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operative movement. The co-operative societies of each country will in the nature of economic evolution, with the increase of their trade and membership, enter into trading relations, and it wants only the stimulus of idealism, the guiding spirit of human brotherhood, and the proper understanding of what co-operation really means, to make international co-operation a real force in international relations.

SEMEN RAPOPORT

Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit vornehmlich in Deutschland. By ALFONS DOPSCH. Two volumes. (Weimar : Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1912 and 1913. Pp. x + 373 and viii + 364. M. 18.)

PARTLY because of its position at the portals of the age of Feudalism, and partly because of the remarkably large share which has fallen to its lot in the very uneven distribution of source material, the Carolingian Empire has been depicted as possessing an unusually clearly defined civilisation, so that its institutions furnish a welcome basis and starting point for the investigator of those of the ensuing Feudal Ages. The dominating personality of Charlemagne, whose genius for organisation is revealed in so many capitularies, has created the conception that the civilisation of this age is largely the product of his legislation. Not only have the institutions of his Empire been shown to have been the product of Charlemagne's genius, but likewise the economic life has been represented, by such writers as v. Inama-Sternegg, as having virtually been created by a piece of legislation : the Capitulare de Villis, a law which was used to throw an additional lustre on the ruler of Western Christendom, the mighty conqueror, who nevertheless, to quote a French historian, *ne dédaigne pas d'entrer dans les détails d'apiculture*, a conception that shows a rather remarkable similarity to the witty satire of Bishop Theodulf of Orleans when he says :—

In medio David sceptro regit omnia, largas
Disponens epulas, ordine pacifico.

This hitherto generally accepted theory that the Carolingian economic system represented the economic reorganisation of Western Europe after the chaotic times of the Great Migrations, in general, on the basis of agriculture on a large scale with the "villa" as organ of collection and distribution, has suddenly received a rude shock at the hand of a Viennese scholar, Alfons

Dopsch, who after working as an associate of Mühlbacher in the editing of Carolingian diplomata, and later turning to the Austrian *urbaria*, in his *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, has taken up the economic problems of that age. That which gives the book its peculiar character is the fact that Dopsch is a diplomatist, and not an economist, and that while he cares nothing for economic laws and theories, there is little which the sources can hide from him. The older school of economists supported their theories with the facts offered by the sources, which theories not infrequently influenced the interpretations. Dopsch, on the other hand, starts, as it were, from the other end, and investigates the sources as such, in the light of other material of the time, and presents them with all accompanying circumstances, which only too often prove that the meaning of a certain passage is entirely different from that which it seemed to have on the surface, and which the economists had given to it. A specific instance will make this more clear. Inama-Sternegg, in search of a reason to explain the change of economic conditions which took place during the Carolingian epoch, found the *Capitulare de Villis*, a piece of legislation which fitted the situation excellently, and hence used it to show how this change was brought about. Dopsch, on the other hand, as will be shown later, analysed the capitulary from every possible angle, compared it with chronicles, records of synods and church councils, and every other available bit of material, and reached the conclusion that it is a mere local regulation for one manor. The result is, that the *Capitulare* can no longer serve as the basis for the economic conception of its time. Dopsch does not investigate the soundness of the economic theories, and he does not try to present any of his own, except to a very limited extent. What he does is to investigate the foundations upon which the theories are based, to investigate the sources, and to find, repeatedly, that they really mean something entirely different from what had previously been assumed. Thus a very large part of the foundations on which the system had been constructed are demolished, and the whole superstructure is left by Dopsch to fall in ruins, as the conclusions drawn from the sources are of no further concern to him.

In the introduction to the first volume, Dopsch himself says that it is not his intention to write a new book on the Carolingian economic conditions, and the great revolution of conceptions due to the altered interpretation of sources which might be caused thereby is virtually disregarded. This re-examination of sources naturally brings Dopsch into frequent conflict with the results

of the studies of Inama-Sternegg, Maurer, and other economists, which factor gives the book the character of a polemical commentary on the book of Inama-Sternegg.¹ But, on the other hand, wherever in his analysis Dopsch finds that one of these economists has reached the same conclusions as he himself, their interpretations are accepted without further proof, which practice undoubtedly constitutes a weak point of the book.

Of the actual conclusions reached by Dopsch, the most brilliant is undoubtedly the proof that the *Capitulare de Villis* is not a Carolingian law, but a local set of instructions, and it might not be out of place to show the methods by which Dopsch reaches some of his conclusions in this connection.

By a careful analysis of the provisions of this capitulary Dopsch finds that many of the chapters (such as, for instance, the one concerning fish ponds) enjoin the remedy of abuses which have crept in, and order the return to former conditions, which deprives the *Capitulare* of its character of a piece of constructive legislation. In the second place, Dopsch shows that the *Capitulare* was not issued by Charlemagne at all, which is evidenced to some extent by the fact that it is not included in any of the contemporary collections of capitularies. A number of provisions, such as the personal report of the *judex*, the personal appeal of the *servus*, point to the fact that the *Capitulare* is applicable to a limited area only, and to determine where this is located, Dopsch uses the famous catalogue of plants. It has been noticed that a number of these plants are characteristic of a mild climate, and, using the law of probability, Dopsch assumes that they grew in the Southern region, rather than taking the usually accepted explanation of this passage, namely, that this is an indication of an attempt of Charlemagne to grow almonds and oranges at Aachen. Dopsch therefore localises the *Capitulare* in Southern France, where all of the trees would naturally grow, and he finds that those plants which have most obstinately eluded identification by the historian and the botanist, are native of this area. The mention of wolves which had led some to localise the *Capitulare* in the Ardennes, agrees with a passage in the *Annals of St. Bertin* concerning the frequency of wolves in Aquitania. If we remember that Louis the Pious was King of Aquitania from 781 on, he and Irmengard are the only persons to whom the titles of *Rex* and *Regina* could apply, the latter title especially one that has caused much trouble, and given rise to very complicated conjectures. The conjecture of Dopsch agrees most remarkably with passages from

1 *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Pt. I.

the chronicles, especially those which refer to the inventions of Louis in the art of war, references to which we also find in the Capitulare.

Closely connected with this Capitulare is the *Brevium Exempla*, which Dopsch shows to be merely a copy of the accounts of the monastery of Aniane, the centre of monastic reforms emanating from Louis, to which copy had been added similar material for Augsburg and Staffelsee. These arguments concerning the two documents are clinched by a brilliant piece of source history, in which Dopsch shows that the only surviving manuscript of the Capitulare de Villis and the *Brevium Exempla*, now in Wolfenbüttel, were brought there by the humanist Flaccus from Reichenau. Its catalogue, dating from the ninth century, mentions a book which can be only the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. The two documents were brought to Reichenau from Aniane by Tatto, later Abbot of Kempten, who was at Aniane in 817, and who, as we know from the studies of Patetta, was greatly interested in agricultural administration.

At this point, however, Dopsch stops, and while the Capitulare de Villis and the *Brevium Exempla* must now be regarded in an entirely different light, we are not told how this altered state of affairs has changed the deductions formerly drawn from these sources. There is here a field for much further work, and already Sander in his article *Ueber die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*¹ has tried to show that the discoveries of Dopsch have virtually no effect on the views hitherto held concerning Carolingian economics, as he claims that the Capitulare de Villis is "a typical example of the spirit of the administration of Charlemagne himself," a view with which I cannot agree, among other reasons because Sander does not seem to realise fully the importance of Roman survivals in Southern France.

Among other results of the investigations of Dopsch, mention must be made of the altered interpretation of the monastic chartularies covering donations, which are shown to be abbreviated forms of precaria, or merely records of exchanges, interpretations which tend to disprove the view hitherto held of the predominance of ecclesiastical ownership of land. The "Hufe" is shown to have been of variable size, and an administrative unit, not a measure of area. By a somewhat peculiar course of argumentation the existence of the "Markgenossenschaft" is proved. In the second volume Dopsch adduces a considerable mass of

¹ *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, etc.* 37 Jahrgang, 1913, pp. 383-408.

material, together with new interpretations of old material, to prove that the current idea of a purely agricultural civilisation is incorrect. Many points are introduced to show that commerce, industry, and even finance played a considerable rôle in the Carolingian age. The great difference of values between the Lex Salica and the Lex Ripuaria is shown to be due, not to a reduction of the wergeld, but rather to a change of values, a sort of price-revolution; arguments for this are supported by passages from every conceivable source, as well as by the results of numismatic finds.

Thus, on the whole, the book represents a new phase of economic history—the re-examination of the sources along the lines of historical source criticism. While undoubtedly many of the statements made by Dopsch will in time be altered, he has paved the way for an entirely new conception of Carolingian economic conditions, and it is greatly to his credit that he is aware of his limitations, and does not attempt to recast the economic part. While the book undoubtedly has its shortcomings, they are those characteristic of the pioneer, and should not detract from its real value. To be sure Dopsch's book cannot be used alone, without that of Inama-Sternegg, as it fails to give a sufficiently definite picture, yet no historian is justified in disregarding the very important discoveries which are here presented.

HILMAR H. WEBER

Finance and Trade under Edward III. By Members of the History School. Edited by G. UNWIN. Manchester: 1918. Price 15s. net.

THIS volume deals with the fiscal aspects of Edward III.'s reign. It contains five essays written by students of Manchester University: *The London Lay Subsidy of 1332* (M. Curtis); *The Societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi* (E. Russell); *The Taxation of Wool, 1327–48* (F. R. Barnes); *The Wine Trade with Gascony* (F. Sargeant); and *Calais under Edward III.* (D. Greaves). The editor, Prof. Unwin, contributes an introduction, articles on *Social Evolution in Mediæval London*, and on *London Tradesmen and Their Creditors*, and a detailed study of *The Estate of Merchants, 1336–65*. The book serves to show that Manchester University is alive to the importance of training history graduates to do research in Economic History; and in this respect an example is set to the older universities which is not unneeded.

In his introduction Prof. Unwin combats the view that Edward