new situation.

The subject of mining is especially dwelt on by Brading in the second part of the book in which he examines mining techniques and improvements related to the use of gun powder, the difficulty in making the mines profitable due to continual flooding, the methods needed to separate the precious metal from scoria and the importance of mercury as an indispensable element in one of the refining processes which was in use at the time. Apart from these aspects which describe the structure and workings of the industry, Brading also considers the role played by the Bourbon government in stimulating the mining industry through a policy of continual tax concessions which increased after 1769 and

the elimination of many old dues and restrictions. Moreover, by setting up the "Tribunal de minería", a bank for financing mining and a technical school for training young specialists in the industry, the Bourbon monarchy sought to bestow a higher social position upon those engaged in mining, which was at least on a par with the status enjoyed by merchants engaged in colonial trade.

It is no accident that, under the new monarchs, mining production rose increasingly, except in the period 1760-1770. Such growth was certainly not due to the use of new and revolutionary technologies nor to the availability of larger amounts of foreign capital, something which was to occur only in the nineteenth century; neither was it due to the impetus that derived from the will to find new deposits which had stirred the first pioneers in the sixteenth century. Rather it was due to what Brading defines as "internal mechanisms". These were strictly related to a new and favourable mining policy and also to a renewed interest among merchants to invest in the sector, especially after 1780 as a result of the financial advantages the industry was able to offer. Brading thus devotes many pages to the subject of capital and to individual enterprise, recounting the history of well-known mining families in Mexico, such as the Fagoaga, the de Terreros, the de Moya and the Bibanco.

The third and final part of the book is entitled "Guanajuato", which is the name of a famous mining town in Mexico lying on a fertile plain and which already in the eighteenth century was better known as "el Bajío". During the eighteenth century, "el Bajío", which in the past had been a well-known farming area, underwent rapid demographic and economic development. Moreover the town of Guanajuato was able to benefit from the reform setting up intendencias as a result of which it became the provincial capital and the seat of the local intendant. But what truly sealed the town's fate was the entrepreneurial spirit of some of its inhabitants engaged in trade and mining; towards the end of the eighteenth century, Guanajuato became a major centre for producing precious metals. A crucial factor in the development of the industry in the region was the incredible wealth produced by the mine called "La Valenciana" which in the years 1769-1810 produced huge amounts of precious metal, giving the town a period of prosperity and complete financial autonomy, which freed it from the old dependence on the mercantile houses and banks in the Mexican capital. Brading traces the main stages in this development, examining the cases of several figures who contributed to Guanajuato's greatness using the genealogical tables set out in the appendix and devoting an entire chapter to the local elite.

Such an elite not only held all the economic power but also political power. This emerges from the history of the two deputations in existence at that time, that of the traders and that of the miners, the latter being the most powerful institution in Guanajuato. The elite often comprised Spanish immigrants, called *gachupines*, who dominated trade and mining and eventually deprived both their own children and grandchildren - the *criollos* - and in general the "rich" born in Mexico, of the means to acquire wealth. The *gachupines* were also very

unpopular among the masses, whose hatred for these successful immigrants and whose desire to take possession of their own lands were two valid motives for fuelling the civil war of 1810-21. As everyone knows, this war, which was begun in the very town of "el Bajío", was to lead to Mexican independence.

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J. KAYE. *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century. Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998. x, 273.

The author begins by studying the relationship between medieval economic "monetization" and the pioneering work of the Latin commentators of the Aristotelian mode of economic exchange, especially Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. He then discusses what were later among the "extrinsic titles" to profit, namely "lucrum cessans" and "damnum emergens." Here, a basic step was taken by Godfrey of Fontaines in his debate about the legitimacy of the "census" contract with Henry of Ghent. The latter had argued in Aristotelian terms that there had to be an absolute equality of value between the sum or cost of a commodity lent to a debtor and the sum returned to a creditor. To Godfrey this sum was not to be estimated in terms of absolute equality, but instead according to the proportional need of the two parties. This teaching is much enriched in the next chapter where the recently edited works of the famed Franciscan radical Peter, son of John Olivi, are viewed. There, one learns that Peter not only argued that a lender or investor may be justifiably recompensed not only for risk but also because his energy and prescience imparts to his capital a certain "seminalis ratio." Furthermore, the creditor's compensation cannot be estimated absolutely but only "by a conjectural or probable opinion ... with a certain suitable latitude" allowing for the "diverse opinions of men." Community good, furthermore, is involved here because, if credit is not promptly offered, the needy will be deprived of necessary aid. Later John Buridan perceptively added that "not only is the need for necessary commodities among the poor to be estimated but also that for excess among the rich [indigentia excessus apud divites]!"

The germ of the author's argument is John Murdoch's earlier conjecture that mathematically-minded scientists of the time developed their relativist theories from "the technological model of money ... in particular the model of money as [a] measure in administration." Kaye also repeats (rather too often) that the economic management of university resources led the professors to look at the world in terms of a "monetized economy." The Oxford Calculators, for example, ceased to measure by absolutes, and instead relied on comparative gradients or movements of observed entities. In his last two chapters, the author relates this

"monetary consciousness" to the "proto-scientific" innovations of fourteenth-century natural philosophy, concentrating on the relativist arguments of Buridan and especially Oresme. He then concludes: "Through ... experience of the system of market exchange, [intellectuals learned] ... that, in establishing equivalences between relative values, free agreement is rational agreement, ... though ... necessarily based on estimation rather than on certain knowledge. Furthermore, they realized that exchange equality based on rational agreement, ... can at best be based on probability and approximation. These were difficult truths, but ... necessary [for comprehending] the monetized marketplace. The same acceptance ... of estimation ... probability, and relativity informed Oresme's most fertile proto-scientific speculation concerning the natural order."

To conclude, what is especially gratifying to a reader like myself is that the author has put the history of the prohibition of usury into a new context. One may nevertheless ask whether the relativism in scientific and economic matters was not also paralleled by that in moral theological and legal casuistry. Even at the high point of usury's prohibition, compensation for risk was favoured by almost all the civilians and even by some great canonists like Penyafort and Hostiensis. Moral relativism probably grew naturally along with the confessional system. Did not the conflict between those requiring contrition (Dominicans) and those permitting attrition (Franciscans) have had a role here? Manuals of cases of conscience were everywhere appearing and doctrines like occult compensation and invincible ignorance were being limned. In short, what Murdoch touched on and Kaye developed was probably part of what led toward both the scientific revolution and the moral casuistry of law and the confessional in early modern times.

Joel Kaye's book is also to be lauded because its arguments are based on copious quotations of Latin text in its footnotes.

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M. LIVI BACCI, *La popolazione nella storia d'Europa*, Laterza, Bari-Roma, 1998, pp.300.

At the close of the second millennium, the idea of a Europe composed of a large number of countries which have many differences but which are becoming increasingly more united, is prompting many scholars to conduct studies from different angles on Europe as a whole. It is this keen interest in Europe that has led Massimo Livi Bacci to write the book under review. The study, subdivided into seven parts ("Numeri", "Spazio", "Alimenti", "Microbi e morbi", "Sistemi", "La grande trasformazione, 1800-1914" and "Fin di un ciclo"), provides a complete picture of European demographic trends over the millennium that is drawing to a close.

Population development in Europe has seen periods of growth alternate with periods of stagnation and even regression. This fact is emphasised by Livi Bacci in the first part of the book where he shows that demographic changes have depended on the contrast between "forces of constraint" and "forces of choice". The first category includes climate, space, land, types of human settlement, pathologies, food, energy and all those forces which affect demography and which cannot be changed or can only be changed slowly; the second category refers to all those "forces" depending on individual and collective decisions, such as marriage, fertility and migrations. In both cases Livi Bacci examines such forces with great mastery.

In the second part of the book, space is a central theme. At first it is examined from a geographic and climatic point of view with the aim to identify the main features of the European continent. Livi Bacci then goes on to focus on the history of the settlement of uninhabited areas, on the ploughing up of uncultivated land, the reclamation of marshland and deforestation to provide land for habitation and farming, and the efforts made to consolidate agricultural settlements and the growth of urbanisation. All these developments were taking place in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century when the process that Livi Bacci defines as "the great process of occupying and consolidating European territory" (p.55), came to an end; subsequently, when the major demographic and technological changes which occurred in the nineteenth century were set in train, the European population became less inward-looking and more open towards other continents.

The greater availability of foodstuffs had a major influence on this change in outlook. In an Old Regime-society, the scarcity of food supplies was a factor which restricted population growth since it acted as a brake on marriage and reproduction. Less important was the influence of diet or malnutrition on mortality. This is stressed by Livi Bacci in the third part of the work in which he addresses the subject of diet typology in the past, a subject on which little is known except for the fact that most diets were based on corn. If, in the short term, the close relation between the availability of food and mortality is a definite factor, in a wider context this relation should be tested through careful evaluation since malnutrition influenced mortality, especially when it was accompanied by poor sanitary conditions, poverty and ignorance. These were factors which helped to cause various illnesses and to affect their course.

In the fourth part of the book ("Microbi e morbi") Livi Bacci focuses on illnesses, especially on infectious diseases which were a very serious problem faced by our ancestors. The subject is of considerable relevance for any detailed population study since several serious illnesses, which often took the form of outright epidemics, heavily affected mortality levels and consequently the growth rate of the European population, even up to more recent times. This explains the attention paid by scholars to the impact that syphilis, typhoid, smallpox and sweating sickness had on society, although it was the plague which continued

to play the dominant role in the Old Regime's demography due to the incredible number of deaths it caused in relatively short spaces of time. Thus Livi Bacci dwells at great length on the plague: he explains in detail its etiology, provides a chronological and geographical outline of the disease, discusses the causes of its disappearance from Europe, which are still uncertain, and assesses its demographic impact.

Although man was ill-equipped to deal with the attacks of pestilence, the decisions of individuals had an important effect on what Livi Bacci defines as the "demographic system". The fifth part of the book, therefore, examines the system and its component parts which differed according to country and period. After having clarified that by system is meant "the combination of demographic patterns according to rules and relations that are stable over time" (p. 127) and described the characteristics of various European Old Regime-systems, Livi Bacci turns his attention to the single aspects of the system: marriage which had a great influence on demographic variables in the Old Regime; fertility, closely connected to infant mortality and understood as "natural" fertility in view of the virtual absence of voluntary birth control in the past, and "legitimate" since most births occurred in wedlock; lastly both short and long-distance migration which was encouraged by economic, political and religious factors. The analysis of all these aspects brings out the great difference between Old Regime-systems in Europe and those of the modern period which are instead characterised by low birth and death rates and high levels of mobility.

The sixth part of the book is concerned with changes in European demographic systems from the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of the first world war. It is shown that such changes followed a discontinuous pattern and it is not surprising, therefore, that demographic systems belonging to the Old Regime co-existed alongside extremely innovative systems. In the course of the nineteenth century, European countries were increasingly affected by a great wave of change which stemmed from the "weakening of constraints and the strengthening of the faculty of choice" (p. 176). Life expectancy increased considerably due to the fall in early mortality rates; the abatement in the subsistence crisis as a result of the agricultural revolution, the improvement in nutrition due to a much better daily diet among increasingly wider segments of the population, the disappearance of a number of Old Regime-epidemic diseases and the possibility of fighting some illnesses more effectively have all been crucial factors in reducing mortality among adults and children.

The decline in mortality has been accompanied by a fall in birth rates and a decline in fertility, largely as a result of greater birth control, understood as a "mass phenomenon" (p. 209). Livi Bacci is right to stress that at the beginning of the twentieth century it had become impossible to maintain old fertility levels due to the considerable decrease in mortality. Moreover emigration, which had proven to be a great outlet for the European population, began to encounter obstacles due to a reduced capacity to receive immigrants on the

part of those countries that had traditionally welcomed emigration outside of Europe.

We finally arrive in the twentieth century and, if we consider the figures, we have the impression that the European population had reached very high growth rates compared to the past, despite the effects of two world wars. In reality, this demographic increase masks "a downward sloping curve which has brought Europe near to the point of stagnation" (p. 227). This is brought out in the final part of the book where Livi Bacci shows that the population growth which had begun with the Industrial Revolution comes to a halt at the end of the twentieth century. There were five main factors which characterised this stage of growth that began in the nineteenth century: the continuous fall in mortality rates and the increase in life expectancy; the spread of voluntary birth control, causing the number of births to fall below replacement levels, despite the adopting of specific policies to encourage births in various European countries, policies which have not proven very successful; the consequent ageing of the European population which has jeopardised economic policies especially those related to the Welfare State, which were taking root in more recent times; the changes in traditional rules for reproduction through the removal of those elements which had traditionally represented the two basic pre-requisites for bringing children into the world: namely marriage and stability; and the ending of emigration from European countries to other continents and the start of a reversal in direction, with Europe as the destination of emigration of citizens from poorer countries outside Europe.

In conclusion, in the course of a millennium we have seen radical demographic changes due to the increasing influence that individual decisions have exercised over the constraints of the Old Regime. These changes have been carefully examined by Livi Bacci and are certainly no cause for surprise if we consider the fact that mankind has always been constantly evolving.

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G. L. PODESTÀ, *Dal delitto politico alla politica del delitto. Finanza pubblica e congiure contro i Farnese nel Ducato di Parma e Piacenza dal 1545 al 1622*, Egea, Milan, 1995, pp. XVII - 346.

Podestà's book analyses the historical context in which the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza was created and developed. The general political and military events in Italy, and in particular in northern Italy, in the first half of the sixteenth century were responsible for the birth of the new state. Although the creation of the Duchy was a deliberate act of Pope Paul III's nepotism on behalf of his son Pier Luigi, we should ask how and when the Farnese family succeeded in ensuring stability and a long-term future for a state that by its very nature was

considered by contemporaries as an artificial construction - "born overnight like a mushroom" as Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga stated - and therefore destined to dissolve once the contingent reasons that had caused it to be created no longer existed. The question is even more important in that the principal European and Italian powers of the time considered Parma and Piacenza, in the periods both before and after the creation of the Duchy, particularly sought-after cities.

Parma and Piacenza were important for two reasons: firstly, they had been able to play a prominent military and economic role in the continuous conflicts of the period and in trading between the two banks of the Po; secondly, they had shown in the past that they could bring sound benefits to the budgets of those states of which they had been part, as in the case of the Duchy of Milan. How and when the Farnese family secured stability and a future for the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza is therefore of prime importance and the answer cannot at all be taken for granted. It may be said that the central core of this book aims at giving an exhaustive answer to this fundamental question.

Establishing a regular flow of revenue proved a basic and inevitable problem right from the beginning. It was believed that finding considerable financial resources at the right time was a *sine qua non* for meeting the various heavy investments required to build the new state. It is easy to see that this general principle stemmed from mercantilist doctrine, but the way the Farnese family acquired capital was singular and interesting, and is carefully examined by Podestà.

When in the summer of 1545 Pier Luigi Farnese took possession of the state assigned to him, he had no income from the territories of Parma and Piacenza, but he received income from the Marquisate of Novara, given to him by Charles V, and from the dues he received as *Gonfaloniere generale* in the Papal States. It is therefore clear that the regular collecting of such income was subject to certain conditions: if the relationship between the Farneses and the Hapsburgs were to break down, or if a pope who did not favour the ruling dynasty was elected, the destinies of the Farnese family and the newly-created Duchy would have been greatly jeopardized. And so the first Duke adopted a policy that was explicit and resolute from the start: he implemented a plan that enabled him quickly to concentrate power in his hands, by opposing both the citizens and the feudal lords. Various punitive measures were taken in particular against the feudal lords, who owned about two-thirds of the territories of Parma and Piacenza: the most important was the confiscation of several important fiefs. This measure in September 1547 drove some nobles from Piacenza to support a conspiracy against Pier Luigi Farnese, organised by the Governor of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, on the orders of Charles V.

The first Duke's tragic end revealed how powerful and resistant the local feudal lords were, especially the noble families of the most ancient lineage who favoured autonomy. And so Pier Luigi's successors were forced to take stock of this recent dramatic event: according to Podestà, from this time onwards there

was a radical change in stance which was to shape the politics of the ruling dynasty for more than seventy years. Although the basic aim remained unchanged - that is, to find a broad and secure financial basis - the means used to pursue the aim were very different to those used a short time before. The new Duke Ottavio realised that there had to be a close connection between political decisions and the running of the economy. In fact he decided to carry out energetic plans on the domestic front, and in particular against the feudal class, only after he had sealed an alliance with Philip II and thereby gained the unconditional support of the Spanish monarchy. It must, however, be pointed out that during Ottavio Farnese's rule, he strengthened his power considerably by significantly extending his domains in various regions of Italy. In fact, because of various favourable and concomitant circumstances, Pier Luigi's successor was able to gain possession of a number of states and fiefs in different areas of Italy. The premise to enlarging his domains was the peace treaty with the Spanish monarchy entered into at Ghent in August 1556: as a consequence of that agreement, Ottavio succeeded in obtaining the restitution of Piacenza, Novara and the lands and revenues that were part of Margaret of Austria's large dowry. Moreover, the sudden death of his brother Orazio brought further important lands: Ottavio inherited from him the fiefs of Castro and Ronciglione. And so the Farnese domains included the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, the Duchies of Castro and Ronciglione, the Marquisate of Novara and major territorial acquisitions in the Abruzzi fiefs, at Altamura and Roccaguglielma. Thus the acquisition of new lands allowed Ottavio to avoid a sudden increase in ordinary taxation and to limit very considerably recourse to special taxation, since he could find new sources of finance in territories outside the Duchy.

However the documentary material which Podestà has examined suggests that Ottavio's politics were enriched by other factors that did not always derive from fortuitous circumstances: he implemented a prudent purchasing plan with the specific aim of increasing his control in territories bordering the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. This was of great strategic value and aimed to oust once and for all certain noble families who had stood out because of their unyielding resistance to the Farnese family. Ottavio's success against the feudal class was crowned with the confiscation, without too much difficulty, of various important fiefs in the 1580s, which provided a new and significant increase in revenue compared to the years of the preceding Duke Pier Luigi's rule.

There is no doubt at all that Ranuccio I was the bravest interpreter of Ottavio's financial strategy. In 1602, in an attempt to remedy the loss of Novara, which had been returned to the Duchy of Milan on the Spanish governor's orders, the new Duke forced the monks of St. Paul's monastery in Rome to sell him the estate of Fontevivo, which made him the owner of a huge patrimony consisting of houses, arable lands and pastures. This purchase gave a decisive boost to the process aimed at building up an impressive ducal estate in the state. The ambitious project was carried out between 1602 and 1612 through purchases

and confiscations of state property, and culminated in the confiscation of property belonging to the feudal lords of Parma involved in the 1611 conspiracy. Since the domains in central and southern Italy could not guarantee an appreciable increase in income, the only solution possible to augment the financial resources necessary to meet the increased expenditure, without levying higher taxation in Parma and Piacenza, was to raise revenue from property by increasing the possessions of the Duke. By acting in this way, Ranuccio followed in Duke Ottavio's footsteps. However, it is obvious that the Duke's possessions could be increased only at the expense of property belonging to the nobles. The confiscation of property belonging to feudal lords involved in the conspiracy played a determining role in profoundly changing the structure of land ownership within the Duchy. In this way, a large amount of property situated in one of the richest and most fertile areas of the Duchy was concentrated in the hands of the Farnese family, who thus managed to strike a decisive blow at the already failing fortunes of the feudal nobility of ancient lineage. And it was, indeed, these consequences, together with Ranuccio's fame, that made some people, both in Italy and in the rest of Europe, wonder whether the conspiracy had been mounted deliberately to defeat the feudal lords once and for all and to take possession of their lands.

The process of accumulating the vast ducal estate, begun by Ottavio in the sixteenth century, could be said to have ended with Ranuccio's death in 1622. In a very short time, exceptional results had been obtained: in just eleven years, the Farnese family's revenue increased by more than 32%. Sources of revenue changed substantially too: there was a considerable increase in income from the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, a marked reduction in income from fiefs in central and southern Italy, and a notable increase in revenue from the Farnese estate, which had accounted for 13.3% of the total income in 1600, but which accounted for 25.9% of total income in 1611 and 41% in 1622. The shifts in the sources of income that formed the financial basis of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza enabled the Farnese family to be less dependent on revenue from estates outside the Duchy. This was a decisive factor for the fate of the Duchy during the new period of instability and wars among European and Italian states in the mid-seventeenth century.

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P. SKINNER, *Family Power in Southern Italy, The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850 - 1139*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, pp. XII-332.

Patricia Skinner, a lecturer at the University of Birmingham, has recently added another volume to the vast English historiography on medieval Italy. The book is about the history of the Duchy of Gaeta and the other coastal duchies

in Campania between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, and begins with the comment - which has already been made by the American B. M. Kreutz¹ - that the history of southern Italy before the Norman conquest is often ignored and treated as an appendix to the rest of Europe, and not as an independent area of study. It does not become an independent area of study until it was ruled by the dynasties of northern Europe, and especially when it was ruled by the German emperors. To find studies outside Italian historiography² that have treated pre-Norman southern Italy as an area on its own, we have to go back to the classic works of the early twentieth century³.

And yet, as Benedetto Croce had pointed out, it was in fact pre-Norman times, with their diversity and their contrasts, and with the various peoples who came into contact with the region, that gave southern Italy its national character and sentiment. With the arrival of the Normans, all this came to an end; "the Normans put a stop to the freedom of the coastal towns and the other towns, especially those in Apulia which during the last years of Byzantine and Lombard rule showed signs of independent government ...; the Swabian monarchs repressed very severely any hint of communal development ...". Therefore the history of the Normans, concluded Croce, "is neither yours nor ours or is so only in a small part, and a secondary part", because "Norman-Swabian politics and civilisation lacked an indigenous and national character"⁴.

Patricia Skinner's book aims to reconstruct a period of independence and autonomy in southern Italy, and describes the events and conflicts that preceded the ending of an incipient liberty in some areas of the South by means of a socio-economic analysis rather than by an exclusively political analysis⁵.

Although the Duchy of Gaeta is given most importance in the title, the book aims to compare the events of the three duchies that faced onto the Tyrrhenian Sea (Gaeta, Naples and Amalfi), considering them not as separate entities marked by a civic pride, as some historians, including Italian scholars, have generally

¹ B. M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Century*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1991).

² Cf. as well as the works of M. Schipa, N. Cilento and others, among the most recent, G. Galasso, "Le città campane nell'alto Medioevo" in *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno*, (Einaudi, Turin, 1965), pp. 63 - 135; M. De Treppo - A. Leone, *Amalfi Medievale*, (Giannini, Naples, 1977); F. Bulgarella, *Il Mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II*, (Utet, Turin, 1983); S. Gasparri, "Il ducato e principato di Benevento" in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, edited by G. Galasso and R. Romeo, (Edizioni del Sole, Naples, 1989), vol. II, tome I, pp. 83 - 146; I. di Resta, *Il Principato di Capua*, *loc cit.*, pp. 147 - 187; P. Delogu, *Il ducato di Gaeta*, *loc cit.*, pp. 189 - 236; Idem, *Il ducato di Salerno*, *loc cit.*, pp. 239 - 277; G. Sangermano, *Il ducato di Amalfi*, *loc cit.*, pp. 279 - 321; Idem, *Il ducato di Sorrento*, *loc cit.*, pp. 323 - 340; C. Russo Mailler, *Il ducato di Napoli*, *loc cit.*, pp. 341 - 405.

³ For example: J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris, 1904; R. Poupardin, *Les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale*, (Paris, 1909).

⁴ Cf. B. Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, (Laterza, Bari, 1966), (3rd edition, 1963), pp. 10 - 11.

⁵ As, for example, Margarethe Merores' analysis, *Gaeta in Frühen Mittelalten (8. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, (Gotha, 1911).

done⁶, but in the context of the history of southern Italy. Patricia Skinner's research aims to show firstly up to what point, in the very fragmented reality of southern Italy and in the absence of institutionalised forms of power in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Duchy of Gaeta represented a model, and secondly, how much this model had in common with the Duchies of Naples and Amalfi, taking into account that the three duchies made up a Byzantine enclave, and that all three were influenced by the close presence of the Longobards. Gaeta, in fact, eventually came under the control of the Longobards of Capua in 1032, and Amalfi under that of the Longobards of Salerno.

Patricia Skinner uses both a chronological and a thematic approach. The first two parts of the book reconstruct the history of the three duchies from their origins to the beginning of the eleventh century, and then from the eleventh century onwards. The third part is about the economic bases of power, with the aim of identifying the factors underlying political events. In short, on the one hand we have a descriptive narrative of events and persons and on the other an economic analysis.

Gaeta is the book's central theme. As a trading centre, it emerges not only from its urban structure, but also, and chiefly, from extant documentation that records an intense activity involving the duke, his court and the clergy, masons, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, teachers and so on. The people of Gaeta were engaged in many different fields and were present in very many places in Italy and abroad. In the tenth century they were at Pavia *cum magno negotio*, and in the early eleventh century they were in Constantinople, with which, it seems, there were frequent contacts. Unfortunately, as Patricia Skinner points out, because of the scanty documentation that has survived regarding the period before the twelfth century, it is not possible to specify precisely Gaeta's trading area. However it appears from various sources that the merchants of Gaeta were known both in northern Italy and in various parts of the Mediterranean, and their activity does not seem to have suffered when the Duchy lost its independence. Genoan sources show that merchants from Gaeta, Naples, Salerno and Amalfi were active in Genoa, and that merchants from Gaeta enjoyed particular concessions. Patricia Skinner mentions the trade Gaeta conducted with Rome, trade which the Duchy tried to expand among the great families of Gaeta and some of the great Roman families.

It appears that silk was already being produced in Gaeta at the beginning of the eleventh century. From the early ninth century Gaeta had a Jewish community that became particularly active in the twelfth century. At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Jews of Gaeta were engaged in dyeing and in other fields, and they acted as intermediaries both in trading with the Arabs in North

⁶ For example, P. Fedele, *Scritti storici sul Ducato di Gaeta*, (Gaeta, 1988), J. F. Guiraud, *Le réseau du peuplement dans le duché de Gaeta du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, vol. 94 (1982), pp. 482 - 511.

Africa and Sicily, and in the slave trade which continued in southern Italy until half-way through the eleventh century.

Patricia Skinner is not so much interested in how many years before or after one another the three duchies (Amalfi, Gaeta and Naples) arose (Naples in 840, Gaeta in 933 and Amalfi in 958), as in how they arose. The common factor in the birth of all three duchies is the technique by which certain local families (the Docibile family in Gaeta, the Mansone family in Amalfi and the Sergio family in Naples) managed to gain power, stabilize it, and hand it down to their heirs, transformed it into dukedoms. Patricia Skinner believes that this technique can be better reconstructed if these families are studied not in a vacuum, but in relation to other families of the time in their respective towns of Gaeta, Amalfi and Naples. As far as these duchies are concerned, this method has been applied only partially; it was used by Merore and Fedele with regard to some eleventh-century family groups, whereas Delogu acknowledged the importance of this method when he emphasised some of the first Docibile's connections, although, in Skinner's opinion he did this without making a close examination of their origin. However Skinner also recognises that the obstacle to using this method lies in the fact that to establish a blood-relationship between the people examined, everyone's surname should be known: this is not always ascertainable for the tenth and eleventh centuries. Skinner has got round the difficulty by using the genitive of surnames; and when this has not worked, she has used the principal names, i.e. those names present in the same family from one generation to another. (This method has already been successfully applied in the reconstruction of the Hapsburg clans of the Ulrichs and the Odalrichs). Furthermore Skinner has considered associating an identical name with a property over the course of time.

Skinner herself admits that applying any of these methods brings its own risks, and therefore further information is necessary for the reconstruction of each family tree, bearing in mind that even when blood relationships are established between two or more families, in the absence of other evidence it would be difficult to affirm that they constituted a clan; it could be that the relationships between them were insignificant or non-existent; but even such a conclusion would require the availability of other information⁷. In Skinner's approach, the reconstruction of the family trees of the noble families both in Gaeta and in Amalfi seems decisive in explaining how one of these families could rise to gain the control of its respective community, and pass on this control to its heirs.

Let us take the case of Gaeta. Docibile was not a noble: we have no information about his place of birth or his ancestors, and yet he exercised power in Gaeta for more than forty years before handing over power to his son, thereby laying the foundations of the future duchy. Nevertheless, his rise to power cannot be explained by a mere *coup d'état*.

⁷ *Loc cit.*, pp. 103 - 105.

Using some of Delogu's conclusions about Docibile's will, i.e. that most of his estate consisted of gold, silver, silk, bronzes and spices rather than land, Skinner seems inclined to consider him a merchant and a ship-owner, a "lucky entrepreneur", perhaps from Amalfi, linked by some agreement with the Saracen pirates; an agreement entered into, perhaps, when he had been their hostage. It was an agreement with solid bases, and Skinner deduces this from the *Cronica di Montecassino* where it is written that to punish Docibile for his continuing association with the Saracens, between 880 and 881 Pope John VIII took away from him the control of the area around Traetto, and gave it to the Longobard Pandolfo of Capua, who then began to attack the territory of Gaeta in order to gain possession of it. However the same source tells us that, in retaliation, Docibile urged a group of Arabs to go from Agropoli to Fondi. Since it seems that in the attack on Gaeta many residents were killed or imprisoned, to avoid further bloodshed, the Pope chose to give control of the Traetta area back to Docibile. This did not prevent the Saracens from building a bridge-head at the mouth of the Garigliano. According to Skinner this shows that military power, after all, was in the hands of Docibile, and so it should come as no surprise that he had been accepted as the new ruler of Gaeta in 867. Moreover, his predecessors had not succeeded in giving Gaeta and its inhabitants security. On the contrary, during their rule, the threat of the Saracens was ever impending. The raid of 831 had forced the Bishop of Formia, at that time the episcopal see for the whole area and the centre of power for the area around the Bay of Gaeta, to take refuge in the castle at Gaeta. It was followed by the raid of 846, when the Saracens were free to rove in the lands of Gaeta and sacked Formia again. By giving Gaeta security Docibile achieved that "degree of respectability" which, moreover, had been acknowledged even "under the threat of the Saracen attack which he opposed".

Skinner claims that the fact that Docibile had secured his social ascent by owning land had certainly contributed to his obtaining a mark of respectability. His wife had, no doubt, brought him lands in her dowry, but they were not sufficient. In this respect, the administration of the papal estates of Traetto and Fondi, given to Docibile in 877, had been an excellent incentive. With the ensuing profits he had hastened to buy, first of all, lands bordering the Papal lands. On the other hand, previous research has shown that Docibile administered the *publicum* of Gaeta, i.e. public land, in the same way he administered his own lands, often making no distinction between the two kinds of property. Nor was it possible to object to such abuses. Not much is known about how public land was administered or how jurisdiction was organised, nor about how any contentious matter was debated and resolved, but there does not seem to have been a formally constituted law-court or any magistrates with specific roles and charges. The absence of any legislation in the Gaeta territory, and also in the territories of Salerno, Naples and Amalfi, suggests that the ruling family could monopolise all the milling operations in the territory it administered. Since

agriculture, and in particular, the growing of corn was the population's main source of food, the control of milling operations was a powerful political instrument, as well as a considerable source of income. And here the question of the size of the population of the duchy arises: a question which it is impossible to answer, given the total absence of reliable data. However there is no doubt that the population of the town of Gaeta increased between the ninth and the tenth centuries, and in the eleventh century an influx of population was recorded in the new centres of Castro Argento, Suio, Fratte and, above all, Traetto. In other words, urban population increased in areas where cereals were not grown, and so cereals had to be brought in from outside, either from within the duchy or from elsewhere.

The problem did not so much concern the ninth century, in that we have evidence that Gaeta managed to export corn to Naples, as it did in the tenth century which saw both the rise of the Docibile family to the dukedom and, more significantly, greater economic development: the population of Gaeta quadrupled and the mills at Mola near Formia increased their activity to supply not Formia which the Saracens had laid waste, but Gaeta. Furthermore, to increase the supplies of corn to Gaeta, the surrounding area saw improvements on the land in the tenth century; production, however, did not increase very much.

The lack of documentation means that we cannot be certain about an increase in corn imports in the eleventh century. However the presence of new mills suggests that there was an increase in imports, since corn lent itself to transportation better than flour did. And the power of the Docibile family could increase through the control they could exercise "through their monopoly over the milling process".

The third factor that must have helped Docibile to impose his authority was the marriage strategy he brought into play as a result of which he became related to the Duke of Naples.

In conclusion, this book makes an important and precious contribution to furthering our knowledge about southern Italy in the early Middle Ages. There are, of course, some points which are still open to debate: this book does not provide the answers. But there is no doubt that Patricia Skinner's book is an excellent attempt to bring together coherently the political and economic events that characterised the changes affecting three coastal areas facing onto the Tyrrhenian Sea between the seventh and the eleventh centuries.

LUIGI DE ROSA

K. Stow, *The Jews in Rome*, vol I, 1536-1551, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995, pp.LXIX-411.

This volume is number 104 in the monumental history of the Jews in Italy

comprised in the *Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute*, edited by the University of Tel Aviv. The previous volumes include four volumes on the Jews in Milan from 1387-1788, three on the Jews in Piedmont from 1297 to 1798 and three on the Jews in Umbria from 1245 to 1736. This is the first volume to deal with the history of Roman Jews and covers the period 1536-1551. Its documentary source is based on the notarial records drawn up by Jewish notaries residing in Rome, records which were written in Hebrew and then translated into Italian but which are here summarised in English and commented upon by the author.

With a foreword by Simonshon, the book contains: 1) a long and stimulating introduction by K. Stow; 2) an exhaustive bibliography; 3) detailed notes on the text and lastly 4) the reproduction of a thousand notarial records, with the date on which they were stipulated, the source and a short but concise indication of the document's contents.

Stow's ample introduction contains many useful notes on the history of the Roman Jews previous to the period under study, as well as remarks on inter-ethnic marriages, including references to quite recent periods. Above all Stow cleverly examines the structure and diversity of the Jewish community in Rome in the period under study, which grew from around 1,750 Jews in 1527 to about 3,000 in the mid-century. Community life and private life and the impact of the creation of the *ghetto* on the community and individuals are examined by Stow whose ability to synthesise and to make balanced judgements we can appreciate. As Stow points out, the Jewish community in Rome cannot be defined as "heroic" because fortunately it produced no martyrs and even the suffering inflicted by the "Sack of Rome" affected the Jews because they were part of the Roman population and not because they were Jews. Stow also shows that except for a few cases in the eleventh century and fourteenth century, the Jewish community in Rome was never "a community of illustrious intellectuals, but that it distinguished itself, above all, for the soundness of its foundations and its essential homogeneity which between 1492 and 1541, the year when the Jews were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples, enabled it to receive hundreds of immigrants from various European countries: Spain, France, Germany, Sicily and Naples).

In the introduction Stow points out that, despite the setting up of the ghetto in 1555 and the existence of various religious schools (those of the Germans or Ashkenazi, the Aragonese and Catalans, the Castilians, the French Castilians, the Sicilians, the Temple School and the New School), there was considerable continuity in the activities and the organisation of the Roman Jews. He also stresses the influential position held by women in the community, who were allowed to possess and administer property, to give judgements in court, to exercise rights over their children, to choose their husbands and to reject undesirable suitors and to ask for a divorce.

The notary records cast great light on the life of the community. They concern engagements, marriages, dowries, children and their education, inheritance, divorces, contracts for selling and renting houses, shops and stalls;

the setting up and closing down of companies in various lines of business (such as jewellery, metallurgy, sword production, weaving, cloth manufacture; dressmaking, the sale of used clothes, fish, meat and livestock, cheese and spices). Reference is made of various professions (doctors, lawyers, teachers, rabbis and notaries) and occupations (such as carters, dress-makers, washerwomen, housemaids, button and shirt-makers, dyers, embroiderers, bookkeepers, money-changers, bankers and soap manufacturers). Many companies were based on very close-knit family and personal ties, although this did not always guarantee their smooth running or closure and many records regard litigation which special arbiters were appointed to settle.

The Jewish community in Rome was certainly an open community in the period under study. This was not only because they received exiles after various countries had ordered expulsions at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth; it was also because, even before the Jews had been expelled from the Kingdom of Naples (October 1541), the presence of Southern Italian Jews in the Roman community was not insignificant. The records refer to contracts involving Jews from Aquila, Aversa, Capua, Ceprano, Forni, Naples, Apulia and Sulmona. Moreover, in the contracts contained in the book there is mention of Jews from other centres in the Latium countryside as well as from Tuscany and North Italy.

Among the many aspects of community life depicted in the notary records, of interest is the monopoly over money-lending which had been long exercised by a group of bankers and which was challenged by other Jews who aspired to enter into the same line of business. The twenty bankers had their own representative who dealt with the Apostolic Chamber and at the beginning they had no intention of allowing other lenders into the business, fearing that they would be damaged and suffer losses. In the end they had to accept the newcomers, but only after twenty months had elapsed. The monopoly was ended only in October 1540 when the Temple School established that the new bankers would have to give up all other kinds of business and trade and would pay a fee of two *scudi* – the equivalent to a worker's weekly wage (although the wage could be higher for those with greater skills) – to restrict entry into the profession. In addition, every year they had to lend two hundred *scudi* to the poor in the community without interest.

Of interest, too, are the many contracts stipulated with Christians and the drawing up of a statute by the Guild of Jews and Christians for the sale of Roman cloth, and the fact that at that time it was difficult to find houses to rent in Rome both inside and outside the Ghetto; after the decimation caused by the "Sack of Rome", the population rose continuously. The doubling of the Jewish community must therefore be seen in a context of population growth which also affected other Italian regions, including the Kingdom of Naples.

LUIGI DE ROSA

A. TEICHOVA (ed.), *Central Europe in the Twentieth Century. An Economic History Perspective*, Aldershot/Brookfield/Singapore/Sidney, Ashgate Publishing Company 1997, pp. 174.

This book consists of eight essays which attempt critically to assess the recent dramatic changes in Central and Eastern Europe within their historical context. The authors concentrate on the continuity between the burdens of the past and actual problems. This is one reason for the considerable analytical value of this collection of essays. Another reason is its comparative perspective. The emphasis lies on the economy within its social and political setting. As Professor Teichova points out in her introduction, it is the intention of the authors to counterbalance the widespread impression that, due to Sovietization, the whole area can be perceived as a homogeneous entity. In other words, the monolithic character of the region has always been a mythical construct; differences became even bigger after the Second World War when Austria was attached to the West whereas the other countries between Germany and Russia became part of the Soviet bloc.

The analysis wants to achieve a balance between these deep-seated differences in historical and cultural traditions, political, social and economic systems on the one hand and the common features of the region on the other hand; of course, these common features exist as well. One all-pervading problem can be found everywhere except in Austria; relative economic and political backwardness – a legacy which is seldom fully appreciated. Underdevelopment is the reason why the states of Central Eastern Europe are characterized by a deeply rooted tradition of massive state intervention. None of them – except Czechoslovakia – experienced parliamentary democracy and a pluralistic political system in the interwar period. Other common features were autarchic policies, enhanced by militant nationalism, cartelization and syndicalization or even direct state entrepreneurship. After 1918, governments were successful in avoiding socialization. What took place instead was nationalization in the proper sense of the word: the building of national economies. But “nostrification” was no solution to the all-pervading and chronic deficiency in domestic capital. This led to a search for capital-exporting countries of the West. Foreign loans contributed very little to economic development, because they were used for consumption and military expenditure or in order to cover budget deficits, with the effect that indebtedness rose; industrialization made very slow progress. At least Poland, Hungary and Romania proved unable to overcome backwardness or to rid themselves of the dependency on the leading European creditor nations during the interwar period. All countries in the region shared the experience of instability, political and economic crises and the rising menace of National Socialist “Großraumwirtschaftspolitik”; German occupation and the Second World War brought domination, exploitation and destruction.

The forty years pre-1989 were characterized by another endeavour to overcome backwardness and to turn agricultural into industrial societies. Before the background of economic underdevelopment and the negative experiences with a capitalist market economy in the interwar period the Soviet model of forced industrialization was able to gain a certain attractiveness. Soviet hegemony was the cause of fundamental changes: central planning, land reforms and the elimination of large landowners, nationalization of large-scale industry and banks. At least in the fifties, this structural change of the economic system produced an industrial upswing. But the policy of maximum growth instead of optimum growth very soon led to negative consequences. The huge party apparatus never gave economic reform a real chance.

These *leitmotifs* of development are detailed further in the following contributions: Czechoslovakia (Václav Prucha) had to struggle with the disintegration of the economy of the Habsburg monarchy and the grave deficiencies of the inherited sectorial structure with its excess proportion of light industries. The crisis of the thirties was profound and lengthy because of the outdated structure of industrial production, confused economic policy and a severe protectionism that was in contradiction to the vital interests of the country. The generations entering the productive age range in the late twenties and the thirties experienced the capitalist system in its most distorted forms: destructive crisis and National-Socialist war economy. After 1945 the idea of continuing the social order of the interwar period was dismissed in favour of Socialist orientation. The controlled economy of the occupation period successively changed into a system of national economic planning which became more and more comprehensive and detailed. The weaknesses of the administrative regulation of the economy became clearly visible in the stagnation of the first half of the sixties. The socialist reform project aiming at a symbiosis of plan and market and accompanied by political reform was cut short by the armed intervention of 1968. In the period of "normalization" chronic problems remained unsolved. Only the political changes of 1989 made an entirely new approach to economic reform possible. But the exaggerated market liberalism of 1991-2 created new sources of national, social and regional conflicts.

Henryk Szlajfer analyzes the central role of holistic economic nationalism – i.e. a nationalism embracing to the economy as a whole – in Poland. Nationalist orientation, the clear result of the country's economic backwardness, emerged again after 1945 as one of the building blocks of the planned economy. The key characteristics of the Polish variant of a communist economy were similar to the Soviet model: omnipotence of the state, ineffectiveness of macroeconomic planning and the concentration on heavy industry, which led to a number of structural disequilibria. But there were differences in some respects: there was, for example, no wholesale assault on private land ownership. Economic deprivation of a considerable part of the population after the shock therapy of 1990 led to a revival of the slogans of economic and political nationalism.

As Frajo Stiblar and Daniel Daianu show, Yugoslavia and Romania suffered from other, but similar, combinations of structural weaknesses and bad politics. In the case of Yugoslavia, the burden of the extreme heterogeneity of society was aggravated by the concept of workers' self-management: it was idealistic, but not viable. Ceausescu's strategy of autarchy, forced industrialization and political hyper-centralization left the country with an oversized and obsolete industrial sector and a precarious food situation despite considerable natural resources: an example of immiserizing growth which, unfortunately, created very high expectations on the part of the population and therefore a very high degree of intolerance for new austerity measures after the fall of communism.

In Austria, we find a somewhat different, much less sombre scenario. As Fritz Weber points out, stagnation, even shrinking, of the economy in the interwar period stands in sharp contrast to postwar prosperity. War destruction and the danger of hyperinflation were overcome astonishingly quickly. After the crisis of 1947, Austrian growth rates were well above the overall European trend. The political economy of reconstruction profited considerably from foreign aid. It was based on a deeply-rooted popular consensus about social partnership and full employment policy. The political will to maintain social peace and to cooperate in politics was the result of a process of learning from the First Republic. Apart from that, Austria was in a unique international position which allowed her to benefit from Marshall Aid and later to gain neutrality status in the context of the Cold War – the luxury of neither following the Western nor the Eastern model.

Joerg Roesler's essay on Germany may be considered as an exception in this volume: it concentrates more on the transformation period itself than on the preceding Communist regime of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). One basic factor in the process of German reunification was the conversion of the East Germany currency. The consequences were largely unforeseen: the industries in the new "Länder" lost their ability to compete in Western markets. The result was a sharp decline in industrial production. The situation was aggravated by other factors: A huge number of applications demanding the return of property-hampered investment. The level of production remained low; unemployment soared, together with disillusionment on the part of the East Germany population. Job training and short-time work were not accepted as a full alternative. Certainly, Roesler is right in stressing the importance of the mental problems of reunification. But sometimes he seems too harsh and emotional in denouncing West German "colonialism" and the "arrogant behaviour" of "Westerners" vis-à-vis "Easterners" as the root of all evil. The contention that some East German politicians have become victims of a media campaign "in McCarthy style" even smells a bit of paranoia. There can, of course, be no doubt that East Germans are underrepresented in ownership and control of private enterprise. But bitter resentment seems to have been a barrier before a more sober analysis of the undeniable misery of the German "mezzogiorno". The

long-term causes of the economic decline of Eastern Germany - administrative central planning - are completely omitted.

Communism brought about huge social mobility and turned predominantly agrarian societies into semi-industrial societies. It practically eliminated illiteracy and contributed decisively to the secularization of these societies. On the one hand, we find positive elements of modernization and assets for the process of postcommunist reconstruction. On the other hand, new seeds of political, social and economic decomposition were sowed. In the transformation process - and against the background of inherited underdevelopment - the old problem of the relationship between market and state has to be solved again. Professor Teichova strongly supports the opinion that it must be the task of the state to prevent market failure, to protect the weak from the strong, to provide a workable financial system, the necessary infrastructure model for free-market capitalism. One should be cautious as well about offers of instant remedies like the magic formula of "uninhibited market economy". As Michael Kaser points out, an active economic policy should be supported by a high inflow of Western funds; these are vitally important for the modernization of all countries of Eastern Europe in the post-communist decade. Rendering the capital stock competitive is the concern of bilateral help, but the opening up of property rights allows private capital to play the bigger part.

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