

GUIDO ALFANI, Economic inequality in preindustrial Europe, 1300-1800: methods and results from the EINITE project

This article provides an overview of the research done in recent years by the ERC-funded projects EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe 1300-1800, and SMITE-Social Mobility and Inequality across Italy and Europe 1300-1800. It begins by discussing the sources available for reconstructing preindustrial economic inequality, especially in Italy, then it provides an overview of the methods which have been developed to produce reliable and homogenous information about inequality levels and trends. The method developed by EINITE to produce measures or distributions representative of broader aggregates (regions or entire states) is also discussed, as well as the techniques that can be employed to explore in a meaningful way such distributions to answer relevant historical questions. The second part of the article provides a comparison of the different trends followed by inequality during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period (ca. 1300-1800), in different pre-unification Italian states as well as in the northern and southern Low Countries. The third and final part of the article explores the main factors that, in different periods, led to inequality reduction (found only in the aftermath of the Black Death) or to inequality increase (which is characteristic of the entire early modern period). After having shown that traditional explanations, like that which would simply connect inequality growth to economic growth, do not seem to match well the newly-available estimates of inequality trends in the long run, the article focuses on institutional factors, and specifically on the development of the so-called “fiscal-military state”. Indeed, the rise of the fiscal-military state had redistributive consequences which are to be counted among the main drivers of the very significant increase in inequality, of both income and wealth, that occurred during the early modern period across most of the European continent.

Questo articolo fornisce un resoconto sintetico della ricerca condotta negli ultimi anni nell'ambito di due progetti finanziati dallo ERC, EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe 1300-1800 e SMITE-Social Mobility and Inequality across Italy and Europe 1300-1800. La

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

prima parte dell'articolo discute le fonti disponibili per ricostruire la disuguaglianza economica preindustriale, specialmente in Italia, e fornisce uno sguardo d'insieme sui metodi utilizzati per produrre informazioni affidabili e omogenee sui livelli e sulle tendenze della disuguaglianza. In particolare, l'articolo discute il metodo sviluppato da EINITE per produrre misure o distribuzioni rappresentative di aggregati più ampi (regioni o interi Stati), così come le tecniche che possono essere impiegate per esplorare in modo adeguato tali distribuzioni al fine di dare risposte a domande storiche di rilievo. La seconda parte dell'articolo procede a un confronto tra le tendenze della disuguaglianza tra il tardo Medioevo e l'età moderna (1300-1800) in una serie di Stati italiani pre-unitari così come nei Paesi Bassi settentrionali e meridionali. La terza e ultima parte esplora i principali fattori che, in periodi diversi, condussero a un declino della disuguaglianza (riscontrabile empiricamente solo dopo la Peste Nera del Trecento) oppure a un suo incremento (come è caratteristico dell'intera età moderna). Dopo aver mostrato che spiegazioni tradizionali, come quella che ricondurrebbe semplicemente la crescita della disuguaglianza alla crescita economica, non sembrano corrispondere bene alle recenti stime delle tendenze della disuguaglianza nel lungo periodo, l'articolo si concentra sui fattori istituzionali e in particolare sullo sviluppo del cosiddetto "stato fiscale-militare". Infatti, l'emergere dello stato fiscale-militare ebbe conseguenze redistributive che vanno considerate tra le cause principali del consistente incremento della disuguaglianza (sia di reddito sia di ricchezza) occorso durante l'età moderna in gran parte del continente europeo.

FRANCESCO AMMANNATI, La disuguaglianza economica in area marchigiana: uno studio di lungo periodo (1400-1800)

La ricerca si è proposta di apportare nuovi dati allo studio della disuguaglianza nella distribuzione della ricchezza nel lungo periodo, utilizzando l'abbondante documentazione fiscale disponibile per numerose comunità dell'area marchigiana lungo un periodo che copre con una certa regolarità, con inevitabili lacune e interruzioni, il basso medioevo e la piena età moderna.

La peculiare storia politica-amministrativa di questo territorio, progressivamente inglobato nello Stato della Chiesa, si rispecchiò in un'evoluzione delle forme di registrazione della ricchezza a scopo impositivo, le caratteristiche delle quali sono state attentamente prese in considerazione e sottoposte a critica al fine di garantirne la compatibilità, nel tempo e nello spazio. Catasti, estimi, "libre", nonché libri delle collette, saranno utilizzati per descrivere la capacità fiscale dei contribuenti iscritti in questi registri e valutare le dinamiche della disuguaglianza economica attraverso i secoli.

L'analisi è stata condotta su un campione di comunità per le quali è stata verificata un'ampia disponibilità di fonti fino a oggi relativamente sotto-utilizzate e non in modo sistematico per un simile arco temporale. In particolare, insieme a città propriamente intese come Macerata, Fano e Jesi, sono stati oggetto di studio centri di medie dimensioni (Tolentino e Corinaldo, evoluti a sede vescovile durante l'età moderna) e alcune comunità minori (Massaccio, Morro d'Alba) che hanno composto un quadro rappresentativo delle diverse realtà territoriali.

The research aimed at bringing new data to the study of inequality in the distribution of wealth in the long run using the abundant fiscal documentation available to many communities of the

Marches region over a period covering, with a certain regularity, the late Middle Ages and the full modern age.

The peculiar political-administrative history of this territory, progressively incorporated into the Papal State, was reflected in an evolution of the methodologies for assessing wealth for tax purposes. Their characteristics have been carefully taken into account and criticized in order to ensure compatibility in time and space. Land registers, "estimi", "libre", as well as books of "collette", will be used to describe the fiscal capacity of taxpayers enrolled in these registers and to estimate the dynamics of economic inequality over the centuries.

The analysis has been carried out on a sample of communities for which a wide availability of sources, until now relatively unexploited and not systematically used for studying such a time span, has been verified. In particular, together with cities such as Macerata, Fano and Jesi, medium-sized towns (Tolentino and Corinaldo, which evolved into Episcopal sees during the modern age) and some smaller communities (Massaccio, Morro d'Alba) have been studied for composing a representative picture of the different territorial realities.

PINAR CEYLAN, Regional variation in the distribution of property rights over land in sixteenth-century Ottoman rural Manisa

The Ottoman State during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is often cited as a centralized state, which closely monitored agricultural production and strictly commanded its organization. Until today, mainly due to an overemphasis on the role of the central government, regional variations in property and surplus relations in the classical period has largely escaped from attention. Concentrating on the Western Anatolian district of Manisa and employing tax surveys dating 1575, this study points to the regional variation in property rights institutions, which resulted in different inequality regimes across space. Empirical evidence suggests the existence of two agricultural production systems characterized by different property and surplus relations, in the southern and northern parts of the district in the late sixteenth century. Accordingly, inequality structures in these areas reflected region-specific patterns of property rights distribution within and across direct producers and landlords' classes. In terms of both access to land by producers and concentration of agrarian surplus among landlords, higher levels of inequality is observed in the densely populated, more developed and highly commercialized area in the south, whereas a more egalitarian socioeconomic structure prevailed in the mountainous northern part, inhabited by a high number of tribal groups. While stressing the necessity of a comparative regional approach in studying rural inequality in pre-industrial societies, these results also lend support to arguments that inequality levels in these societies are positively associated with level of market development and population.

Aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, l'État ottoman est souvent cité comme un État centralisé, qui a surveillé de près la production agricole et commandé strictement son organisation. Jusqu'à présent, principalement en raison d'une trop grande importance accordée au rôle du gouvernement central, les variations régionales dans les relations de propriété et de surplus dans la période classique ont largement échappé à l'attention. Se concentrant sur le district d'Anatolie occidentale de Manisa et utilisant des enquêtes fiscales datant de 1575, cette étude met en évidence la variation régionale des

institutions de droits de propriété, qui a entraîné des régimes d'inégalité différents dans l'espace. Des preuves empiriques suggèrent l'existence de deux systèmes de production agricole caractérisés par des relations de propriété et des relations de surplus différentes, dans les parties sud et nord du district à la fin du XVI^e siècle. En conséquence, les structures d'inégalité dans ces zones reflétaient les schémas de répartition des droits de propriété spécifiques à chaque région au sein et entre les classes de producteurs directs et de seigneurs. En ce qui concerne l'accès à la terre par les producteurs et la concentration du surplus agraire parmi les seigneurs, des inégalités plus marquées sont observées dans la zone densément peuplée, plus développée et commercialisée du sud, alors qu'une structure socio-économique plus égalitaire régnait dans la partie nord montagneuse, habitée par un grand nombre de groupes tribaux. Tout en soulignant la nécessité d'une approche régionale comparative dans l'étude des inégalités rurales dans les sociétés préindustrielles, ces résultats corroborent également l'argument selon lequel les niveaux d'inégalité dans ces sociétés sont positivement associés au niveau de développement du marché et de la population.

DAVIDE CRISTOFERI, "I nostri contadini solevano istare molto meglio per lo addrieto che ora": mezzadria, proprietà cittadina e disuguaglianza economica in Toscana, sec. XV-XVI

Le recenti e meno recenti ricerche condotte sulle fonti fiscali fiorentine fra XIV e XVIII hanno contribuito al dibattito sulle disuguaglianze economiche in età pre-industriale mostrando anche per la Toscana rurale ed urbana una crescente distribuzione diseguale dei patrimoni in un contesto, storiograficamente abbastanza chiaro, di stagnazione economica durante l'età moderna. Se ciò ha permesso di 'isolare' il tema delle disuguaglianze economiche da quello della crescita, ha lasciato aperto un ampio ventaglio di ipotesi per spiegare tale trend, a partire dal ruolo delle istituzioni. La presente relazione, anticipando i risultati di una più ampia ricerca (progetto GINI), attualmente in corso, intende studiare attraverso una micro-analisi quantitativa della pieve di San Giovanni in Petroio in Mugello, fra 1427 e 1512, la connessione fra le crescenti disuguaglianze economiche registrate nelle campagne fiorentine nel XV secolo e il loro sistema agrario, caratterizzato dalla diffusione della proprietà cittadina e della mezzadria. Analizzandone i meccanismi, suggerisce il ruolo di questo sistema di share-cropping nel conservare e favorire nella lunga durata la forte ineguaglianza nella distribuzione del patrimonio fondiario, riuscendo però a mantenere parte degli strati più poveri della popolazione rurale sopra o sul livello di sussistenza. L'esito, come osservato nel presente caso di studio, vedrà accanto ad una comunità rurale diminuita di numero, impoverita e caratterizzata da migrazioni, un'incremento del valore assoluto e relativo dei patrimoni fondiari di cittadini ed enti ecclesiastici.

The past and recent research on the florentine fiscal surveys from 14th to 18th c. has highly contributed to the current debate on economic inequality in pre-industrial times. Showing an increasing unequal wealth distribution also for rural and urban Tuscany, characterised by economic stagnation in Early Modern times, it has allowed us to disentangle the effect of economic growth on inequality. However, a wide set of explanatory hypotheses of the increase of wealth concentration in the long-run still need to be verified: among the others, the role of institutions. This paper, presenting the first result of an ongoing research (GINI project), studies through a quantitative

analysis at micro-scale (the pieve of San Giovanni in Petroio in Mugello) in 1427-1512 the relation between the growing economic inequality of the Florentine rural society and its specific social-agro system. This system was based on a class of city-dwellers landowners and on a peculiar share-cropping system, the mezzadria. The paper, focusing on the mechanisms of wealth redistribution of this system, suggests its role whether in maintaining and increasing the long-run the concentration of land property, and providing for, at the same time, the poorest social layers of rural population at subsistence level. The outcome, as observed in this specific case-study, will be two-edged: on one side, an impoverished community, depopulated by migration, while, on the other, an increase in absolute and relative value of the mezzadria landholding of city-dwellers and religious institutions.

ISABELLE DEVOS, THIJS LAMBRECHT, ANNE WINTER, Welfare and demography in the time of Malthus. Regional and local variations in poor relief and population developments in Flanders, c. 1750-1810

Poor relief has often been attributed a dynamic role in early modern economic and demographic change, from easing transitions to wage labour and thereby encouraging economic growth and industrialization, to mitigating the effects of high mortality, or conversely, stimulating high levels of fertility. Recent historical research, however, is more sceptical about these Malthusian claims. To this date, the mechanisms between economic inequality, welfare spending and demographic behaviour have hardly been investigated for areas outside England.

Flanders represents a particularly interesting region for research that aims to investigate the development of socio-economic inequalities at the local and regional level. Not only because of the existence of distinct socio-economic structures within Flanders, but also due to the uniform presence of local poor relief institutions and general rules on entitlement. At the same time, the dissimilar income structure of local poor tables, based on past and present charitable donations rather than taxation, implied a high degree of inelasticity in times of dearth and could imply great local differences in poor relief practices from one parish to the next. However, the relationship between and effects of structural socio-economic characteristics on the one hand and micro-level variations on the other hand remain unclear. The data collected by the STREAM project (streamproject.ugent.be) together with its tailored geographical information system (GIS) allow us to explore these relationships for the rural parishes of early modern Flanders. In this chapter we examine spatial patterns in poor relief and demographic behaviour and how these were interrelated.

In letteratura si è spesso attribuito ai sistemi assistenziale rivolti alle fasce più povere della popolazione un ruolo dinamico nelle trasformazioni economiche e demografiche dell'Età moderna, dal facilitare la transizione verso il lavoro salariato e di conseguenza favorire lo sviluppo economico e l'industrializzazione, al mitigare gli effetti di un alto tasso di mortalità o, al contrario, sostenere livelli di natalità più alti. Recenti ricerche, comunque, si sono dimostrate assai più scettiche rispetto all'ipotesi malthusiana dietro questi assunti storiografici. A tutt'oggi, inoltre, l'indagine sulla relazione fra disuguaglianza economica, spesa in welfare e strutture demografiche si è prevalentemente concentrata sull'Inghilterra, tralasciando altre regioni europee.

Le Fiandre rappresentano un caso di rilievo per studiare lo sviluppo delle disuguaglianze a livello locale e regionale, non solo per la presenza di differenti strutture economiche e sociali all'interno della regione, ma anche per l'uniformità nella diffusione degli strumenti di welfare e di assistenza e per la presenza di norme generali per regolarne l'accesso. Allo stesso tempo, le differenze nelle entrate delle istituzioni locali incaricate dei sussidi ai bisognosi, basate prevalentemente sulle donazioni passate e su quelle correnti piuttosto che sulla tassazione, rendevano tali enti poco flessibili nel rispondere a periodi di crisi o carestia. Rischiavano inoltre di generare profonde differenze a livello locale, tra una parrocchia e l'altra, nell'assistenza degli strati sociali più bisognosi. In tale contesto, la relazione fra strutture socio-economiche ed i loro effetti da un lato, e le variazioni a livello locale dall'altro, restano ancora poco conosciute. I dati raccolti dal progetto STREAM (streamproject.ugent.be) e georeferenziati in ambiente GIS, consentono di analizzare questa relazione per le parrocchie rurali delle Fiandre di età moderna. Il testo che segue intende esaminare a livello spaziale la distribuzione degli strumenti di lotta alla povertà e le strutture demografiche, così come la loro interrelazione.

MATTEO DI TULLIO, Dinamiche della disuguaglianza economica nella Repubblica di Venezia: fonti e metodi d'indagine a partire dal caso padovano

Il saggio propone un'analisi delle fonti e dei metodi utili alla ricostruzione delle tendenze di fondo della disuguaglianza economica nella terraferma veneta, soffermandosi in particolare sul caso di Padova e del suo contado.

Gli estimi padovani sono piuttosto unici nel panorama italiano, giacché sono stati prodotti secondo uno standard comune a tutto il territorio e per tutti i corpi fiscali presenti. Dal Medioevo e fino al tramonto dell'antico regime, infatti, sono stati redatti sistematicamente secondo le norme redatte dagli ufficiali cittadini, includendo tutte le comunità del contado e registrando, separatamente ma con i medesimi criteri, le possessioni dei cosiddetti Veneti (i veneziani che possedevano terre nel contado di Padova), del Clero e persino degli esenti. I registri relativi ai vari corpi fiscali sono ancora quasi tutti conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Padova e permettono di coprire un arco cronologico piuttosto ampio (sedicesimo-diciottesimo secolo).

Dopo aver tracciato sommariamente l'evoluzione del sistema amministrativo e fiscale della Repubblica di Venezia, nel saggio si presentano le principali caratteristiche delle fonti estimativo-catastali prodotte in area padovana e si propone una sintetica analisi delle dinamiche della disuguaglianza economica in questa provincia.

Questo saggio utilizza, per la massima parte, dati che sono frutto di nuove ricerche d'archivio e raccolti nell'ambito dei progetti EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800 e SMITE-Social Mobility and Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800, finanziati dallo European Research Council e volti ad indagare i trend di lungo periodo della disuguaglianza economica e la loro relazione con le dinamiche della mobilità sociale in Italia e in Europa.

This paper presents an analysis of the available primary sources and the existing methods to reconstruct the tendencies of the economic inequality in the Venetian Mainland, focusing on the case of Padua and its province, the so called contado.

The tax-land registers of Padua (namely the estimi) are rather unique in the Italian context, because they were compiled following a common standard imposed by the town's officials for the whole territory and each fiscal body, including the Veneti (i.e. the civics of Venice which owned lands in the Padovano), the Clergy and the exempts. The large part of these estimi are still preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Padua, giving the opportunity to cover a rather long period of time (sixteenth-eighteenth century).

After presenting briefly the evolution of the administrative and fiscal system of the Republic of Venice, this paper analyses the main characteristics of the fiscal primary sources produced in the Padovano and proposes a synthetic analysis of the economic inequality trends in this province.

This paper uses mainly new archival data collected in the framework of the projects EINITE-Economic Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800 e SMITE-Social Mobility and Inequality across Italy and Europe, 1300-1800, founded by the European Research Council and devoted to the analysis of the long-term tendencies of the economic inequality and their relationship with the social mobility in Italy and Europe.

STEF ESPEEL, SAM GEENS, Feeding inequalities: the role of economic inequalities and the urban market in late medieval food security. The case of fourteenth-century Ghent

Although the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) revised their theoretical model of food security for over two decades ago, historians have been slow in adopting these new insights to study pre-modern societies. Showcasing the potential of the holistic approach proposed by the FAO, this paper analyses the evolution of food security in the calamitous fourteenth century in Ghent, one of the most populated cities at that time. In the long-term, access to food seems to have improved during the second half of the century thanks to increased wages, wealth and investments into farmland. While these gains can partly be linked to demographic evolutions, we found no evidence of an often-hypothesized Malthusian ceiling before the Black Death. Both skilled and unskilled workers probably earned enough income to feed their households in most years. In the short-term, several episodes of hardship are identified on a monthly basis and explained through the interaction between warfare and the market. Especially the trade embargoes during the Hundred Years' Wars (1340s) and the devastation of the countryside during the Ghent War (1379-85) negatively impacted access to food. Socially, economic inequality played a major role in determining one's food security. Wealth provided an important buffer in times of need. During the second half of the century, the middle class was the clear winner, much at the cost of the lower classes and the elite. The declining textile industry probably pushed many of the unskilled workers into poverty. Aside from the total value of assets, the composition of wealth was equally important. Food producing assets, such as mills or bakeries, were concentrated in the hands of the rich. After the Ghent War, middle classes invested their increased wealth in farmland, providing them direct access to food.

Bien que l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Alimentation et l'Agriculture (ONUAA) ait revu son modèle théorique de sécurité alimentaire il y a plus de deux décennies, les historiens ont

tardé à adopter ces nouvelles connaissances pour étudier les sociétés prémodernes. La présente étude illustre le potentiel de l'approche holistique proposée par l'ONUAA au moyen d'une analyse de la sécurité alimentaire au XIV^e siècle à Gand, l'une des villes les plus peuplées de cette époque. Concernant le temps conjoncturels, l'accès à la nourriture s'est amélioré au cours de la seconde moitié du siècle grâce à l'augmentation des salaires, de la richesse et des investissements dans les terres agricoles. Bien que ces profits puissent être expliqués en partie par des évolutions démographiques, nous n'avons trouvé aucune preuve d'un plafond Malthusien qui est souvent hypothétisé pour la période avant la peste noire. Les travailleurs qualifiés et non qualifiés gagnaient probablement assez pour nourrir leur ménage la plupart des années. Concernant le temps événementiel, nous avons identifié plusieurs épisodes de difficultés. Nous les expliquons par l'interaction entre la guerre et le marché. Les embargos commerciaux pendant la guerre de Cent Ans (années 1340) et la dévastation de la campagne pendant la révolte de Gand (1379-85) ont eu un impact négatif sur l'accès à la nourriture. Concernant les différences sociales, les inégalités économiques jouent un rôle majeur dans la détermination de la sécurité alimentaire. La richesse constituait une réserve importante en cas de besoin. Pendant la seconde moitié du siècle, la classe moyenne a réussi d'accroître ses richesses aux dépens des fortunes des classes inférieures et des élites. Beaucoup de travailleurs non qualifiés sont probablement tombés dans la pauvreté en conséquence du déclin de l'industrie textile. Outre la valeur, la composition de la richesse était tout aussi importante. Les actifs de production alimentaire, comme les moulins ou les boulangeries, étaient concentrés entre les mains des riches. Après la révolte de Gand, les classes moyennes ont investi leurs richesses accrues dans des terres agricoles qui leur fournit un accès direct à la nourriture.

ANTONI FURIÓ, PAU VICIANO, LUIS ALMENAR, LLEDÓ RUIZ DOMINGO, GUILLEM CHISMOL, Measuring economic inequality in Southern Europe: the Iberian Peninsula in the 14th-17th centuries

This work explores the inequality of wealth in Spain during the late Middle Ages from six cities located in the kingdoms of Castile (Seville) and the Crown of Aragon (Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, Castelló and Valls), through tax sources that inform about the wealth of each taxpayer. These records provide very precise data on the wealth distribution that allow us to study inequality in an aggregate manner for the same city and, at the same time, perform sectoral analyses according to gender, different socio-professional groups and urban districts. The Gini coefficient is the indicator used to measure these different levels of inequality, but beyond the global figures, this study is combined with the analysis of the deciles, a more subtle indicator that allows us to assess the importance of the intermediate sectors. The results obtained show that, from the fourteenth century, despite the original characteristics of Iberian history, the levels of inequality in Spanish cities are similar to those of northern Europe and Italy. The influence of the demographic decrease in the moderation of inequality is a fact that, likewise, is confirmed. However, sectoral analyses highlight complementary factors that nuance aggregate data. Thus, the more rural character of a population tended to limit inequality, while in fully urban centres the effects of the mar-

ket and political control by the elites increased economic inequality. In this sense, sectoral analyses identify significant trends –by gender, socio-professional group or neighbourhoods– that may be hidden behind figures of aggregate indices. These sectoral nuances and the contextualization of inequality and its evolution in its historical context allow us to understand the nature of the phenomenon in its whole complexity

Este trabajo explora la desigualdad de la riqueza en España durante la baja Edad Media a partir de seis ciudades situadas en los reinos de Castilla (Sevilla) y de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, Castellón y Valls), mediante fuentes fiscales que informan sobre la riqueza de cada contribuyente. Estos registros aportan datos muy precisos sobre la distribución de la riqueza que permiten estudiar la desigualdad de manera agregada para una misma ciudad y, al mismo tiempo, realizar análisis sectoriales según el género, los diferentes grupos socio-profesionales y los distritos urbanos. El coeficiente de Gini constituye el indicador utilizado para medir estos diferentes niveles de desigualdad, pero más allá de las cifras globales, este estudio se combina con el análisis de los deciles, un indicador más sutil, que permite valorar la importancia de los sectores intermedios. Los resultados obtenidos muestran que, a partir del siglo XIV, a pesar de los caracteres originales de la historia ibérica, los niveles de desigualdad en las ciudades hispánicas eran similares a los del norte de Europa y de Italia. La influencia del retroceso demográfico en la moderación de la desigualdad es un hecho que, así mismo, se confirma. Pero los análisis sectoriales ponen de relieve factores complementarios que matizan los datos agregados. Así, el carácter más rural de una población tendía a limitar la desigualdad, mientras que en los centros plenamente urbanos los efectos del mercado y del control político por las élites agudizaban la desigualdad económica. En este sentido, los análisis sectoriales identifican tendencias significativas –por género, grupo socio-profesional o barrios– que pueden quedar ocultas tras cifras de los índices agregados. Estos matices sectoriales y la contextualización de la desigualdad y de su evolución en su contexto histórico permiten comprender la naturaleza del fenómeno en su entera complejidad.

HÉCTOR GARCÍA-MONTERO, Wealth inequality in Catalonia, 1400-1800. Sources, data and a case study

This work is part of the research carried out within the EINITE and SMITE projects for the case of Catalonia. In this chapter, firstly, a brief state of the art of research carried out in recent years on the evolution of economic inequality in the pre-industrial world is traced. Subsequently, through the previously existing literature and the study of the empirical evidence compiled for this work, the characteristics of the fiscal sources available for some Catalan localities, i.e. the books of estimates, values or manifests, and the sample of localities studied in the EINITE/SMITE projects are described in detail. These sources, censuses with fire-level assessments of real estate wealth (and sometimes movable wealth) owned and located in each locality, allow in some cases to trace the evolution of wealth

inequality with some regularity from the second half of the fourteenth century to the eighteenth century. The second part of the work focuses on the analysis of a case study, the town of Balaguer. The data available for this locality makes it possible to trace the trend followed by wealth inequality from 1400-1750 ca. The preliminary findings for Balaguer match quite well with the main stylized facts suggested by the literature. Namely, a trend towards a secular increase of inequality and the importance of the patterns followed by the share of wealth owned by the richest (1% to 10%) as good predictors of economic inequality trends.

Este trabajo se enmarca en la investigación llevada a cabo en el seno de los proyectos EINITE y SMITE para el caso de Cataluña. En este capítulo, en primer lugar, se traza un breve estado de la cuestión de la investigación llevada a cabo en los últimos años sobre la evolución de la desigualdad económica en el mundo preindustrial. Posteriormente, a partir de la literatura existente y del estudio de la evidencia empírica recopilada para este trabajo, se describen en detalle las características de las fuentes fiscales disponibles para algunas localidades catalanas, los libros de estímes, values o manifests, y de la muestra de localidades estudiadas en los proyectos EINITE y SMITE. Dichas fuentes, censos con evaluaciones a nivel de fuego de la riqueza inmueble (y en ocasiones mueble) poseída y situada en cada localidad, permiten en algunos casos trazar la evolución de la desigualdad en la riqueza con cierta regularidad desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIV hasta el siglo XVIII. La segunda parte del trabajo se centra en el análisis de un caso de estudio, la localidad de Balaguer. La documentación disponible para dicha localidad permite trazar la tendencia seguida en el largo plazo por la desigualdad en la riqueza, aproximadamente entre 1400 y 1750. Los resultados muestran cierta coherencia con algunos de los principales resultados obtenidos en la literatura internacional: una tendencia al incremento secular de la desigualdad y la importancia de la dinámica seguida por las cuotas de la riqueza poseídas por los más ricos (entre el 1% y el 10%) como predictores de las tendencias generales seguidas por la desigualdad económica.

THIJS LAMBRECHT, WOUTER RYCKBOSCH, Economic inequality in the rural Southern Low Countries during the fifteenth century: sources, data and reflection

Recent historiography on the economic history of pre-industrial Europe has produced a wave of new empirical data on the distribution of wealth and income. Data on Italy and the Low Countries in particular shows that economic inequality tended to rise continuously after the Black Death. At present, our knowledge about economic inequality in the past is largely based on longitudinal data on wealth and income distributions in urban settlements. Although the aggregation of long-term urban data series has been instrumental in exposing the dynamics and timing of changes in economic inequality, existing research also suffers from a number of shortcomings. In particular, rural regions and settlements are underrepresented in present research. Also, little attention has been paid to regional and local differences in economic inequality. This chapter seeks to explore local and regional variation in levels of inequality in different types of rural localities and regions within the late medieval County of Flanders. We focus in particular on the fifteenth century, which was a turning point in the history of pre-industrial inequality, and continues to be the subject of debate on the prevailing levels of inequality in this

period. Our research indicates that fiscal sources for the County of Flanders can produce reliable data on the distribution of income during the late medieval period. The analysis of these data shows that important local and regional differences can be observed in the distribution of rural income. To a large extent, these local variations can be explained by differences in access to local economic resources. Our results, however, also indicate that substantial regional differences in access to rural resources can produce similar income distributions.

Recenti ricerche di storia economica hanno prodotto nuovi dati empirici sulla distribuzione della ricchezza e dei redditi nell'Europa pre-industriale. In particolare, i dati per l'Italia e i Paesi Bassi mostrano come la disuguaglianza economica tenda a crescere costantemente dopo la Peste Nera. Al momento, la conoscenza della distribuzione di ricchezza e redditi nel passato è basata prevalentemente sui dati noti per i centri urbani, osservati nella lunga durata. La ricerca attuale, sebbene abbia beneficiato largamente della costruzione di queste serie aggregate per osservare le dinamiche e la cronologia del variare della disuguaglianza economica, non è comunque esente da alcune criticità. In particolare, sono state assai poco studiate le aree e gli insediamenti rurali, mentre scarsa attenzione è stata data alle differenze nelle disuguaglianze economiche a livello regionale e locale. Questo saggio intende analizzare le variazioni a livello regionale e locale nelle disuguaglianze economiche, studiando diverse tipologie di aree ed insediamenti rurali all'interno della Contea di Fiandra alla fine del medioevo. In particolare, la ricerca si concentra sul XV secolo, un punto di svolta nella storia della disuguaglianza pre-industriale tutt'ora oggetto di dibattiti e ricerche sui livelli di disuguaglianza in esso prevalenti. Lo studio delle fonti fiscali della Contea di Fiandra per questo periodo ha permesso di contribuire a tale discussione con nuovi dati, la cui analisi dimostra la rilevanza delle differenze osservabili a livello locale e regionale nella distribuzione dei redditi in ambito rurale. In gran parte, tali variazioni a livello locale possono essere spiegate dalle differenze nelle modalità di accesso alle risorse economiche locali. Allo stesso tempo, la nostra analisi mostra come differenze sostanziali nell'accesso alla terra e alle altre risorse naturali possano anche generare distribuzioni dei redditi similari.

CLAUDIO LORENZINI, Montagne diseguali? Il ruolo regolatore delle risorse collettive nella montagna friulana, secoli XVII-XVIII

Fra gli elementi strutturali che distinguevano le comunità alpine da quelle di pianura c'era la specularità dei loro caratteri paesaggistici: grandi estensioni collettive (boschi e pascoli) ed esigui spazi privati per le coltivazioni; terra vasta e fertile, prerogativa di gruppi ristretti (nobili, ecclesiastici) e spazi collettivi (pascoli) esigui. È su questa base che si è sostenuta la 'naturale' uguaglianza delle comunità alpine. Studi recenti hanno invece dimostrato anche per questi contesti una polarizzazione della proprietà della terra, specie dove l'emigrazione temporanea degli uomini costituiva uno dei fondamenti dell'economia. Anche per la Carnia si può osservare tutto ciò, soprattutto durante la seconda metà del XVIII secolo. Tuttavia, l'andamento dell'indice di Gini ottenuto dagli estimi, qui esaminato, si attesta sempre su valori inferiori a quelli registrati nella Terraferma veneta. Inoltre, i proventi derivanti dai beni collettivi, andavano a beneficio di ciascuna famiglia della comunità, contribuendo a contenere la disuguaglianza.

Among the structural elements characterizing the Alpine communities in comparison to those in the plains was the specularity of their landscapes: large collective areas (woods and pastures) and scarce space for farming; extensive and fertile land, prerogative of selected groups (noblemen, clergymen), and limited collective spaces (pastures). It is on this basis that the argument was made of the 'natural' equality of Alpine communities.

Recent studies have instead demonstrated also in these contexts a polarization of land, especially where the temporary migration of men represented one of the foundations of the economy. This is applicable also to the Carnia region, in particular during the second half of the 18th century. However, the trend of Gini index stemming from estimation, here examined, always settles on lower values than those recorded in the Venetian mainland. Furthermore, the income deriving from collective goods benefited each family in the community, thus contributing to containing inequality.

JORDI MORELLÓ BAGET, PERE ORTI GOST, ALBERT REIXACH SALA, PERE VERDÉS PIJUAN, A study of economic inequality in the light of fiscal sources: the case of Catalonia (14th-18th centuries)

This essay aims to present the first results of an ongoing research project devoted to study the evolution of the economic inequality in Catalonia based on different documentary sources and parameters. Here we focus on the strengths and limits of the rich fiscal sources preserved between the 14th and 18th century allowing us an analysis of inequality. Concretely, we would like to discuss three fundamental circumstances: firstly, the diversity of origins and types of sources available in Catalan archives for this purpose; the great volume of registers preserved and the large and coherent sample that they can provide for several estimations; and last but not least, the cautions needed when employing these documents for statistical calculations since they arise from a complex evolution of different types of taxes along Catalonia. Finally, we intend to draw attention to the problems that can derive from an uncritical use of the sources generated by taxes on wealth and, therefore, the need for comparisons between their information and parameters obtained through other sources like, for instance, notarial or ecclesiastical records. This study is limited to the period before 1716 because we do not consider totally reliable connecting data from taxes before this moment, essentially focused on immovable wealth, with those from the *Cadaastre*, which was levied on a wide range of incomes.

El objetivo general de este estudio es dar a conocer los primeros resultados de un proyecto de investigación cuyo propósito es estudiar la evolución de la desigualdad económica en Cataluña a partir de distintos tipos de fuentes documentales e indicadores económicos. En este caso nos centramos en el análisis del alcance y los límites que tienen las ricas fuentes fiscales conservadas entre los siglos XIV y XVIII para el estudio de la desigualdad. Concretamente, nos interesa reflexionar sobre tres circunstancias fundamentales: en primer lugar, el origen diverso y la variada tipología de fuentes disponibles en los archivos catalanes para el estudio del tema; en segundo lugar, la magnitud de los fondos conservados y la posibilidad que existe de elaborar una muestra amplia y coherente para el cálculo de índices diversos; y, en tercer lugar, las precauciones que deben tomarse

a la hora de estudiar esta documentación y realizar cálculos estadísticos, habida cuenta de la compleja evolución experimentada por los distintos tipos de tributos en los diversos lugares de Cataluña. En última instancia, queremos llamar la atención sobre los problemas que puede plantear un uso acrítico de las fuentes generadas por el impuesto sobre la riqueza, y la consiguiente necesidad de contrastar la información que nos proporcionan con otros indicadores que podemos hallar en otros fondos documentales como los notariales o eclesiásticos, por ejemplo. El estudio se detiene en 1716 porque no consideramos conveniente comparar los datos que nos ofrece el impuesto anterior a esta fecha, que gravaba fundamentalmente la riqueza inmueble, con los del catastro posterior, que gravaba todo tipo de rentas.

ESTEBAN NICOLINI, FERNANDO RAMOS-PALENCIA, Inequality in Early Modern Spain: New evidence from the Ensenada Cadastre in Castile, c. 1750

This chapter addresses income inequality by offering new evidence based on the Ensenada Cadastre, a unique database on Castilian households circa 1750. We describe and analyze these data, which consist of more than 27,000 observations concerning nearly 109,000 inhabitants. The Ensenada Cadastre incorporates two main sources: the Respuestas Generales, survey responses that yield aggregated information on the sociodemographic and economic structure of towns and cities; and the Respuestas Particulares, in which each household head enumerated his properties, declared his occupation and income sources, and stated his name, age, place of residence, civil status, and family composition. This cadastre reports household income as the sum of income from labor, urban and rural real estate (houses, buildings, and land), livestock, and interest earned on mortgages or other financial assets. We find that inequality in 18th-century Spain was substantial, especially in urban and/or highly populated areas. There was also a positive – but somewhat weaker – relationship not only between inequality and per capita income but also between inequality and poverty. We posit that extreme economic inequality was likely responsible for numerous episodes of social conflict. Finally, the extent of formalized charity and social spending was less than in other Western European regions.

Gracias el Catastro de Ensenada se ha recopilado información perteneciente a más de 27,000 hogares (aproximadamente 109,000 habitantes) de la antigua Corona de Castilla, lo cual nos permite avanzar en el estudio sobre la desigualdad económica en las sociedades preindustriales del siglo XVIII. El Catastro de Ensenada contiene las denominadas (i) Respuestas Generales que describen las características demográficas y socio-económicas de cada municipio; y, (ii) las Respuestas Particulares, que son las declaraciones individuales de los/las cabeza de familia sobre su profesión, lugar de residencia, edad, estado civil, composición del hogar y todas las fuentes de ingresos (laborales y no laborales). Para analizar la desigualdad se han computado los ingresos anuales, los cuales vienen dados por la suma de las rentas laborales y los rendimientos atribuibles a bienes raíces urbanos y rurales -casas, edificios y terrenos), ganado y los intereses derivados de hipotecas o cualquier activo financiero. Los resultados muestran unos niveles de desigualdad importantes, especialmente en las ciudades o en los núcleos con mayor población. Asimismo, aunque menos acusada, se aprecia una relación positiva entre desigualdad e ingreso per cápita y

entre desigualdad y pobreza. Probablemente, esta elevada desigualdad fue la causante de distintos conflictos sociales a lo largo del siglo XVIII. Finalmente, el gasto social que dedicaron los ayuntamientos locales para mitigar el impacto de la desigualdad fue sensiblemente inferior al realizado en otras regiones de Europa occidental.

ULRICH PFISTER, Economic inequality in Germany, 1500-1800

The chapter reviews existing evidence regarding four aspects of economic inequality: relative factor rents, which relate to the factorial distribution of income and also underlie the so-called Williamson index (y/w_m), which is correlated with the Gini index of household income; real inequality in terms of opposite movements of the price of consumer baskets consumed by different strata of society; the inequality of pay according to gender and skill, as well as between town and countryside; and wealth inequality, particularly with respect to the access to land. The main result is that, with given technology and agrarian institutions, there is a positive correlation between population and inequality. First, population growth increased wealth inequality via unequal inheritance among sibships and the resulting structural downward mobility. Consequently, by the second half of the eighteenth century landless and land-poor households constituted the majority of the population in many regions characterized by impartible inheritance. Second, given inelastic supply of fertile land, the land-labour ratio fluctuated inversely with population. An increase of the land-labour ratio raises the marginal product of land and lowers the marginal product of labour. Thus, demographic expansion improved the relative income of land-owners and depressed the one of wage earners. Third, and very tentatively, the effect of population growth on the relative income position of women and unskilled male labourers were aggravated by exclusionary strategies of craft guilds, particularly in the sixteenth century. Finally, population growth causes the price of class-specific consumer baskets to move in opposite directions, which increases real inequality. Through these four mechanisms, the massive increase in population between 1500 and 1800 raised inequality in the long run. Only the massive population losses in the wake of the Thirty Years' War caused a temporary reversal of this long-term trend.

SERGIO SARDONE, Ricchezza e proprietà in una città levantina: Bari tra Cinque e Settecento

In questo lavoro è delineato un breve quadro descrittivo e quantitativo della proprietà posseduta dall'élite socioeconomica di Bari, unico dei tre attuali grandi centri del Mezzogiorno analizzabili per l'Età Moderna, data l'esenzione accordata a Napoli e Palermo come capitali dei regni di Napoli e Sicilia. L'analisi dell'apprezzo del 1598 e del catasto del 1753 ha permesso l'individuazione e la stima dei patrimoni delle famiglie più facoltose di Bari, nonché mostrare la composizione sociale dei suoi principali nuclei familiari. Da tale analisi è emerso anche che, nel corso di questo secolo e mezzo, il numero di famiglie patrizie baresi si dimezzò in favore di quelle che "vivevano nobilmente", con sempre più sostanziosi patrimoni

al punto da sostituirsi al patriziato, tra le quali spiccano quelle di forestieri ferraresi e lombardi.

This work offers a descriptive and quantitative picture of the property owned by the socio-economic elite of Bari, the only one of the three present great cities of Southern Italy analysable for the Modern Age, given the exemption granted to Naples and Palermo as capitals of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The analysis on the 1598 apprezzo and the 1753 catasto has allowed to identify and estimate the wealth of the wealthiest families of Bari, and to show the social composition of its main families. From this analysis it emerged also that, during this century and a half, the number of patrician families in Bari halved in favor of those that "lived nobly", with more substantial assets to replace the patriciate, among them those of foreigners from Ferrara and Lombardy.

ARIE VAN STEENSEL, Measuring urban inequalities. Spatial patterns of service access in sixteenth-century Leiden

Inequality is generally understood in economic terms and defined as a measure of the distribution of material resources among the individuals of a given population. In the case of premodern European towns, this distribution is often calculated on the basis of fiscal records that document estimated household wealth or house rental values. These tax records, however, are not preserved for all places and periods, and the focus on wealth and income inequality leads to a rather one-sided view of well-being, which also excludes the tax-exempt urban population. This contribution addresses these issues by developing a broader understanding of well-being in premodern towns and by using digital methods to map social and economic inequalities, thereby drawing on insights from research on socio-spatial equity from urban studies. The key questions are how socio-economic inequality was reflected in the urban social topography and to what extent these spatial patterns reproduced inequality. Taking sixteenth-century Leiden as a case study, the spatial patterns of economic inequality and social segregation in this town are first examined. Next, the level of location-based inequality is explored by mapping and calculating urban spatial patterns of service accessibility. This approach allows for the incorporation of more diverse sources, but, above all, it can result in a better understanding of the causes and effects of inequalities on well-being (at a micro-level) in premodern urban societies.

In generale, la disuguaglianza va compresa in termini economici e definita come una misura della distribuzione delle risorse materiali tra gli individui appartenenti ad una popolazione. Nel caso delle città europee premoderne, questa distribuzione è spesso calcolata sulla base di registri fiscali, che stimavano la ricchezza delle famiglie o il valore dell'affitto delle proprietà. Questi documenti fiscali non sono però disponibili per ogni città e per ogni periodo. Inoltre, l'attenzione alla disuguaglianza di ricchezza e reddito ha come risultato una prospettiva unilaterale del benessere nelle città, che ignora anche la parte della popolazione esente da tasse. Il presente contributo affronta questi temi sviluppando un approccio al benessere nelle città premoderne più approfondito ed utilizzando metodi di ricerca digitali per mappare le disuguaglianze sociali ed economiche,

attingendo così alla ricerca sull'equità socio-spaziale comune negli studi urbani. La questione principale è come la disuguaglianza sociale ed economica si riflette nella topografia sociale urbana e in che misura questa disuguaglianza sia stata riprodotta dai questi schemi spaziali. Prendendo Leida del sedicesimo secolo come caso di studio, in prima istanza saranno esaminati gli schemi spaziali della disuguaglianza economica e della segregazione sociale. In seguito sarà discusso il livello della disuguaglianza localizzata, mappando e calcolando i modelli spaziali urbani di accessibilità ai servizi. Questo approccio consente di incorporare un maggior numero di fonti, ma soprattutto può portare ad una migliore comprensione delle cause e degli effetti della disuguaglianza sul benessere nelle società urbane premoderne.

KATARZYNA WAGNER, Wealth inequalities in cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and their changes during the seventeenth century. Sources and methods of measure

Tax registers are an important and still relatively unexplored source of information for social-historical research. In the article I will use two types of registers, i.e. municipal tax (szos) and records of contributions imposed by Swedish occupational administration for five cities (Kraków, Warsaw, Lviv, Poznan, Lublin). Both types of tax were imposed in a similar manner, with higher-level powers determining a lump sum to be paid by the entire town and municipal authorities deciding on tax rates. They provide information on the wealth of townsmen. Naturally, it needs to be remembered that those two types of tax were significantly different. The information included in tax registers allows us to define and analyze wealth inequalities in the 17th century and in the first years of the 18th century.

I would like to determine the evolution of wealth concentration in main cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by comparing the data from different benchmark years. Moreover, I will analyze whether the Gini coefficient value indeed refers to the communities who are at a threshold of economic growth, and what is the correlation between the value of the coefficient and the town or city's economic situation. Also, it is worthwhile to ponder the question: is there any correlation – noted by both Jan Luiten van Zanden and Guido Alfani – whereby the larger the town/city, the more visible the inequalities. Finally, how do the towns/cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth compare to those in Western Europe.