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## Governance of Diversity Between Social Dynamics and Conflicts in Multicultural Cities. A Selected Survey on Historical Bibliography

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Renato Sansa and Ercole Sori

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KTHC - Knowledge, Technology, Human Capital

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# **Governance of Diversity Between Social Dynamics and Conflicts in Multicultural Cities. A Selected Survey on Historical Bibliography**

## **Summary**

This paper is an excursus on multiculturalism from a historical perspective. It ranges from the encounters of different cultures in ancient times, through the Middle Ages, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation period up to the present times. It describes the peculiarity of the solutions adopted, juridical or social, formal or informal. Although it is difficult to classify the various attitudes towards foreigners, a decisive distinction should be made between modern history and previous times. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century the number of migrants was significant in a historical perspective, but limited in absolute terms. May this fact have helped the hosting institutions to encourage a favourable policy towards foreign settlements?

Another distinction must be made between high qualified migration and humble and unskilled workers. Cities' histories are full of discriminatory measures towards local immigrants from villages who swelled the ranks of urban outcasts.

Finally, it seems clear that the category of multiculturalism, as a premise for the successful integration of foreigners can only be applied with precautions to historical examples. The challenge of the clash of cultures was tackled differently in past societies, without necessarily meaning that those societies were racist or xenophobic. Successful examples of integration and development with the contribution of diversity in the past could involve exclusion and discrimination apparently unacceptable nowadays.

**Keywords:** Social dynamics, Conflicts, Multicultural cities, Diversities

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## INTRODUCTION

The meaning of multicultural in early modern history is a very complex question, mainly for two reasons. The first is that from Middle Age to following centuries there were so many different situations in which a majority dealt with foreigners and alien cultures, that it's hard to retrace one or even more models. The variety of aspects related to any single historical example force to follow, nearly step by step, the peculiarity of any single solutions adopted, juridical or social, formal or informal. As it has been noted in the early modern era, aliens policies were formulated and put into practice by cities and even government concerns and edicts were acted upon locally. Although many migrants were welcomed, local authorities tried to keep out destitute migrants. The most important mechanism was allowing newcomers only very gradually into the local welfare system. Those who stayed and who, after a number of years, had earned a respectable position, could be granted citizenship. Those who failed, were expelled or had left the city already on their own initiative (*Le migrazioni in Europa, secc. XIII-XVIII*, atti della venticinquesima Settimana di studi dell'Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini", Prato, 3-8 maggio 1993, a cura di S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze, 1994; *Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen eds., Bern, 1999).

First of all, there is one preliminary question: what should we intend for multicultural cities in Middle Age and in early modern history? Some particular conditions encouraged people mobility. Job opportunities were obviously increased in the centres of administrative affairs and trade exchanges. In these cities the presence of foreigners was large in number. The consequence of migrations was the settlement of foreign communities. But how should we consider this presence? Was its meaning similar to the actual criss-cross of ethnic and cultures? We should be aware that the perception of aliens was strictly related to the question of diversity (E. Sori, *Mapping Diversity in Social History*, nota di lavoro Engine 70.2003, 2003) and the feelings, but also, the politics toward them was influenced by many factors, mainly economic and subsequently social ones. The meaning of diversity in history is a worthwhile question. World history can be assumed as a favourable point of view to investigate the relations between diversity and economic or social development. It could seem to state the obvious considering the civilizations as a consequence of migrations, that it is to say the contact or the clash between different cultures. With few exceptions, societies were the result of the mixture between newcomers and old settlers. What apparently was assumed as uniformity, any civilization at a certain moment, was actually the result of a previous encounter with «diversity». The intersection of ethnic groups or culture was a contradictory experience, in which the factors of destruction coexisted with the ability of building new forms of developing (W. H. McNeill, *Human Migration. A Historical Overview*, in R. S. Adams and W. H. McNeill eds., *Human Migration. Patterns and Policies*, Bloomington and London, 1978, pp. 3-19).

If it is true that ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities lived under legal restrictions, and sometime in circumstances of social and economic precariousness, the fact that they were excluded in terms of disenfranchisement from citizenship doesn't mean that they couldn't play a significant role. According to the wide range of foreign condition, it would probably inappropriate to see them simply as outcasts or marginal. Their insertion in hosting societies was more complex and articulated (see the essays in *L'image de l'autre. Étrangers – Minoritaires – Marginaux*, XVIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, 3 voll. , Stuttgart, 1985).

## MULTICULTURALITY IN AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

One of the most important factors that smoothed the encounters between cultures was the high level of mobility in pre-industrial time. It's possible to recognize different kind of shifts of groups and individuals:

1. seasonal
2. commercial
3. artistic
4. confessional.

This four general categories can also be divided, within them, in two other groups: the case in which mobility was necessary for surviving and the case in which it was oriented to increase richness. Also the length of settlement must be considered in order to assess if the settlement was temporary or permanent. At last not least there is the question of number, that gave to the aliens presence a major or minor evidence regarding to their integration. At the end, it's possible to identify two very general kind of mobility: one that is referred to peasants who covered a short distance to employ themselves temporarily and a permanent or long-time transfer of people, merchants or skilled artisans, who came from a long-distance. The firsts were most of the time excluded from the privileges reserved to the citizens, at the contrary stable settlements attracted more attention on a social, juridical scheme (J. Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900. The Drift to the North Sea*, London, 1987; L. P. Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Bloomington, 1992).

A general chronological scansion is also possible in this field:

a) **Antiquity.** Encounters between cultures were constant feature in ancient times. Big migrations and military occupations sometime brought into contact different populations. Until the consolidation of Roman empire, Greek culture constituted the *koinè*, cultural and linguistic uniformity, to which all the Mediterranean world looked at. The *pax romana* was mainly based, as well as on the use of military strength, on the ability of joining together different civilization. It has been asserted that at least it's possible to consider the empires in the Mediterranean area as commonwealths where different cultural features coexisted.

b) **Middle age.** During the phase of demographic expansion from eleventh to fourteenth century mobility increased. The process of urbanization, begun in the eleventh century, was accompanied and characterised by a general demographic rise, an increasing in geographical and social mobility and the expansion of trades. The exchange of goods enhanced especially in the Mediterranean area, this involved the emigration of traders and bankers to distant lands, where they settled down. The impact of this process was different according to the location in which it took place and the function it fulfilled (*Strutture familiari, epidemie, migrazioni nell'Italia medievale*, a cura di R. Comba, G. Piccini, G. Pinto, Napoli, 1984; *Forestieri e stranieri nelle città basso-medievali*, Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio, Bagno a Ripoli (Firenze, 4-8 giugno 1984), Firenze, 1988).

c) **Reformation and Counter-reformation.** Confessional migrations distinguish mobility in this period. The religious factor operated not only to initiate long-distance migrations and new settlements, but it also shaped their character and their result. The confessionalization of Europe, with his principle *cuius regio eius religio*, even if this was formally applied only in German empire, triggered an exchange of people belonging to different confessional churches (E. François, *Immigration et société urbaine en Allemagne à l'époque moderne (17e-18e siècle). Remarques sur deux types de politiques de l'immigration*, in *Habiter la ville (XVe-XXe siècles)*, M. Garden, Y. Lequin eds., Lyon, 1985, pp. 52-87). The geographical scale of these migrations were various, in

some case people moved to close region, in other case the distance covered was much longer, as for intercontinental migration to European colonies (see the essays in *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800*, N. P. Canny eds., Oxford, 1994). It has been noted that during this period migration played a key role in the diffusion of innovations in manufacturing and trade. Recent studies has refuted traditional Weber's interpretation and has related this ability in innovation to the condition of religious minority, that forced confessional migrants to be more energetic and innovative (H. Schilling, *Innovation through Migration. The Settlement of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth and Seventeenth century Western Europe*, in « Social History - Histoire Sociale», 16, 1983, pp. 7-33).

Three principle waves of religious migration can be retraced in this period: the first one was related with the French wars of religion and the revolt of the Netherlands (1560s). A second phase is connected with the heightening of situation in the Netherlands (1580s). A mass of 100.000-150.000 left the Southern to Northern Netherlands. A third wave occurred after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with the migration of 200.000 of French Calvinists around 1685, that passed to England, Dutch Republic and Protestant principalities of Germany (A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, Oxford, 1992; J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 627-628).

d) **18<sup>th</sup> century.** The problem of alien presence and integration seems to be posed on more distinctive level, both on intellectual and juridical scheme. The Enlightenment help to spread the principle of cosmopolitanism, that, even if didn't pass directly into practice, prepared in many ways what acts, as American or French Constitution, formally declared at the end of century. In this century took place the process of integration of Jews, edicts, as the Austrian edict of 1781, where in many senses a final point of a growing importance in society, of which one peculiar aspect was that of the Court Jews (*Hofjude*) in some German principality (Prussia, Saxony, Palatinate, Wurttemberg) (S. Stern, *The Court Jews. A Contribution to the History of the Period of Absolutism in Central Europe*, Philadelphia, 1950; A. Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, New-York-London, 1968; J. Katz, *Out of the ghetto. The social background of Jewish emancipation, 1770-1870*, New York, 1978).

e) **Late 19<sup>th</sup> – 20h century.** Since the mid-nineteenth century the growth of the number of persons involved in the circuit of migration, especially of those who crossed the ocean, was a consequence of the process of industrialisation. The increased number of people on the move posed new problems to those societies that received a large mass of immigrated. Contradictions emerged with respect to the expectations of legality and the reality of xenophobia and racism that characterised the settlement of foreign community within the hosting countries.

#### **FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS IN PAST SOCIETIES: REFUSAL OR RECEPTION?**

What has been described in very general terms lead the discourse to a central point, that is related to the ambivalence of reception and refusal as two major attitudes toward aliens. In the first case the major components was the co-operation between local institutions (and economical power as well) and foreign consulates (or other similar institutions). At the opposite there were the non infrequent outbreaks of xenophobia. Violent attacks against alien properties or individuals, at a popular level, or decrees of expulsion, in case of decisions taken at an institutional level, were sometime the final act of long lasting hostility toward immigrants.

A chronology can be traced for these different attitudes too. It has been noted that since the eleventh century exchanges became easier as Europe became safer for trades especially in west Mediterranean. As shift of individuals increased towns and regions, the juridical reflection on these

matters became deeper and more articulated, also thanks to the mediation between roman juridical tradition and common laws. Thus a constant evolution of juridical thought helped to regulate conflicts, reorienting them on juridical level. A particular importance had the treaties with which the foreign “nations” obtained collective privileges as unlimited trade, fiscal exemptions and quarter within they could reside. These quarters became the basis for wider commercial expansion as the Italian maritime settlements in the eastern Mediterranean (E. Asthor, *East-West Trade in the Medieval Mediterranean*, London, 1986; Id., *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton N.J., 1983), that acquired the special status of extra-territorial enclaves or free-trades areas (D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies*, London, 1979 ch. VII).

For medieval jurists didn't exist only one general category of “alien”, but many conditions of being alien, according to the “quality” of people and to the economic and political situation involved (M. Ascheri, *Lo straniero: aspetti della problematica giuridica*, in *Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell'Europa dei secoli XII-XVI*, a cura di G. Rossetti, Pisa, 1989, pp. 33-46). The many *consilium* expressed by jurists on different *casus* can sometime appear contradictory. But they have to be interpreted at the light of specific situations in which they were formulated. The principle “*locus regit actum*”, as expressed by Bartolo da Sassoferrato, is considered a final point of a secular debate on foreign condition. What is commonly accepted by historians is that one of the factors that most influenced the level of integration in the cities was related to demographic trend. The will to increase population left door open to incentives (however selectively oriented towards specific occupational groups). In the phases of rapid demographic growth, the need to define groups of belonging and consequentially the access to citizenship became stricter. The case of Aragon crown is in this sense clear. If in the twelfth century had prevailed a policy of reception, in particular to Pisan and Genoese merchants, in the following centuries were adopted protectionist measures that led in 1265 to the expulsion of Lombards and in 1325 of Florentines and others.

Beginning from the sixteenth century, in a mood of growing religious intolerance, the liberty of trade and pacific coexistence was strongly effected by reciprocal interdiction between Catholics and Protestants. This has been commonly portrayed as an age of intolerance as testified by the expulsion of minorities, such as Huguenots, or the increasing control towards them whose presence was tolerated within the state. According to recent research, such general reconstruction, substantially plausible, can amend, in order to retrace the roots of intolerance revealed in the sixteenth century. The diffusion between twelfth and fifteenth century of a Christian economic thought with his own codes brought to define the sphere of licit. The codification of legitimate economic behaviours with his primary purpose to guide conduct tended to exclude and condemn a number of actions and attitudes as *infidelis*. This influenced heavily the role played by minorities, such as Jews or Muslims, acting as a prejudice to what they actually could have done and sometime in open contradiction to what the juridical tradition had elaborated (O. Langholm, *Economics in Medieval Schools. Wealth, Exchange, Value, Money and Usury According to the Paris Theological Tradition 1200-1350*, Leiden, 1992; J. Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century. Money, Market Exchange and the Emergence of Scientific Thought*, Cambridge, 1998). Crown policies towards minorities, Jews in detail, was strongly affected in this sense, as French and English examples in thirteenth century suggest (W. C. Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews. From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetings*, Philadelphia, 1989; S. Herman, *Medieval Usury and the Commercialization of Feudal Bonds*, Berlin, 1993).

The appearance in Europe in tenth through thirteenth centuries of expropriation and mass murder of Jews, segregation of lepers in hospitals and other measures adopted against popular heresy have motivated to identify a pattern of persecution, which appeared for the first time and that made Europe become a persecuting society. It has argued that patterns of persecution were not the result of a reaction against real and growing threats from specific groups, but were the direct result of the decisions taken on a higher level by princes and prelates. On the other hand, the masses seemed quite willing to accept the stereotypes created by those in power that characterized the



persecuted groups as devious, filthy, conspiratorial, murderers of children, lascivious, poisoners of wells (R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford, 1987). Well before Counter-reformation processes of labelling and exclusion have already arisen in Europe.

Any attempt to turn the vast typology of specific historical situations into general terms seems to be easily contradicted. On the contrary it admonishes to escape from too general considerations, as maybe the best solution is in distinguishing single cases to avoid impressionistic judgement to which this question is subject.

Two minorities, however, have such distinguished historical features that can be taken as example. Jews are almost always quoted in every book referring to minorities. Their condition has always been in double peril. As non-Christian they were par excellence an excluded minority. Even if they were in some case under protection of the highest authorities, this special position could be quickly exploited. Although monarchs made the safety and protection of Jews their direct responsibility, they could as easily turn on them when needs dictated, to deprive them of their land or possessions. Thus the pattern of expulsion of money-lending Jews when loans were due, and the acceptance of their return, at a suitable price, was not uncommon. In addition, their acknowledged skills in administrative matters, often developed because other avenues were closed to them, were perceived as a threat. One can assume as topical the events of French Jews who were expelled in 1306 by Philip IV, readmitted in 1315 by Luigi X and between 1359-1360 “invited” again in the reign by John II. Few years after, in 1394, Charles VI ordered the expulsion of all the Jews, officially for the rumours of their crimes. Actually the previous century had been passing with continuous rumouring of nastiest accusations of ritual sacrifices of Christian children, poisoning of wells. Started in South of France around 1321, this accusations would have lasted for a long time and travelled through boundaries (W. C. Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, cit.).

The functions fulfilled by Jews has been interpreted as a “stop-gap role”. This intends that they played an active part in the economic system by utilising the gaps, which Christians could not fill as competently as Jews or which they could not fill at all. Thus, Jews were not only able to acquire an at least temporary superiority over their competitors, but they could put themselves within the framework of the economic demands of society. This “stop-gap role” set the Jews into a vital position within the economic system of society, thus their role can only be comprehended as a part of the whole. Nonetheless demarcation represented the common aspect of their condition. Their settlement in the cities is identified with the existence of a Jewish quarter. If in the beginning (thirteenth century), this could also be a choice of the Jews themselves, in order to protect from external dangers and therefore requested as a privilege to the authorities, the constant evolution of the legislation about Jews, with the requirement of making themselves recognizable, the prohibition to live with Christians, or, for Christians, to go in the Jewish quarter on Saturday, give to Jewish quarters light (G. Kisch, *The yellow badge in History*, in «Historia Judaica», vol. XIX, 1957, pp. 89–118; M. Kriegel, *Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l’Europe méditerranéenne*, Paris, 1979 ; E. Concina, U. Camerino, D. Calabi, *La città degli Ebrei*, Venezia, 1991; *Storia d’Italia. Annali*, XI. *Gli ebrei in Italia*, a cura di C. Vivanti, Einaudi, 1996, 2 voll.).

Huguenots was another minority that played a special role in the economy. Dispersed after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they set apart for their ability in trades and innovation in technology. Indirectly they inspired Weber’s theory, being a religious successful minority. Recent revisions of Weber’s theory have emphasised that it is not the religion itself, but rather the by products of religion, like social norms, as self-discipline or an higher level of education, which determine economic development. Another feature that characterised their organization were the kinship relations. As members of a dispersed business community, the Huguenots were well placed to play a part in international trades. In an environment with a lot of uncertainty where trust and reputation, mutual confidence were critical, kinship ties amongst Huguenots community provided important interconnecting threads which, in some degree, held the merchant networks together (W.C. Scoville, *The Persecution of the Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1960; H. Schilling, *Innovation through Migration cit.*).

Minorities were able to cope with a high level of trust required by economic transactions and, because of their connections with other communities throughout the world, they could bear lower risks and therefore lower transaction costs. So kinship relation emphasising their role in promoting economic development. In this sense Huguenots went along with Jews. The importance that the Portuguese Jews easily reached in distributing Portuguese colonial product not only in Dutch republic but in the whole of northern Europe depended also on their close links with New Christians, that is to say converted Jews, that were merchants in Portugal, Goa, Brazil, who were often their own relatives. Jews had another key element for economic development in common with Huguenots: a higher level of instruction than the average population. Religious practices, that provided the direct lecture of holy texts, had also a role in encouraging a better degree in education. All this worked together with the condition of being a minority, that lead this communities to develop psychological attitude, such as unconventional behaviours, self-assertion, which can became under particular conditions virtues for knowledge and innovation. If not contrasted these factors could play an important influence on the development of economy of the hosting country.

Different cases of coexistence between old populations and new settlements can be analysed to stress possible schemes with which mutuality could work to support developing. According to different methodological approach it is possible to emphasize the analysis of single case studies or the comparative approach, devoted to exemplify wider and general attitudes towards aliens. In this paper both these approaches will be used. It will be considered, on a different scale, the case of three capital cities (Rome, London and Amsterdam), a “national” example (Spain between Middle age and early modern history), the evolutions of cultural bents to diversity in three big civilization area considered in a long temporal scale, and finally the reception of Italians outside Italy between the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN

At the end of the Eighties Martin Bernal proposed an extreme radical interpretation about Greek civilization. In his «Black Athena», he assumed that classical scholarship for two centuries had systematically misinterpreted the Greeks in order to turn them from Africans into proto-Europeans. According to Bernal, Greece had been conquered by ancient Egyptians, black Africans by his point of view, that created classical civilization. The «second gift of the Nile» was a multicultural and non-xenophobic civilization and these features were an inheritance of its African origins. Bernal’s items were oriented to demonstrate the irreconcilable dichotomy between the origin of tolerance (Afro centric) and the roots of modern West racism (M. Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press 1987-1991, 2 vols). The arguments proposed by Bernal has been easily confuted by archaeologist and historians but his example remain as a proof of how deep can be the need of represent modern anxieties in the past.

Actually in antiquity inclinations toward foreigners was characterised by totally different features. The Greeks of the archaic and classical eras (600-400 B.C.) can be considered the world's first multiculturalists. The empirical and philosophical basis of such multiculturalism was the anthropological interest for other people, based on a genuine curiosity about alien ways of life combined with the ability to question the cherished presuppositions of one's own culture, well represented by Xenophanes, followed by the Athenian enlightenment and in particular by Herodotus.

From Alexander through late Hellenism, multicultural encounters were for Greeks and other Mediterraneans also matters of power and conflict: who was to rule, and whose rules were to count. Recent interpretations of the Hellenistic era, however, tend to see it as a remarkable and

fruitful blend, in which the day-to-day Hellenization of language and customs across the eastern Mediterranean was a condition of its efficacy and creativity in the new geopolitical and multicultural context of the post-Alexandrian epoch. This unplanned process produced a rich, syncretic civilization, which had, however serious cultural limits. Greeks interest to alien peoples, in a time when Greek civilization was culturally dominant but political weak, was mainly oriented to take from them what they themselves need to feed their own hunger for reassurance and salvation. It is noteworthy that Greeks never learned foreign languages. Even the translation of the Bible was a marker of what was necessary to participate in Hellenistic culture: the use of the only accepted language. In the first two centuries after Augustus, Hellenism became a kind of paradoxical multiculturalism, in which Greek philosophy and a growing variety of Eastern mysticisms and esoteric teachings, all of them in Hellenized form, mixed together, sweeping westwards (A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom. The Limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge - New York, Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 2-6, 147-149).

The Stoic philosophy, from a multicultural perspective, in the early phases of late Hellenism in the second century A.D. marked another moment of genuine multiculturalism in antiquity, as it posited a cosmopolitan standard and looked toward a world community of peace and order. Stoics held that «all men are by nature equal» and that the wise man, who understood the universe, was a *kosmou polites*, that is to say a cosmopolitan. According to Stoic precepts, the wise man did not think of himself as a citizen of any particular country, for unseemly attachment to a place, city, or family was just another of the irrational ties that could produce inappropriate desires and emotions. Actually, the Stoics' contribution to multicultural exchange and understanding was limited by an elitist approach of closeted academics: their reject of existing ethnic and political boundaries left the place to a more ruthless boundary between the right-minded and the ignorant

After all, the Roman legal tradition could warrant a better claim to multiculturalism than Stoicism, for it was concerned not with personal improvement according to elite values, but with the customs and values that were common to various peoples, and could therefore form a common basis for orderly political relations. By this point of view, the centre of Roman law and law-making in the field of ancient international law was Beirut, described as «the city that upholds all the legal learning of the Romans» (G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 63). Roman civilization was deeply affected by Hellenic culture, and by their side performed a multicultural tasks with the nations and tribes of central and western Europe, especially after many of those tribes invaded and settled in the Empire starting at the end of the fourth century. Obviously none today would describe this encounter, that implied a transformation of native culture like the conversion of the Germanic tribes to Christianity, as a multicultural exercise. Yet, under a wider definition of multiculturalism that reflects ancient realities, the process of Christianization in the West as well as the East was in many way multicultural. The Christianization of Western in the later Empire rather than being uniformly and obsessively anti-pagan, was more a long-lasting clash of civilizations. The multicultural coexistence of Mediterranean natives with Germanic, Slavic, Persian, and Arab invaders, conquerors, and settlers takes the chronicle of multicultural relations beyond the limits of the ancient world. The rival monotheisms of Islam, Christian Byzantium, and the Christian West produced persecutions and intolerance, but also long periods of multicultural coexistence and consolidation in which the leading forces of the rival faiths sought less to establish imperial control than to create what historian Garth Fowden called diverse «commonwealths», especially in the «Mountain Arc» stretching from the Caucasus through Mesopotamia and Iran to the periphery of the great Arabian desert.

Greeks and Romans and other ancient Mediterranean civilizations were members of traditional societies. Their attitude to aliens can't be understood under the modern schemes such as racism, multiculturalism or chauvinism. If anything similar to modern multiculturalism appeared in the ancient world, it was only in the neutral sense of welcoming strangeness and difference.

## EASTERN CIVILIZATIONS

The features of relationship between cultures and peoples on a large scale can also be seen considering the examples coming from two Asian civilization: India and China.

Traditionally, Chinese regarded themselves as inhabitants of the “Middle Kingdom”. According to this worldview, other people surrounding them were not considered equal to themselves, but barbarians. Some considers that China never borrowed heavily from others, except for few important military innovations. During the epoch known as the «Hundred Schools» era (500-300 BC), Confucianism became, after a long debate, the ruling doctrine of state and society. As Confucianism focused primarily on worldly affairs, it was possible for other religions to exist alongside it. Buddhism, one of them, was both tolerated and quickly sinicized. At the opposite, monotheism such Islam, or later Christianity, encountered problems to coexist with Chinese culture, especially because of the supremacy to the emperor that diverged with the first loyalty given by the believers to Allah or God. The alleged “insularity” of Chinese culture has been recently questioned, considering that Buddhism opened the way to establish cultural links between India and China. In the second half of the first millennium scholars from both countries were in contact, and Indians mathematicians and astronomers settled in China (A. Sen, *Passage to China*, in «The New York Review of Books», December 2, 2002, pp. 61-65).

The Tang dynasty (600-700 AD) was probably the most cosmopolitan of the Han dynasties. During that time, Jews arrived and built synagogues, and the ruling Li family was part Turkish. But tolerance was rejected after An Lu-shan, the Sogdian commander of the army, rebelled and provoked the slow decline of Tang civilization. The next dynasty, the Song, was far more resistant to foreign cultural influences. The next dynasty, the Yuan, was Mongol, and perhaps because of the speed with which they conquered other peoples, its members neither tried to turn the Chinese into Mongols nor showed much desire to become Confucians themselves. The Ming, who succeeded them, at first promoted extensive overseas explorations, but the foreign finds seem to have been valued largely as exotica rather than as a means for systematic study of other cultures. These voyages of discovery were halted when the Confucian bureaucratic-scholarly elite convinced the emperor that it was better to cultivate an ethical society than to explore. In their view, China should not be assimilationist; barbarians would either recognize Chinese superiority on their own or not, and there was no point in trying to change them.

The last imperial dynasty, the Qing, was from another nomadic group, the Manchus. Unlike the Mongols, however, the Manchus consciously manipulated symbols from different cultures to rule the various peoples within the empire. During this period contacts with the West increased significantly, especially with respect to Christian missionaries and British traders. In both cases the Westerners’ perspective clashed with the Chinese, who were affronted by the Westerners’ refusal to acknowledge the Chinese emperor above the Pope or the Queen of England. Significantly, Chinese pride and confidence in their own culture were not based on race or ethnicity, but rather on culture. Foreigners who spoke and dressed as Chinese and observed Confucian etiquette were even accepted as Chinese.

In the later nineteenth century, when they faced militarily superior Western forces, Chinese thinkers began asking why China was weak, and concluded that China had fallen away from true Confucianism. As it became increasingly clear that some degree of adaptation to Western ideas would be needed, the notion of a compromise was developed, focusing on the “*ti/yong*” distinction. Confucianism would be retained as the essence (*ti*) of Chinese civilization, while adopting Western practical learning (*yong*). But these thinkers soon discovered that accepting Western *yong* depended on adopting Western *ti*. Sun Yat-sen, the first president of republican China, had been educated in the West and converted to Christianity, and his ideology of government bore explicit links to Abraham Lincoln’s notion of government by the people, of the people, and for the people.

However, far from lending credence to multiculturalism in any form, he introduced ethnically based nationalism, arguing that China was weak because it was ruled by foreigners. Confucianism lost credibility after the revolution in 1911, as many began to see it as the problem, not the necessary foundation, of an ethnically defined China. In the subsequent power struggle, many ideologies competed to succeed Confucianism, but few people seemed interested in toleration of diverging points of view.

The communist regime that took over mainland China in 1948 countenanced no cultural rivals to Chinese Marxism. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, were both anti-Western and centralist, opposed to regional and cultural differences. Standardization, most notably of the language, was a crucial part of the program. Beginning in the 1970s, China began opening to the West as a counterweight to alignment with the Soviet Union. However, this strategic move unleashed broader forces in society. Young Chinese began to absorb Western tastes and ideas; the Quran was published in China for the first time since 1949; minorities demand autonomy and recognition. Although cultural diversity continues to gain ground, few voices are willing to consider genuine autonomy for minorities. The greatest search seems to be for a formula that will allow China to become strong and wealthy without discarding its unique characteristics— be they Confucian or communist or something else (J. T. Dreyer, *China's political system. Modernization and tradition*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000 (3rd ed.).

India, unlike China, has a long tradition of multiculturalism. Around 1000 BC, Indo-Aryan invaders crossed the Hindu Kush and occupied the proto-Dravidian culture of the Indus Valley, which was probably originated in East Africa. The Indo-Aryans absorbed much of the Indus Valley religion, customs, and styles. This melange developed into what we know as Hinduism and the caste system.

In 326 BC, Alexander's armies conquered the small kingdoms of Punjab. After his sudden withdrawal, the first Indian emperor, Chandragupta, sought to unify all of northern India for the first time. India subsequently faced numerous invasions, but all of the "conquerors" were ultimately assimilated into Indian culture. The great exception was the Muslims, who first invaded in 711. The Islamic conquest of South Asia left a legacy visible today not only in Pakistan and Bangladesh, but in the more than 100 million Muslims in India. Islamic monotheism, resting on a social-democratic polity, contrasted sharply with Hindu polytheism with its caste-class system. Notable, however, is that during much of the past, in villages throughout South Asia, Hinduism and Islam have existed side by side in relative harmony.

The British presence in India from the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries left a deep legacy in Indian culture, including its literature, politics, social structure, and— according to one view— the divisiveness among Indian Muslims and Hindus. Whether or not that is accurate, it is certainly true that during the last 25 years, Hindu fundamentalism has stirred a revival of communal unrest. In Kashmir and Tamil Nadu, conflicts simmer, and the Sikhs of the Punjab grow more militant. Among the dominant Hindu population itself, the lingering caste system divides people and has led to violence. In India as elsewhere, education-for all-is the best means to mitigate cultural conflicts (S. Wolpert, *A new history of India*, New York - Oxford, 2000 (6th ed.).

## SPAIN

Iberian peninsula, with the slow constant action of *reconquista*, posed in critical dimension the question of integration of large minorities such Arabs and Jews, both understood as ethnic and religious minorities. In the twelfth and thirteenth century the expansion of Christian realms was characterised by the expulsion of the Muslims from the new-conquered lands, then followed by the *repartimientos* of houses and properties already belonged to them and so by the repopulation of these areas. In other cases different kind of agreement were established between the King and

Muslims, according to which it was allowed to them to keep on living in the cities and territories where they had settled before and to keep on practising their religion. These subjects, commonly called with the term *mudejares*, lived apart from Christians, in quarters called *moreria* or *aljama*, sometime placed outside the walls like in Valencia. They could also have self-governing institutions, with an elective *alcalde* and civil courts. The degree of autonomy depended on single situations. In general Christian authorities were more inclined to these kinds of concessions where they need to keep a good level of population, such in marginal territories. On the other side Muslim bargaining power depended on their number, very small communities were obviously weaker.

The stability of these pacts was uncertain, as the deterioration of living conditions could force them to move away or to revolt. Any change in the situation allowed kings to considered not valid previous agreements. In one sense the history of Arabs in Spain until fifteenth century is characterised by continuous *de facto* rearrangement. The case of Toledo is by this point of view very interesting. After his conquest in 1085, the King Alfonso IV, granted a lot of rights to Muslim population. Also the shape of the city revealed this first attitude to the old inhabitants. The king took for itself the *alcazar*, but the rest of the city kept his usual aspect. Narrow and tortuous streets, sometime enclosed (the so-called *adarues*), a lack of public open space, markets with common warehouse (*alcaicerias*). In the following years were applied five different judicatures, Muslim, Jews, Mozarabic, Frenkish, Castilian. But the balance between different components evolved into a supremacy of Christians, so the Muslims, uncertain of their rights and on the loosing of their economic position, turned to emigration. This was a common destiny for the Arabs in Spain. Also under the crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century is constant the flow of emigrants leaving from the port of Barcelona to Arabic countries. The upper part of the society, like those practising relevant profession, felt more harshly their reduced role. They were encouraged to leave, and it is attested that the ones who stayed were employed in the most menial tasks, often refused by the Christians.

A big turn was constituted by the decisions of the *Cortes* of Toledo in 1480 to enforce restrictive norms towards Jewish and *Moros*, to avoid any mixture between these and Christians. This twist into policy towards minorities was unexpected, but it interpreted a kind of obsession for ethnic and religious pureness that had affected Spanish society, ecclesiastical milieu for first, in that period. As the *limpieza de sangre* was largely claimed in Spain, it prove to be a counterpart of a collective fear of an internal enemy. Few years after, 1492, Jewish were forced to leave territories of the crown of Castile and Aragon, and in 1502 the measure of compulsory conversion was adopted towards Muslims, who after that were called *Moriscos*. Neither this new condition allowed them to live in peace within Spain: a severe fiscal pressure and a real threat of acculturation pushed them to exasperation. Nonetheless a progressive worsening in the economic and social situation, still in the sixteenth century the quantitative level of Muslim population tended to increase in some regions. In the realm of Grenada at the eve of 1568 revolt, there were at least 37.000 *moriscos*' fires on a total of 67.000. At the end of conflict, Spanish authorities decided to deport or to scatter 80.000 of them in the territories of Castilian crown (B. Vincent, *Les morisques grenadins: une frontière intérieure?*, in *Castrum*, IV, *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Age*, Rome-Madrid, 1992, pp. 111-112; Id., *La expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Grenada y su reparto en Castilla*, in *Andalucía en la edad moderna: economía y sociedad*, Grenada, 1985, pp. 215-66). A drastic measure that compelled Spanish government to re-populate the Grenada region (M. Barrios Aguilera, M. Birriel Salcedo, *La repoblación del reino de Grenada despues de la expulsión de los moriscos*, Grenada, 1986). The deportation didn't stop the *Moriscos*' Odyssey, in 1609 it was decreed their expulsion: an assessed number of 300.000 people left Spain (A. Dominguez Ortiz, B. Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1978).

1391 was a terrible year for the Spanish Jews. The Jews of the city of Toledo, the most important Jewish settlement in Iberian peninsula, were slaughtered. Massacres also occurred in Catalonia and Castilia. After these events the relations between Spanish Christians and Jewish

definitively turned to bad, after centuries of life in common (Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, Philadelphia Pa., 1992 (reprinting), 2 voll.; P. Leon Tello, *Judíos de Toledo*, Madrid, 1979, 2 voll.). A mix of restrictive rules and guarantees had characterised the relations between the authorities and the Jews. In Gerona in 1176 is attested the existence of a *Call judaico*, a block owned by Jewish (J. Marqués Casanova, *Judíos de Gerona en el siglo XII*, in «Anales del Instituto de estudios gerundenses», XXIII, 1974-75, pp. 1-11). Still in this period the condition of living in a specific place didn't mean segregation from the rest of population. If not exactly a free choice, there were different motivations for it. The exigency of having common spaces for religious rites and for cultural needs, push them to live in together. A further step was the transformation of this Jewish quarters in *Juderias* controlled by the authorities and in which they were compelled to live in.

In the first decades of *reconquista*, the requirements of attracting people and trades to empty lands had left spaces for Jews. They were also called to co-operate with the authorities, charged to hold offices like that of *almojarife*, that is to say tax collector for the King. Still in the fourteenth century one of most important Spanish Jewish of the Middle Age, Yuçaf de Ecija, was entrusted with it and he was also counsellor at the court of Alphons XI (Baer, *A History* cit., I, pp. 325-327). But it was also during this century that themes against Jews penetrated from France into Catalonia and the rest of Spain. This enforced a darker atmosphere around Jewish settlement.

Recent research on social and cultural relations between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in early fourteenth century Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, considered this as an environment in which violence both facilitated and disrupted the co-existence of Muslim and Jewish minorities with the Christian majority. There was a sort of routine violence, inserted in local work and production practices, that constituted the Jews and Muslims neighbourhood with which Christians lived comfortably. This type of violence emerged from competition between groups in his various forms, as sexual relations between members of normatively separated groups. All this contributed to «the everyday functional violence of a relatively stable society» (D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N.J., 1996, p. 231).

The outbursts of extraordinary violence was of a different kind, but not irrational, as it represented a way by which people in the past used occasions of intensified persecution to achieve their own ends. The “Shepherds' Crusade” of 1320 and the “Cowherds' Crusade” of 1321, as they played out very differently in France and Aragon, were both a manifestation of this kind. The former was a revolt against the monarchy under the form of attacks upon royally protected Jews; the latter was an opportunity for rulers to extend their authority and rights. This opportunity was given when French violence, like accusation against lepers and Jews of poisoning water supplies, pour into Aragon and created waves of official and unofficial violence there.

The use of violence by groups that manipulated and reshaped the available discourses on minorities expressed complex beliefs about topics as diverse as divine history, kinship, sex, money, and disease. These were issues that could potentially turn into accusations if something went wrong. If business partners had a falling out over a contract, if there was some competition over sex or money, then some very nasty accusations, as desecrating the Eucharist, interfering with children, could be brought. Even if they didn't lead to daily violence, however they stayed as a potential in the culture, and the fear of them probably marked existentially minorities, in a state of balance between cataclysm and stability, even on periods economically prospering and comfortable when they were under protection of the crown or of the laws. All this lead to an idea of violent toleration, as this two concepts, violence and toleration, must be intended by the medieval point of view, in which cataclysm coexisted with periods of stability, albeit stability with violence as an essential component. This dangerous balance couldn't last forever. From the massacres of 1391 a slow descent brought to the collapse of religious pluralism in up to the establishment of the Inquisition and with the emergence of genealogical models of religious identity among Christians and Jews. As for the *Mudejares/Moriscos* the search for an absolute uniformity within the State lead to the decree of expulsion in 1492, with the exception of those who had converted.

## LONDON

The Kings of England offered first to individuals and later to various “nations” safe-conducts and trading privileges, which gradually grew in scope so as to include internal arbitration. These measures were adopted to encourage the settlement of artisans and traders to improve local manufactures. A primary example was constituted by Flemish colony of wool workers settled by Henry I of England (1110-1135) in Pembrokeshire. Similarly the Florentine traders obtained in 1234 protection for their “nation”. These benefits consisted primarily in tax reduction or exemptions and, this was the special case of England, in the status of denizens.

The most important minority in medieval England were the Jews. They were introduced in the realm by King William I and already in the first decades of the twelfth century their settlement had produced a Jewish quarter in London. From London they spread in several English cities. The first notices about anti-Jewish riots has attested in 1189-90 (R. B. Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*, York, 1974). The reasons for these revolts has been widely discussed, however it seems that were debtors, whether barons or knights or small landowners, who exploited the apparent religious intolerance to solve their financial problems. The crown, that in the beginning had introduced them to the realm, from the thirteenth century enforced several measures to compel them to leave England. A final decision was taken by Edward I, in 1290, probably because the King wanted to undermine the economic and political power of the great landlords, who benefited by Jewish loans (S. Menache, *The King, the Church and the Jews: some Considerations on the Expulsions from England and France*, in «Journal of Medieval History», 13, 1987, pp. 223-236; J. Edwards, *The Church and the Jews in English Medieval Towns*, in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, T. R. Slater, G. Rosser eds., Aldershot, 1998, pp. 43-54). It would be an oversimplification to believe that the Jews were only active on money-lending; also bullion dealing and money changing were practised together with other secondary activities (R. C. Stacey, *Jewish Lending and the Medieval English Economy*, in *A Commercialising Economy: England 1086 to c. 1300*, R. H. Britnell, B. M. S. Campbell eds., Manchester, 1995, pp. 78-101). Compared to the importance acquired, their number was limited: estimations suggest that they unlikely exceeded 5.000 and by 1290 they were no more than 2.000. Nonetheless the intermittent hostility, in normal times their relation with the townspeople among whom they lived, seems to have been peaceful. Probably because the fear of neighbours had never reached a warning level, they never withdrew into defensible ghettos.

The other foreign communities, established since twelfth and thirteenth century especially in London, were constituted by Italians, French and, overall, Germans, a term which included also people from Low Countries. The latter was the largest, constituted not only by rich merchants, but poorer immigrants such as craftsmen, artisans and servants (J. P. Huffman, *Family, commerce and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants c. 1000-c. 1300*, Cambridge, 1998). They attracted different feelings: they were both regarded as competitors by English less skilled workers and considered an extremely useful tool for advancing economy by urban elites. During the fourteenth and fifteenth century some protectionist measures were adopted in England and alien traders were compelled to live with an English “host”, with the task of supervising on all their dealings. This system of control wasn't based upon race or ethnicity, but upon political allegiance to the English interests. They also depended on a limited residence permit and at a certain period were prevented from engaging in retail business. This restrictive measures on one side, and on the other the particular form of privileges addressed the tendency to concentrate in specific areas within the city and its suburbs.

The policy of alien exclusion and control, reflected on contemporary economic thought, spawned further complaints and abuse against aliens at lower levels. Anti-alien sentiment arose repeatedly



during this period when xenophobia flared up. Particularly violent was the riot in 1381; the revolts repeated in 1456/7, 1493, 1517, even if they were controlled by the authorities. The level of anti-alien disturbances declined in the beginning of Seventeenth century. In general the menaces of massacres didn't materialised and the reason for this has been individuated in popular legalism, that it's to say the trust that negotiations of redress of grievance through official channel were possible. The recourse to parliament and law courts discouraged to turn to violence in response to what was felt as an irregular competition operated by foreigners.

As aliens began to be taxed separately since 1440, it is possible to reconstruct their number in London and its suburbs, in 1440 they were, excluded married women, 2.200, and in 1483 probably 2.700. Other estimates, probably including aliens working in humble crafts, usually not recorded because non "freemen", calculated a total number of 6.300 (*The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century*, J. L. Bolton ed., Stamford, 1998). This introduce the question of the differentiation between poor and rich immigrants, not easy to be solved as the poorer are not recorded in documents (D. Keene, *London from the post-Roman period to 1300*, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I, 600–1540, D. M. Palliser ed., Cambridge, 2000, pp. 135-149). It has been calculated that between 1550 and 1585, during the second wave of religious migration, around 50.000 person, principally from Southern Netherlands, have settled in London. They constituted in 1571 around ten per cent (other estimation attests six per cent) of capital's population (A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 299-308). Their presence declined during the following years as the expansion of Dutch economy started to play a competitive role in attracting migrations.

Political instability in England during the first half of seventeenth century discouraged migration to this country. English religious minority were forced by the situation to emigrate in North America and some exiles from Low Countries, who had arrived in the previous decades, returned to Netherlands. If the unfavourable economical situation had reduced the presence of foreigners in London to five per cent at the end of Sixteenth-Century, by 1635 the numbers of aliens had further fallen to the half, around 3.662 (*Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639. A Study of an Active Minority*, I. Scouloudi ed., London, 1985).

The impact of the foreigners on English economy is controversial. Their absorption in social and economic structure depended on single cases. Where their presence increased in number rapidly on local population, complaints and discriminatory measures could be adopted. Thus segregation, discouragement to further immigration, and as a consequence of all this, a re-emigration was possible. During the Elizabethan age the London livery companies harassed the aliens with periodic prosecutions. After 1573 only alien artificers who had employed English were allowed to remain in the city. The resentment increased at time of economic distress, hostilities reached a pick in the troubled 1590s, particularly in the four harvest failure in 1593-7 (A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities* cit., pp. 276-295; D. J. Omrod, *The Dutch in London. The Influence of an Immigrant Community, 1550-1800*, London, 1973; L. Yungblut, "Strangers settled here amongst us". *Policy, Perception and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England*, London, 1996; L. B. Luu, "Taking the bread out of our mouths", *Xenophobia in early modern London*, in «Immigrants and Minorities» 19, 2 (2000), pp.1-22). One of the most common complaints addressed to immigrants was that they remained unassimilated, that actually hid the jealousy for their economic success and the suspicion that they favoured their own community instead of sharing their skills with the indigenous population. The government attitude was divided into two attitudes: publicly it supported, encouraged and protected aliens for the benefits they could bring and also for a sense of religious sympathy, more covertly it was suspicious especially because of fear of social disorder, the possible threat to national security especially at times of political intrigue such as 1571. Anyway the aliens weren't passive victims before harassment by the English, they also participated to culture of legalism, exploiting the institutions to protect their interests.

Actually, before the Reform, the fraternities worked to create a sense of identity among members. An example that can be quoted is the one of St. Katherine for the people from the Low

Countries, or the brotherhoods of the Conception of Our Blessed Lady and Holy Trinity, for the alien shoemakers. On Juridical field, efforts were made to keep the resolution of disputes within the community. In 1446, i. e., Venetians in London were forbidden to resorts the local courts in cases that involved their own fellows. So that arbitration panels were established by Italian merchants to settle disputes between their members. It's an hard question to determine if these juridical instruments were able to encouraging integration or at the opposite they operated to enclose foreign communities. After the Reformation, the dissolution of fraternities transferred their functions to the stranger Churches, these latter helped the newcomers to integrate in the new environment, also providing services as the arbitration of disputes and a poor relief system.

. The "glorious revolution" and the subsequent William and Mary's declaration welcoming French Protestant refugees and the act of toleration inaugurated a new phase characterised by institutional change and economic expansion. The wave of Huguenot immigrants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes found a more comfortable environment, a "great ark", as it has been called, in which toleration and integration helped business developing. By 1700, the commercial and financial activity in the metropolis was thoroughly cosmopolitanised, marked by the large-scale movement of Dutch, German and Huguenot capital into English commodity trade with Europe. It has been calculated that around one-third of the value of London's export trade was financed by alien merchants. (G. Gibbs, *the Reception of the Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic, 1680-1690*, in *From Persecution to Toleration. The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, O. Grell, J. Israel, N. Tyacke, Oxford, 1991, pp. 275-307; R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage. The History and Contribution of Huguenots in Britain*, London, 1985; *From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain*, R. Vigne, Ch. Littleton eds., Brighton, 2001).

## ROME

One condition principally determined social and political life in Rome: the mixture of religious and non-religious elements. This was also true in shaping policies of the Pontifical State towards minorities and foreigners. On one side there was a great afflux of foreigners in Rome as it was considered the centre of Christianity. Official representations to the Holy See but also a large number of merchants directly or indirectly interested with the trades connected with it. On the other side, especially after counter-reformation, a discriminatory approach to "heretical", made life harder, or in some way impossible, to aliens belonging to Protestantism.

A great change in roman life happened in the late fourteenth century when the Papal site returned to Rome from Avignon. The Papal court brought a stream of foreigners from over the Alps. They were also called *curiali*, that is to say people living within the papal court, the *curia*. They were essential to provide all the needs of a more complex society than was now Rome, compared to that of previous decades. The reaction of the autochthon was quite rude. They complaint that the new arrivals compromised the old balance, in which the local noble families had played a central role. One example of the importance of these immigrants for the daily life in the new Rome, is the name of a kind of bread, the *pagnotta*, introduced by German bakers and then largely in use (A.. Esposito, *Un'altra Roma. Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Roma, 1995).

The immigrants, whose majority was composed by the Germans, that it's to say people coming from the German Empire also including most of the Low Countries, were received by reception centres for pilgrims and immigrants. These hospices, with a clear religious mark, were constituted by a guest-house, a church and a graveyard. The hospitality for the Germans, i. e., could count on the centre of Santi Andrea and Brigida, S. Maria dell'Anima, S. Giuliano, and Campo Santo of the Teutons (K. Rudolf, *Santa Maria dell'Anima, il Campo Santo dei Teutonici e Fiamminghi e la questione delle Nazioni*, in «Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome», 50,

1980, pp. 75-91; C. W. Maas. *The German Community in Renaissance Rome 1378-1523*, Rome-Freiburg-Wien, 1981; E. Schulte Van Kessel, *The Quietus to a German Hospice in Rome. The Annexation of Santi Brigida e Girgitta to the Anima*, in «Papers of the Netherlands Institute in Rome», 53, 1994, pp. 1-17). The organization of foreign reception passed during the fifteenth century into the hands of national confraternities. These were an extremely important way to manage the foreign presence in Rome. Formally created to promote piety between their components, they operate as a lobby to manage relationships within the “nation” and the insertion in Roman society. Nearly all the *nazioni* in Rome were represented by one or more confraternities.

The presence of foreigners in Rome was marked by substantial events: the increase presence of Italians in the city, that slowly substituted the *ultramontani*, and the Tridentine council. Italians coming from other States, like Florentines or Genoese, were considered foreigners and they also had institutions, such as *consolati* or *confraternite* that represented their interests in the city. The Florentines, in particular, had started to increase their position in Rome since the fifteenth century and they kept on strengthen their economic relevance in the following years, especially during the Medicean pontificates (M. M. Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici. Favour and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome*, Cambridge, 1980; I. Polverini Fosi, *Il consolato fiorentino a Roma ed il progetto per la chiesa nazionale*, in «Studi romani», 37, 1989, pp. 50-70; Ead., *Pietà, devozione e politica: due confraternite fiorentine nella Roma del Rinascimento*, in «Archivio Storico Italiano», 149, 1991, pp. 119-161).

Since the Sixteenth century almost all the Popes were Italians, this fact also determined the quality of immigration, through the creation of circuits around the various courts in the city. The Curia, the cardinals courts, the foreign embassies posed the conditions for a qualified immigration, due to administrative, representative needs and also for artistic purposes. (A. M. Visceglia, *Burocrazia, mobilità sociale e “patronage” alla Corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento. Alcuni aspetti del recente dibattito storiografico*, in «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 3, 1995, pp. 11-33). So Rome was a city characterised by a large presence of foreigners from all the Christianity, at least until the reformation and the Tridentine council. The battle against Protestant heresy affected the composition of Roman immigration. On the Protestant side Rome stopped being considered the holy city, at the opposite a negative image of the city, represented as a Babylon, started to circulate. Thus, for a large part of Western European civilization, religious conflicts stopped the communication with Rome, restricting the foreign presence within the city.

There were different forms of immigration, so that it's possible to distinguish a poor and a skilled immigration. The first was attracted by the exceptional abundance of relief and hospitality provided by the Roman hospices for the paupers, particularly established in early baroque Rome with the expansion of many charitable institutions. These worked well during the Jubilees, when a crowd of pilgrims arrived in the city. On the other side there were the professions more requested on Roman labour market, as the architects, painters, bureaucrats and at a lower level servants. It has been considered that between the 1680 and 1750 on 400 architects working in Rome, at least the half were non roman (L. Barroero, *Il se rendit en Italie. Artisti stranieri a Roma nel Seicento*, in «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 1, 1993, pp. 11-34; E. Schulte Van Kessel, *Costruire la Roma barocca. La presenza nederlandese nel primo barocco romano: storia di un progetto di ricerca*, in «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 1, 1993, pp. 35-44; Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608, atti del Convegno internazionale, Bruxelles, 24-25 febbraio 1995, a cura di N. Dacos, Roma, 1999).

Rome was a city largely characterised by the presence of foreigners, but it's clear that since the beginning the hospitality was based on religious scheme and it changed according to the amendment of the religious policy of the Holy See. Thus the management of the foreigners didn't pertain to municipal authorities, but it was a consequence of the particular nature of the city. Their assimilation within the urban structure was relatively easy compared to other experiences, even if this didn't led to the citizenship in itself.

One peculiar case of how this religious scheme could operate towards minorities is constituted by Jews. During the Middle Age there was in the territory of the Papal States a spread of

the Jewish presence even in small centres, where they exercised money-lending activity. The Roman settlement since fourteenth century tended to grow in number and in social complexity, even if their presence was regulated by norms their economic initiative was relatively free (K. R. Stow, *Taxation, community and state. The Jews and the fiscal foundations of the early modern Papal State*, Stuttgart, 1982; R. Bonfil, *Gli ebrei in Italia all'epoca del Rinascimento*, Firenze, 1991; A. Esposito, *Un'altra Roma cit.*; Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome*, I, 1536-1551, II, 1551-1557, Leiden, 1995-1997).

Paul IV in 1555 conceived the ghetto as a radical solution of maintaining the Jews in a non-Jewish society. But the policies of Pontifical State towards them became clearer with the bull *Caeca et obdurata* issued by Clement VIII in 1593, that expelled the Jews from all the cities of the Papal States, except Rome, Ancona and Avignon. This order followed and enforced two others, the first promoted by Pius V, in 1569, then amended by Sixtus V. Its importance lies in the integral political project that included. The principle aim was not the expulsion from the Papal States, but their concentration in a determined and watched space, the ghetto. This became an artificial construction, in the very centre of Christianity, where acted the policy of conversion (K. R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, New York, 1977, pp. 34 and foll.). The strategy adopted to achieve this goal was based on measures that shrank the economic power of Jews community. The impoverishment of the Roman Jews had many aspects; one of them is strictly related to the choice to compel them in a narrow space as the three hectares ghetto was. The census of 1527 borne out the presence of 1.772 Jews, the 3,6% of the entire urban population. At the end of the century they had grown to 3.500. This growth was due to the Papal bulla, that, compelling the residence of the Jews in Rome (or Ancona and Avignone), created the condition for immigration from other cities. In 1656 they have reached the number of 4.314. The overpopulation of a limited space hardened living condition. People lived in cramped space, notary documents talk about renting corner of a room or similar. In such situation developed the *ius gazaga*, customary law, sanctioned by the Pope in 1604, stabilizing rents and the right not to be dispossessed or evicted. The leasehold could be sold, mortgage, transmitted in heritage.

Jews were also requested to support with a tax the House of Catechumens, an institution for conversions to which were addressed children from the community, sometime kidnapped by ecclesiastical officials. Except these episodes, Church politics had always characterised by observance of legality in applying the restrictive laws, as the censorship on Hebrew books was. More than juridical arbitrariness, the economic pressure, in his vary aspects, operated to accomplish the policy against Hebrews. Nonetheless the number of conversions, if constant, was limited, only an average of ten per year between 1614-1679 (W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, *Le baptême des juifs à Rome de 1614 à 1798 selon les registres de la Casa dei Catecumeni*, in «Archivum historiae pontificiae», 24, 1986, 91-231; 25, 1987, 105-261; 26, 1988, pp. 119-294).

After 1555 Jewish economic enterprise were more and more limited. These restrictions went hand in hand with an increased taxation and also penalties levy on the strict provision dictated in the Papal bulla. The Jewish economic activity was further limited by Pope Innocent XII in 1682 with the forced closure of Jewish loan bank, a measure that harshly deteriorated the Jews' social and economic situation. Considered in a long period, from 1555 to 1682, the volume of Jewish banking declined of 85%. In 1692 pontifical commissioners were charged to take direct control of Jewish community's finance. Few years later, in 1698, the community was declared insolvent. An investigation of the Congregation of the Holy Office remarked that the Jewish community consisted of 126 relatively well off families and 724 poor ones. (M. Rosa, *Tra tolleranza e repressione: Roma e gli ebrei nel '700*, in *Italia Judaica*, III, Rome 1989, pp. 81-98).

The constraints of the economic possibilities open to the Jews, even if not successful in bending the cultural and religious peculiarity of Jewish Roman community, caused the arrest of the cultural and economic develop already set in motion in the previous period.

## AMSTERDAM

Sir William Petty in his *Political Arithmetic* considered that one of the most prominent factors that had given to the seventeenth-century Dutch economy his leading role was its policy of toleration to heterodox opinions, especially in religious field (*The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, C. H. Hull ed., I-II, Cambridge, 1899). Such opinion has frequently come up in the works of historians. Fernand Braudel, i. e., stated that the Amsterdam's expansion was induced by the presence of the refugees coming from Antwerp, fallen under the Spanish influence (F. Braudel, *Civiltà materiale, economia e capitalismo*, III, *I tempi del mondo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1989). Actually even the increased number of Amsterdam's population during the seventeenth-century can be quoted as a substantial proof of this attitude to attract immigrants in order to increase Holland's prosperity. Amsterdam passed from 50,000 inhabitants in 1600 to 200,000 in 1700. The provenience of immigrants was varying: Portuguese Jews, French Huguenots, Protestant Flemings, Walloons and Germans.

It's possible to follow the development of some of these settlements to understand how this general statement actually accomplished. The history of Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam prove enough clearly on what basis the reception of foreign settlements was possible. The Dutch States General had drawn up in 1581, 1588 and 1592 *sauvegardes* for the Portuguese Nation to attract its trade. These documents allowed the Portuguese Jews merchants the right to trade freely by way of Netherlands, being treated the same as Dutch merchants. By their side the Portuguese Jews had to submit to the Dutch trade laws and they had to conducted their trade by way of the Netherlands to be protected by the *sauvegardes* (O. Vlessing, *The Portuguese-Jews Merchant Community in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, in *Entrepreneurs in Early Modern Times; Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple Market*, C. Lesger, L. Noordegraaf eds., The Hague, 1995, pp. 223-243). This policy had good results. By 1620, the Jewish population had reached around 1.000, almost all Sephardic. Thirty years later there were approximately 1.500 Sephardim and 1.000 Ashkenazim. By 1675, the both together were over 4.000, that became 6.000 at the end of the century, with a majority of Ashkenazi. During this period the Jewish population constituted the 3% of the total population in Amsterdam. (Y. Kaplan, *The Portuguese Community in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam and the Ashkenazi World*, in *Dutch Jewish History 2*, Jerusalem, 1989, pp. 23-45; H. P. H. Nusteling, *La population d'Amsterdam de la fin du 16e siècle au début du 19e siècle, Une méthode de reconstitution*, in «Population», 41, 961-78; J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford, 1995, p. 111).

However contrasts were not infrequent (in 1600, 1602 and 1622 i. e.): Portuguese tried to avoid restrictions on their trades and the Dutch authorities in response confiscated their stocks or even their ships, but arrangements were always found and new and wider concession were allowed (O. Vlessing, *New light on the Earliest History of the Amsterdam Portuguese Jews*, in *Dutch Jewish History*, III, J. Michman ed, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 43-75). The reason that justified Dutch apparent political compliance lied on the valued added to Dutch economy by the Portuguese Jews trades. These were based mainly on distributing Portuguese colonial product not only in Dutch republic but in the whole of northern Europe. Estimates assessed that around 1634 the Portuguese controlled about the 3-6% of the total Dutch trades, including East and West India Companies. The settlement of Portuguese Jewish merchants in the Netherlands contributed to the rising of the Dutch economy, especially with the transfer of the sugar trade from Antwerp to Amsterdam. It's easy to realize why Dutch authorities feared that these merchants could leave the Netherlands, attracted by other countries offering them better conditions, as actually tried Oliver Cromwell in 1655. Significantly when Menasseh Ben Israel presented his *Humble Address to Oliver Cromwell* in 1655, he started it with «How Profitable the Nation of the Iewes are» (O. Vlessing, *The Economic Influence of the Portuguese Jews on Dutch Golden Age*, in *Il ruolo economico delle minoranze in Europa, secc. XIII-XVIII*, a cura di S. Cavaciocchi, atti della "Trentunesima Settimana di Studi" dell'Istituto

Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini," Prato 19-23 aprile 1999, pp. 303-324). After the 1670s, when the Dutch economy began to decline, the Dutch Jewish tended to shift from active involvement in overseas trade and to invest in interest-bearing state bonds and shares in Dutch joint-stock colonial companies and other financial activities. One of these financial sectors in which they were involved was military contracting and provisioning (J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*, Oxford-New York, 1985, pp. 128-142). In this way they could keep the high social status that they had reached, as largely testified by the fact that Sephardim were sometime employed as diplomatic agent for foreign states.

Notwithstanding the prominent economic role played by Jews in Amsterdam, they initially kept on professed Protestant religion, as they had officially adhered to Catholicism in Antwerp. Only during the first quarter of the seventeenth century they gradually revealed their Jewish faith. Where did lie the limits of tolerance toward Jewish? Sporadic pressure from section of Dutch Reformed Church to cut back the religious freedom of Amsterdam Jews and enforce existing restrictions took place during the early Seventeenth century. However the long-term tendency was towards greater acceptance of Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazi. These communities were allowed to organize their own welfare and educational institutions and they were free to publish their religious-philosophical texts in their languages (Hebrew, Spanish, Portuguese, Yiddish). The relative freedom granted to Jews had a counterpart on the restrictions, which excluded those Jews who had become full citizen from some of the rights pertaining to this condition (J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford, 1995, p. 500-501).

In general the limits they had to face were the same that Dutch authorities applied to religious, intellectual and educational freedom within the State. Even if the enforcement of these rules seems to be stricter to Jews than to other religious confession. Any attempt to seek and win converts from other churches was strictly forbidden, while it was actually tolerated for other Protestant confession, so that the own elders of the Amsterdam Jewish communities prevented their congregants to get into any kind of discussion about religion with Christians, believing that this could have brought only problems to the community as a whole. Notwithstanding restrictions imposed by Dutch authorities appeared stronger towards Jews than to other foreign communities, the toleration accorded to Amsterdam Jewry in seventeenth century was unique in the European context. Architectural aspects of this attitude can testify from a peculiar point of view liberality of Amsterdam cultural and social environment. A first attempt to build a synagogue in early seventeenth century (1621) provoked strong reaction from the Calvinist consistory and was thwarted by the city government. But decades later, between 1670 and 1675, the inauguration of the two Ashkenazi and Sephardic synagogues, showed, by their imposing architectural shape and impressing interiors, the significance that Jews community had reached in the city. In spite of the fact that there was no formal segregation, like the ghetto, for the Jewish population, other factors acted as a *de facto* obstacle to cultural and social interchange: as well as religion the languages spoken – Portuguese or Yiddish.

Beside the question of integration in Amsterdam society, social dynamics within the Jewish community must also be considered. This was divided into two major components: Sephardim and Ashkenazi. The first, coming from Iberian peninsula, constituted the most affluent part of Amsterdam Jewry, on which laid the basis of Jewish economy. The second came from Central-East Europe, excluded from most sectors of retailing, manufacturing and crafts, they depended on the structures forged by Sephardic. Many of them became workers or servants in Sephardic-owned enterprises. A high proportion of the Ashkenazic population lived under the hard conditions as peddlers or street-sellers. Especially in the early stages, the Sephardic community provided funds to assist their Ashkenazi counterparts in coping with the growing burden of poor relief.

To prove the Amsterdam's attitude to receive aliens in his urban social and economic system, can be quoted the case on Italian merchants during Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century. Italians, that is to say people coming from the various states of the Peninsula, have been active in

Amsterdam in all social levels, but this presence has never turned into a mass migration. They included Venetians, Genoese and many Florentines, a term widely adopted to indicate those who came from Grand Duchy of Tuscany, included people from Lucca. Their occupation varied from a most pre-eminent status, as great merchants, engineers, bankers, to a lower level, as a shopkeepers, servants, craftsmen, this latter sometime organised in guilds. The great merchants, coming from important Italian families, played a not secondary role in Amsterdam society, especially through marriage alliances with town aristocracy.

From the early 1590s to the beginning of the Thirty Years' Wars, they were involved as charterers and bankers in the first attempts to establish connections with the Mediterranean port of Livorno. Successively, with the end of the Thirty's Years' War, due to a grain crisis in Western Europe, the trade relations improved and the Italian presence in Amsterdam became more important. They became insurers and shareholders in the Dutch Indies Company. A third phase can be individuated in the second half of the seventeenth century, when some of the most important Italian merchants and banker obtained the registration of Dutch citizenship. The adoption of the citizenship marked an important step in the integration in hosting society: first it meant a change from temporary to permanent residence, then it assured the passage from the condition of foreigners with no rights to that with full rights and duties, participating fully in the social and political life of the city. This step also represented for many of them a turning point in their economic interest as they became more involved in Dutch economy, weakened their ties with the mother country (A. Bicci, *Italiani ad Amsterdam nel Seicento*, in «Rivista storica italiana», 102, 1990, pp. 899-934; M. Prak, *Cittadini, abitanti e forestieri. Una classificazione della popolazione di Amsterdam nella prima età moderna*, in «Quaderni storici», 89 (1995), pp. 331-357). The Italian example explain well what is the most challenging question for immigrants in Amsterdam as in other European cities: to be fully integrated in the social and economic context in which they lived. Nonetheless the Italians easily integrated were those belonging to high class, and the discourse should be necessarily changed for humbler workers, and nonetheless some discriminatory attitudes were adopted, as those referred to German immigrants, in a long run assimilation worked as a general rule (J. Lucassen, R. Penninx, *Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendant in the Netherlands. 1550-1995*, Amsterdam, 2000). According to contemporaries in Amsterdam it was possible to live equally well as a foreigner than as a citizen.

## THE ITALIAN DIASPORA

Since the Middle age Italy was a country of important shifts of population within its own frontiers (G. Pizzorusso, *Le migrazioni degli italiani all'interno della Penisola e in Europa in età moderna*, in *Movilidad y migraciones internas en la Europa Latina*, A. Eiras Lopel, D. L. González Lopo eds., Santiago de Compostela, 2002, pp. 55-85). The examples of single regions show clearly the shift between customary circuit of migration and a succeeding long distance migration, that took place since the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century (*Le Marche fuori dalle Marche. Migrazioni interne ed immigrazione all'estero tra XVIII e XX secolo*, E. Sori ed., Ancona, 1998, 4 volumes). The 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> long distance migration was as a crucial event in Italian history. It has been considered that it has been one of the most consistent in the world. Estimations say that about 60 million of «Italians» live now outside Italy. Yet, historian as Emilio Franzina and Donna Rae Gabaccia has pointed to the absence of migration as a theme in histories of the Italian society. Recent works (*Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. I, Partenze; II, Arrivi*, a cura di P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina, Roma, 2001-02) has filled up a substantial lack of general overview by Italian historians since the end of the Seventies (E. Sori, *L'emigrazione italiana dall'Unità alla seconda Guerra mondiale*, Bologna, 1979).

Italian emigration had a distinctive quality: it persisted over a long period of time, from the 1870s to the 1970s. In this period about 26 million persons left Italy. Statistics began to be recorded only in 1876, but in fact migration from Italy to closer countries had persisted all over early modern times. This is an important detail to remember, as recent studies on Italian emigration have confused the traditional assessment that tended to circumscribe the phenomenon to the period after Italian unification and to the southern regions of Italy. Italian migration was very variable in terms of causes, modalities, volumes and itineraries. The common features were that over the 50% migrated to European countries and a 44% to Americas; more than 75 % of the emigrants were male and a high rate of return migration. Considering the data about occupation and professional skills, it is possible to assert that Italian emigration was, above all, proletarian and temporary (*Il movimento migratorio italiano dall'unità nazionale ai giorni nostri*, F. Assante ed., Geneve, 1978, 2 vols.; *Un secolo di emigrazione italiana. 1876-1976*, G. Rosoli ed., Rome, 1978).

What is most interesting is to understand how emigration operated in both countries of departure and arrival. The question had a decisive impact on the policy, economy, society of post Risorgimento Italy but it also shaped in some ways the hosting nations.

The first impact of immigrant in the new land was generally hard. Racist stereotypes were put on against them by the old settlers and sometime by immigrant from other nation. Stereotypical portrayals of Italian immigrants, as organ grinders, rag pickers and strike breakers, even if with little validity, circulated widely (J. Zucchi, *The Little Slaves of the Harp. Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Paris, London and New York*, Montreal, 1992). They reflected class and ethnic prejudices. What influenced negatively the attitude to reception was probably the large number of arrivals and the social and cultural condition of immigrants. Italians were considered also «birds of passage», according to their tendency to stay for a certain period and then return to Italy. There was little recognition of the fact that many of the migrants had never imagined or constructed their emigration as anything other than a temporary expedient. Contemporary hosting countries condemnation of this behaviour was based on the typical assumption of ruling classes that migrants like other subalterns were without agency.

Return migration that criss-crossed continents and linked emigrant community to homeland and to other emigrant communities, is a very fruitful area of research to understand the role played by migrants. The returned immigrants posed new questions to Italian society: some beneficial and other more critical. The remittance of emigrants helped the family of those who had stayed back, most of the time their main purpose was to acquire land with their savings. The higher wages rates they earned abroad and the contact with more advanced labour movements in Europe and the Americas gave them a stronger awareness of their rights. One of the final results was the transfer of working-class ideologies and experiences (*Gli italiani fuori d'Italia. Gli emigrati italiani nei movimenti operai dei paesi d'adozione 1880-1940*, B. Bezza ed., Milano, 1983).

Emigration, according to Richard Bosworth was an expression of two foreign policies, that of the government and that of the emigrants. The latter established networks among themselves, joining them both to Italy and to other emigrant communities. This alternative foreign policy did as much to disseminate Italian cultures as the official organs. The kind of culture they spread was those of *paese*. Actually, as Bosworth says, it is not the concept of the nation state, but rather the one related to the multiplicity of *paesi* that should be considered to understand how the emigrants transmitted their values and cultures, most of the time reinvented. (R. J. B. Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World 1860-1960*, London, 1996).

The links between migrants and the people at home gave information to orient the following migration paths. As it has been considered that Italian identity abroad was formed not only at the regional, provincial and village level but also at the transnational levels. The links between the *paese* at home and the *paese* abroad, the network of *parenti*, *amici* and *compaesani* in both psychological and economic terms, was a common features for different Italian settlements and the model of the «village outward» has also been used to investigate the relationships based on a network system between Argentina and an Italian village, Agnone (S. Baily, *Immigrants in the*



*Land of Promise. Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914*, Ithaca, NY, 1999). Another example of this network system is constituted by the relationships between male abroad and women at home, the thousands of *vedove bianche*, that highlight the contribution of women to family economic strategies, to agricultural and industrial production and to patterns of consumption (*The Italian Diaspora. Migration Across the Globe. Essays in Honour of Robert F. Harney*, Toronto, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992).

Italian settlement abroad was not only concentrated on north-American example. Italian emigration in France dated back to medieval times (*Migrazioni attraverso le Alpi Occidentali. Relazioni tra Piemonte, Provenza e Delfinato dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni*, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Cuneo, 1-3 giugno 1984, Torino, 1988; *La montagna mediterranea: una fabbrica di uomini? Mobilità e migrazioni in una prospettiva comparata (secoli XV-XX)*, D. Albera e P. Corti (eds.), Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi «La montagna mediterranea: una fabbrica d'uomini?», Cuneo, 8-10 ottobre 1998, Cavallermaggiore, 2000), but it assumed peculiar meanings by the second wave of industrialization. Italians came to France principally for economic reasons, even if a small number of political refugees was also included. Their employment was requested in the heavy industries of coal, iron, metallurgy and the chemical industry, in order to fill in the shortage in French labour force, also due to its rigid stratification. Italian immigration was therefore a key factor in the regeneration of the French population. Estimations say that about 5 millions French are of Italian origin if their parentage is retraced over three generations. It has to be noted that the demands of industry necessarily altered the migratory patterns of the previous centuries. Even if the mass influx of the years 1880 to 1930 was just in a whole cycle of migrations, which had been in progress since the antiquity, it operated deeply to shape Italian presence in France. The old occupations, navvies, musicians, pedlars and artisans, concentrated in Provence were replaced by a wider dispersion throughout the industrial regions of France. Since then, the Italian immigration, of great significance in terms of numbers, became more individual, tending to produce a less close-knit community life (*Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, P. Milza ed., Paris, 1986; P. Milza, *Voyage en Ritalie*, Paris, 1993; *L'intégration italienne en France. Un siècle de présence italienne dans trois régions françaises (1880-1980)*, A. Bechelloni, M. Dreyfus e P. Milza eds., Paris, 1995).

These different paths in migrants adaptation and assimilation depended also on different institutional schemes. Their acceptance by the host society, the problems that this process created, the discrimination they suffered, and their contribution to multiculturalism was strongly affected by the way in which the hosting countries considered the role of the State. In the United States, but similarly in Canada and Australia, the process of becoming Americans didn't imply the sacrifice of the Italian identity. In one sense the presence in these countries helped the acquisition of a reinvented national identity. Cultural diversity in such situations was mainly based on a local context that connected communities in America, i. e., to the Italian community of origin. In other countries, as in France, but also for some aspect Argentina or Brazil, based on a centralized scheme, multiple identity has been discouraged. In similar situation the success of a cohesive society, meant a unitary concept of citizenship that imply the exclusion of foreign cultural belonging in the public sphere. The French melting pot requires for his success the vanishing of ethnic identity face the State (Gérard Noiriel, *Le Creuset Français. Histoire de l'immigration XIXe-XXe siècles*, Paris, 1988).

## CONCLUSIONS

A common characterization of various attitudes towards aliens is an hard task, as there were many different interests that played a decisive role at the same time in promoting integration or rejection of foreign settlement. Anyway it's possible to underline some general factors.

A decisive distinction should be done between modern history and previous times. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century the quantities of people involved in migrations were in an historical perspective significant, but in absolute terms they were limited, especially if compared to what happened then. This is a question on which think over. Can we consider the one per cent of estimated Jewish population at the end of fifteenth century, by a quantitative point of view, a relevant problem? London at the end of sixteenth century was constituted by a six-ten per cent of aliens: an important factor, but they were after all limited in number. May this fact have helped the hosting institutions to encourage a favourable policy towards foreign settlements?

Amsterdam answer to immigration seems to be exceptionally interesting for its great potential of accepting newcomers from different countries. Anyway we should be aware that positive experiences, as the Portuguese Jews example, regarded a high qualified migration of large-scale merchants, who arrived in that city not as poor refugees. Historical sources say little about no-names humble and unskilled workers and cities' histories are full of discriminatory measures towards local immigration from villages. Many of these rural immigrants went to swell the ranks of urban outcasts.

The swaying alien policy among incentives to immigration, protectionist measures, barriers to foreign settlement, restrictive attitude adopted by the guilds seems hardly find its way. Nonetheless a great turn in European history took place since the end of the fifteenth century. A more tolerant society faced an ideological based one, that enacted strict measures of control in search of a religious uniformity. The first choice had a hard path to go through, but the Dutch example first and the English one then showed that cohabitation of cultures could be possible. On the other side the short term and long run consequences of expelling minorities were evident. The exclusion of minorities, whether because of religious fanaticism, see censorship and inquisition, whether because of loosing economic dominance or privileged status, had many serious consequences. First, it led to intolerance and a closeted society. As a long-term effect these countries became more impermeable to innovation, especially in the field of scientific research. In a long run they would have missed out economic development that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It seems enough clear that the category of multiculturalism, a late-twentieth-century American issue, as a premise of successful integration of foreigners can only be applied with precautions to historical examples. The challenge of clash of cultures was differently tackled in past societies, without necessarily meant that these societies were racist or xenophobic. Successful examples of integration and development by the contribution of diversity in the past could bring with themselves aspects of exclusion and discrimination apparently unacceptable for our sensibility.

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- (lxv) This paper was presented at the EuroConference on “Auctions and Market Design: Theory, Evidence and Applications” organised by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei and sponsored by the EU, Milan, September 25-27, 2003
- (lxvi) This paper has been presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> BioEcon Workshop on “Economic Analysis of Policies for Biodiversity Conservation” organised on behalf of the BIOECON Network by Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Venice International University (VIU) and University College London (UCL), Venice, August 28-29, 2003
- (lxvii) This paper has been presented at the international conference on “Tourism and Sustainable Economic Development – Macro and Micro Economic Issues” jointly organised by CRENoS (Università di Cagliari e Sassari, Italy) and Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, and supported by the World Bank, Sardinia, September 19-20, 2003
- (lxviii) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Governance and Policies in Multicultural Cities”, Rome, June 5-6, 2003
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- (lxxiv) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Trust and social capital in multicultural cities” Athens, January 19-20, 2004
- (lxxv) This paper was presented at the ENGIME Workshop on “Diversity as a source of growth” Rome November 18-19, 2004

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