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The pious city: Social welfare and the Christian enlightenment in eighteenth century Modena. (Volumes I and II)

Nicassio, Susan Vandiver, Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1989

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VOLUME I

THE PIOUS CITY:
SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE CHRISTIAN ENLIGHTENMENT
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MODENA

A dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Department of History

by
Susan Vandiver Nicassio
B.A., Louisiana State University, 1982
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May 1989

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The long dark night of dissertation research, writing, defense and final copy preparation could only have been endured with the help and cooperation of everyone from the family dog to the Fulbright Foundation.

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tors and staffs of the Archivio di Stato, the Archivio Comunale, and the Estense Library. From finding indices to photocopying, from deciphering cryptic passages to afternoon coffee, their expertise and courtesy made my work in Modena possible.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ...........................................  

TABLE OF CONTENTS ......................................  

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ...................................  

FOREWORD ..................................................  

ABSTRACT ..................................................  

CHAPTER I: Piety and Reform:  

The Modenese Case .........................  

Enlightened Reforms — Pagan.  

Christian and Despotic ..................  

Enlightened Christian Reform ..........  

Sources of Modenese Reforms ..........  

Lodovico Antonio Muratori ..............  

The Modenese Character ..................  

The Poor ..............................................  

"Pietas" and the Opere Pie .............  

The Family ..........................................  

Patrons and Friends ......................  

iv
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2:</td>
<td>Araldi Careers</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 3:</td>
<td>Araldi Connections</td>
<td>558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 4:</td>
<td>Weights and Measures</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5:</td>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Lodovico Antonio Muratori ................... 14

2. Muratori Title Pages .......................... 23

3. Araldi Genealogy .............................. 81

4. Map of the State of Modena ............... 119

5. Property Ownership ............................ 136

6. Map of the City of Modena ................. 144

7. Baloardo San Pietro (A) ..................... 151

8. San Francesco Gate (B) ..................... 152

9. Sant'Agostino Gate (C) ..................... 153

10. Carnival (D) ................................. 154

11. College of San Carlo (E) ................. 155

x
12. Naviglio Canal (F) .................................. 156
13. Ducal Garden (G) .................................. 157
14. Graph I: Social Interactions ..................... 166
15. Art and Statistics .................................. 170
16. The War Between the Sexes ..................... 172
17. Gio:Battista Araldi ............................... 201
18. Araldi Title Pages ................................ 203
19. The Great Hospital: Floorplan ................. 348
20. Poor House Dress .................................. 417
FOREWORD

This work had its origins my Masters' Thesis, a study of the Modenese state on the eve of the French Revolution. Modena had been selected for that study because it was an Italian state which had changed hands a number of times during the period between 1796 and 1813 and thus seemed a promising subject within which to study the impact of revolution. It soon became evident, however, that Modena had a great deal more to recommend it. It was a small, moderately prosperous duchy which had enjoyed a long period of generally beneficial native rule under the House of Este. The continuity of this rule and the character of the ruling house combined to make Modena a forward looking and yet deeply traditional state, while at the same time it suffered under the typical pre-industrial handicaps of insufficient funds, a tangled administrative structure, and a diversity of competitive interests operating within the state.

As often happens in an investigation of this sort, the situation which originally attracted the researcher proved to be only the end result of a long train of circumstances and developments which in themselves were far more interesting and revealing than the revolutionary cataclysm.
which ended them. By the time the Masters Thesis was completed, it was obvious that the real story lay in the ways in which the traditional Modenese state had dealt with its social and economic problems long before the disruption of the Revolution. Alfred Cobban provoked a furor when he proposed that the French Revolution, rather than representing the start of a brave new age, had in fact been a fall of snow on trees in blossom. Simon Schama, in an uneven but provocative work published for the bicentennial of that Revolution, went even farther to proclaim that, far from being a harbinger of progress and reform, the Revolution disrupted the advance of a progressive and inventive era. Events in Modena bear out that interpretation.

A state such as eighteenth century Modena — traditional, cohesive and fundamentally cooperative — faced a great number of challenges and problems. But all of them at one level or another involved one great and in a real sense insoluble difficulty: the problem of poverty. I have traced this fundamental problem of poverty throughout the society: the patronage networks that characterized the social welfare institutions as well as the court; the family connections which influenced how dowries were bestowed and who controlled the university, the hospital and the guilds;


the activities of religious reformers of the Christian Enlightenment and the dogged religious conservatism of the man in the street; and the delicate tacery of connections, assumptions and self-image which held the society together. The study thus looks not only at the poor but also at those whose moral, social or professional duties concerned the poor.

The Araldi family offered a focal point in which all of these diverse elements met, combined, and went on. A family of prosperous and ambitious merchants newly arrived in the city, the Araldi allowed me to watch a small group insert themselves into a new environment and within a generation or two rise to the highest levels of the ducal administration, only just below the nobility. In particular, the careers of Battista Araldi and his physician brother Gaetano offered a fascinating insight into the juxtaposition of the court and the Poorhouse, since the careers of both brothers were constantly involved in one aspect or another of social welfare relief for the poor.

The Araldi offered the additional pragmatic advantage of being a newly-arrived family with an unusual name. This had the enormous advantage of making them and their connections readily visible in the archival records.

Sources

European archives in general always provide challenges.
and Italian archives in particular can be peculiar. However Modena is in many ways a good place to work. It is a prosperous city, for long the capital of a duchy and still a provincial capital; there is an enormous amount of civic pride, generally frustrated by the fact that scholars (other than local ones) have neglected it, so most Modenese are happy to cooperate with any serious outside scholar.

I used five major sources in the city: the State Archives; the archives of the Commune; the Estense Library; the archives of the Curia; and finally, private collections and the Araldi descendants.

The State Archives (Archivio di Stato) is built around the records collected by and for the ruling house of Este and their successors in the Kingdom and Republic of Italy. For my purposes the most useful collection consisted of the 2000 or so series which the Fascists pulled together under the title of Enti Communale d'Assistenza (Communal Aid Institutions), or ECA. This, like all Italian archival series, is in the process of being reorganized, but even in this condition it gave access to a wide selection of the records of the Poor House and the Hospital, and the charitable institutions which Francesco III consolidated in his Opera Pia Generale, or Universal Charities. The records of the Hospital were particularly important and useful. Unfortunately the work of collecting such a vast assortment
of documents has been necessarily incomplete. Many series are partial, some have been divided among a number of possible collections, and some have simply been lost. And of course the collection reflects that fact that Old Regime Italian bureaux were constantly metamorphosing depending on which bureaucrat was in charge and how he defined his competence. As a result, for example, some records of suppressed church bodies are in the ECA, some are in the files of the suppressed bodies (Corporazione Soppresse) some are in the files of the body which took over their work, some are still in the papers of the bureaucrat who had them suppressed, and others are floating around in general collections of ledgers. Some even remain in the archives of the parish which assumed the duties of the suppressed body.

Aside from ECA, the most useful series was the Sovereign Jurisdictions file (Giurisdizione Sovrana), which contains the records of the bodies which the duke created between 1757 and 1786 to deal with church-state affairs. (This mainly involved confiscating Church properties.)

Other major series in the State Archives were the records of Population Estimates and Catastos (Estimi e Catasti), the local Inquisition (particularly interesting because one of my Araldi was the Duke’s man set to keep an eye of the Holy Office), and the Notarial Archives (useful not only for family wills, but also for an examination of Mass obligations in the city).
Archives of the Commune (Archivio Comunale) contains records of the city going back to the twelfth century, to Frederick Barbarossa and Matilda of Canossa. The central collections there are the vachette containing the minutes of the meetings of the city governing body and a series called Ex Actis, the working papers and records of the city counsellors. This provided a very useful counterfoil to the state records, where the same issues were dealt with in very different fashion: they clearly demonstrate the inexorable take-over of city affairs by the Este dukes, especially after 1748.

The commune archives contain series on local taxes (sparse), on guild records (good, especially those on the physicians' guild), and on charities within the city (spotty but with some jewels). Some very elaborate semi-official town chronicles are in the Communal archives, but most of these are late medieval or else date to the very end of the eighteenth century.

The commune kept duplicate registers of births and deaths in the city parishes from the middle of the fifteenth century until the napoleonic period, and these were invaluable for tracing family and godparentage connections and for establishing a family tree.

The Estense Library (Biblioteca Estense) is one of the finest collections in Italy. It is based on the personal library of the Este family, but this was opened to the
public in the 1770s and at that time began to take on the nature of a research library. It has long been the traditional depository for the collections of local historians (such as Campori and Namias), some of which are being catalogued and others of which are a treasure hunt. The older chronicles of the city are here, and many collections of family papers (among them that of the Araldi family). A series of accounts for charitable institutions were being processed by Doctoressa Marianna Selmi while I was there, and these filled in many of the gaps in the ECA collection at the State Archives.

In addition, the Estense gave access to much of the work of central figures in my examination: the great Muratori himself, Don Araldi who followed in Muratori's footsteps, and the reforming chief minister of the last Este duke, Lodovico Ricci, whose book on Charitable institutions in the city anchors the last section of the study.

Other sources included the Curial Archive, the records of the bishops of Modena. This was mainly useful for its information on the parishes and the entry it gave to individual parish archives. In addition the Curia maintains records of numerous Church-sponsored charitable organizations, though its usefulness in this respect is limited by the fact that many of these records were at one time or another taken over by the state and either lost or placed
willy-nilly in the Archives of the Commune or the State Archives.

Private individuals in Modena were most helpful. The most important of these were Araldi family, collateral descendants of my subjects. The Araldi, and in particular Signor Carlo Araldi, the present patriarch, added much to my understanding of the family and its place in Modenese society. Unfortunately a large number of family documents have been lost, so that it was impossible to write anything like a comprehensive family study.

And finally, a civic-minded and wealthy family of the city (who prefer to remain anonymous) helped me enormously by giving me free access to the remarkable series of paintings which form the heart of Chapter IV of this dissertation.
ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines reform in the enlightened state of Modena by looking at the opere pie, "pious works" which included dowries, health care, education and shelter and economic context, and social welfare is examined in terms of the familial, religious and civic piety which shaped these charities between 1690 and 1796.

The study is constructed around the Araldi, a merchant family whose outstanding members (priests and physicians) rose rapidly in the Modenese administrative class during the eighteenth century. It examines the patronage network of the court and the university, and notes how this all-pervasive phenomenon limited the effectiveness of the Board of Sovereign Jurisdictions and reforms in the social welfare system. The Great Hospital and the Albergo of the Poor are the subjects of structural and administrative analysis.

The work asks how this state, shaped as it was by the Christian Enlightenment concepts of Lodovico Antonio Muratori, dealt with the problems of abandoned children, female poverty, under-employment, sickness, and the potential social disruption of poverty among the upper orders.

Although relations between reforming rulers and the hierarchy were often characterized by conflict and jealousy, the middle and lower clergy (exemplified by Don Battista
Araldi, a protegee of Muratori) pursued the aims of the Christian Enlightenment with energy and enthusiasm. These clerics did not hesitate to form alliances with the state to achieve their common aims: cutting down the number of feast days, fighting superstition and ignorance, rationalizing Church administrative structures and generally attempting to revive Tridentine ideals and simple piety. Charity provided the link between Church and state in this city where poverty was, in effect, the main business of the municipality.

In conclusion, the "new" ideas of the Enlightenment were superimposed on and shaped by the social, religious and civic values which had long been a part of people's daily lives. There is a clear progression from the Tridentine organization of social welfare at the beginning of the century towards a pragmatic, economically-oriented secular program by the late 1780s.
CHAPTER I

Piety and Reform: The Modenese Case

The Duchy of Modena, a small, moderately prosperous northern Italian state with a long tradition of efficient rule by the Este dynasty, was typical of the many independent central European states of the eighteenth century in size, in character, and in style of government.¹ For this reason Modena, and in particular its capital city, offers a useful laboratory in which to study the issue of poverty and reform, and the familial, religious and civic pieties which determined the shape of local reform outside of France during the Enlightenment.

As citizens and rulers of small states have a way of doing, the Modenese looked to the giants of their day for inspiration, justification and models. But neither the Modenese nor the inhabitants of any of a number of similar Italian and German states were foolish or weak-minded enough to take the bookish ideas of Enlightened intellectuals or the policies of the rulers of the great states and apply them undigested to any specific local problem. The

¹See Werner L. Gundersheimer, Ferrara: The style of a Renaissance despotism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), in which the author argues that the Este (who were forced to move from Ferrara to Modena when they lost most of their lands in 1598) were "enlightened despots before the Enlightenment."
Enlightenment provided the "climate of opinion"; it was local piety which determined what fruit would grow in that climate.

The problem of poverty was the fundamental issue which shaped the course of much Modenese reform. This study will examine the way in which the Modenese coped with the moral, social, economic, and religious dilemma of poverty in the eighteenth century. In order to do so we will examine the social and administrative reforms involving the problem of the poor. We will do so in the context of three generations of the Araldi, a family whose men made their careers in the ducal service as administrators, physicians and advisors. The study will begin with Antonio Araldi's arrival in Modena from Vocogna in about 1685 and will continue for a little over a century to include the stratagems of the Araldi brothers in the face of the arrival of the French in 1796.

By way of introduction, a number of issues must be defined and clarified. We must examine the question of Enlightened reform, and what this meant in its Christian and Modenese contexts. In this connection we will take a necessarily brief look at Lodovico Antonio Muratori, a founding father of Christian Enlightened reform in Europe and the figure to whom all Modenese political, social and religious philosophy must return. Modenese (and more generally European) views on poverty must be described in order to
understand the central role that poverty played in all aspects of social life. And the peculiarly Italian institution of the *opera pia*, the "pious work" or charity, must be defined and put into the context of the city of Modena. We must look at the family and the role this fundamental social unit played in social and political life in the period; and we must look at the closely-related issue of the effect of personal relationships on public life, an issue which may be broadly identified as patronage. Only then may we turn to a descriptive analysis of the numerous overlapping factors which made up family careers in reform and social welfare in the eighteenth-century duchy of Modena.

*Enlightened Reforms — Pagan, Christian and Despotic*

The study of the European eighteenth century was for a long time all but synonymous with the study of the Enlightenment, a period which in turn was all but synonymous with intellectual history in France, with side forays to the Scots and to an interesting collection of so-called Enlightened Despots. This preoccupation with the *philosophes* tended to blind historians to many critical aspects of the century, most particularly to the very social and administrative reforms preached in the encyclopaedias and salons. It was only when we stopped taking the *philosophes* at their word and began, like Stuart Woolf, Olwen Hufton and the historians of poverty, to ask pointed questions about
social history or, like Robert Darnton, to enquire into the social history of the ideas of the time, that we began to understand the social and intellectual reality in which these propagandists of genius worked.²

An examination of that reality suggests that, far from being an ahistorical break with tradition, the "new" ideas of the Enlightenment grew out of and were superimposed on social, religious and civic values which had long been a part of people's daily lives — values which I have identified in terms of familial, religious and civic piety. This phenomenon is most easily seen in the genesis and application of Enlightened ideas in administration. We do not need a Frederick II toe to toe with a Voltaire to understand this. There were any number of small German and Italian states in which the rulers, working hand in hand with local intellectuals and reformers (many of them clerics), attempted to improve their communities by implementing rational, centralizing reforms with the aim of increasing

efficiency, public happiness and order. There was in fact a great deal of reform which went on more or less independent of the "orthodox" philosophes. It could be argued that this sort of reform was the mainstream, the natural expression of an historical progression through the scientific revolution and the changes in administration and governing brought about by changing technology, communications and education, and by the rulers' ever-pressing need for money which became even more critical during and after the succession wars of the eighteenth century.

Enlightened Christian Reform

Twenty years ago Bernard Plongeron, citing in his turn historians who had written twenty years before himself, wondered at the fact that the Christian (or Catholic) Enligh-

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tenment had found so little place in the history of ideas.4 Despite the work of Plongeron, Hazard, Vaussard and Appolis in France, and Venturi, Codignola, Rosa, Donati and others in Italy, it remains a marginal issue. Certainly in English, the Christian Enlightenment is a movement which awaits its historian, in 1989 as in 1969.

Samuel J. Miller has included an important essay and bibliography of the subject in his 1978 work on the Portuguese experience in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.5 Miller identifies what he calls "another enlightenment which shared some of the presuppositions of the philosophes but could not share them all," because it was based on divine revelations of a personal God.6 He sees


6Miller, Portugal and Rome, pp 1-2.
this "other enlightenment" as influencing all confessional groups in Western Europe according to the history and needs of their societies, and the character of the ruler, his ministers, and his advisors.

The great propagandists of the French Enlightenment defined themselves in profoundly anti-Christian terms, and their self-definition has by and large stuck. Modern scholarship has emphasised the "pagan" aspects of the French enlightenment. This definition is perhaps accurate insofar as it describes the work of those writers and propagandists who consciously set about creating an era. However, the definition begins to fall apart when one turns to the age of reform which extended far beyond the salons, whose participants certainly thought of themselves as "Enlightened" with the initial capital; when one turns to the reformers outside of France, the anti-Christian definition becomes even less tenable.

In Modena, there was clearly a Christian Enlightenment which was more than merely a counterattack on the irreligion of the philosophes. It was instead a characteristically Christian version of the same desire for clarity, rationality, virtue and benevolence, and the same faith in progress

which inspired the more secular thinkers of the day. This Christian Enlightenment was characterized by an attempt to reconcile faith and reason, Christianity and enlightened politics. A major part of its ideology was provided by Muratori. His doctrines on charity created a meeting ground between Church and State (see below), and his stress on careful historical scholarship offered a basis for understanding the relationship between the two powers.

In the Italian context in particular, the role of the middle and lower clergy has been sorely underestimated. These clerics took up the cause of Christian Enlightenment with energy and enthusiasm. Men like Battista Araldi in

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Modena did not hesitate to form alliances with the state in their common aims of reducing feast days, rationalizing parish and monastery structures, clearing away superstitions, and generally attempting to revive Tridentine organization and simple piety. This alliance with the state made them active agents of jurisdictionalism which, whatever the hierarchy may have thought, did not seem to them to be in any conflict with Christian piety or loyalty to the Church of Rome.9

Sources of Modenese Reform

The Church as an institution played an ambiguous role in the reform movements. As we have noted, the lower and middle clergy were often active partisans of reform. But the Church was made up of sometimes overlapping, sometimes competing groups of secular and regular clerics, parish priests, lay associations, the supporters of the Bishop and the Holy Office, representatives of the curia, and clerics of all ranks intent on making their own careers. Each of these groups responded to the challenge of reform in its own way.

"Reform" in Modena must be defined primarily in terms of its context. While we must differentiate between the ideology and the activity of reform, it is clear that in Modena both of these were rooted not only in the Christian

9See Rosa, Cattolicesimo e Lumi.
culture but also in a set of long-held and fundamental assumptions about the relationship between duke and duchy, ruler and ruled. These assumptions were in turn based on a creative tension between the perceived duty of the good prince to ensure the well-being of his subjects on one hand, and on the continuing conflicts between the ruler and the corporations which made up his state on the other hand. In the capital city, the conflicts were primarily between the ruler and the comunità, made up of urban patricians, guildsmen, and Church-associated bodies.

In terms of ideology, Modenese reform in the first half of the century was based on the Christian reformism enunciated by Lodovico Antonio Muratori. After the succession wars ended in mid-century there were two additional influences: one, the ideas of the French encyclopaedists, their apologists and antagonists, which set the tone of European high culture; and two, the more moderate, pragmatic ideas of Habsburg-style reform which found easy entry into Modena during the years when Francesco III, Duke of Modena, served as vice-regent in Habsburg Lombardy.

In terms of activity, Modenese reform suggests a number

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10See below as well as Chapter III below for a discussion of the concepts and influence of Muratori.

11Francesco III assumed the vice-regency of Lombardy as part of the marriage contract between his three-year-old granddaughter Maria Beatrice and a son of Maria Theresa (originally her second son, Leopold, though Ferdinand, her fifth son, was eventually substituted). Francesco was vice-roy from 1753 until the couple married in 1771.
of adjectives: it was meant to be rational, useful, efficient, public (that is, designed to benefit the people as a whole rather than particular groups), benevolent, secular (though strongly influenced by Catholic Christian motives), both economic (in that reforms were often aimed at the production or conservation of wealth and commodities) and economical (in the sense of costing as little as possible). Reform tended to mean the introduction of programs and persons who would both promote the well-being of the state and support the centralizing authority of the ruler. Thus the whole range of reforms — the establishment of a catasto and a census, legislation to break up manomorte (mortmain) holdings and improve farming methods, attempts to rationalize the laws and the parishes, to limit feast days, reduce the numbers of clergy, prevent entail, reduce testamentary obligations for Masses and ensure the survival of foundlings — all of this patchwork fit into an overall pattern whereby the good prince fulfilled his Christian duty by selecting able advisors to improve the condition of his subjects and strengthen the state of which he was the personification.  

12This would seem to support Gagliardo's contention that the motives and aspirations of the "enlightened despots" were not essentially different from those of the princes who ruled before or after them, or Anderson's conclusion that on the whole it is difficult to tell the enlightened from the empirical despots, or the old ideas from the new. John G. Gagliardo, Enlightened Despotism (New York: Crowell, 1967) and M.S. Anderson, Historians and Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
It is important to remember that the root meaning of the word "re-form" is to change shape — and in fact, much Modenese reform can be seen as changes in the shape and structure of institutions. The underlying ideology changed much more slowly, largely due to the fundamentally conservative nature of the administrative class and indeed, of society as a whole.

In institutional terms we can identify three waves of social welfare reform which either took place in or set the scene for the eighteenth century in Modena. The first goes back to 1541, when the charitable institutions of the city were consolidated into the Sant'Unione, or Holy Union. This consolidation, like later reforms, was urged and justified in terms of efficiency and economy. And like later reforms, it weakened the influence of the Church and brought the welfare institutions under more centralized control. The second cluster of reforms occurred in mid-century, after the end of the succession wars in 1748. They were capped by the 1764 consolidation of hospitals, orphanages, and assorted charities into the Opera Pia Generale, the universal, or general pious work or charity (see below). These reforms too stressed efficiency, and their aim and effect was the increase of royal authority across a broad spectrum of social welfare and ecclesiastical institutions. Finally, the reforms of 1786-1787 restructured the state's charities under three departments. The
rhetoric of these last reforms denounced charity as an inducement to laziness and vice, and their primary aim appears to have been to cut costs. The effects of these changes cannot be evaluated since they were so quickly overtaken by the cataclysm of revolution.

All three of these reform movements, it may be noted, were financed by royal confiscations of the properties of the earlier institutions, many of them Church properties. It was this relationship between the Church and the state, and the willingness of a number of Catholic reformers to make use of the state as a vehicle for Church reform as well as social reforms, which defined the Christian Enlightenment in Modena.

Lodovico Antonio Muratori

The Christian illuminist Muratori was the touch-stone of Modenese reform. And it is to Muratori that we must turn if we hope to understand the fundamental pieties of this state.

Muratori was born in 1672 some twenty miles from the capital city of Modena in the provincial town of Vignola. His father, who ran a copper foundry and owned a small farm, sent his promising son to the capital to be educated by the Jesuits. There he gained degrees in theology (1692) and law (1694). He was ordained on 24 September 1695 and took up his studies in "physics and metaphysics" with the famous
1. LODOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI
Benedictine scholar Benedetto Bacchini, then head of the ducal library and abbot of the monastery of San Pietro in Modena. The young priest served a term at the Ambrosian library in Milan before being called back to Modena to the task that would form the focal point of the rest of his life: the management of the Estense Library. His reputation, then as now, was that of a pious and dedicated priest and a kind and simple man, quite without personal ambition and with a superhuman capacity for hard work.\textsuperscript{13}

A cursory glance at the Muratorian bibliography illustrates both the range of his mind and his astonishing productivity. The body of his work runs to several hundreds of volumes, covering the years 1697 to 1749, and includes exhaustive studies in literature, bibliography, history, law, religion, civil administration and economics.\textsuperscript{14}

Muratori's work enjoyed a European-wide reputation in the eighteenth century, especially after the publication of \textit{Rerum italicarum scriptores} in 1723.\textsuperscript{15} This famous annotated collection of medieval documents was an attack on superstition and an attempt to de mythologize the study of


\textsuperscript{14}See Appendix X for the Muratorian bibliography.

history by consulting the documents and filtering out popular moralizing and embroidery. His tract on the plague and how to deal with it (Governo della peste) was widely reprinted as a practical and accessible document in city management. His legal treatise of 1742, Dei difetti della giurisprudenza, condemned the tangle of laws and lawyers, proposed a new codification, and had a major impact on legal reform from Milan to Naples, and in Europe at large. Translations and editions of his works appeared in the Holy Roman Empire, England, France, Russia, and Spain, and a Greek translation appeared in Vienna in 1761-1762.

If the "grande maestro" was a renowned and respected thinker in Europe at large, he was to become little less than a patron saint in his native state. Local intellectual luminaries from the eighteenth century onwards acknowledged

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16 Muratori, Governo della peste e della maniera di guardarsene ... diviso in politico, medico ed ecclesiastico (Modena: Soliani, 1714).

17 Muratori, Dei difetti della giurisprudenza (Venezia: Pasquali, 1742).

18 According to Badaloni, Rerum italicarum "influenced all the cultural evolution of the Habsburg Empire, from Salzburg to Budapest." Storia d'Italia Vol. 3 "Dal primo seicento all'unita" (Torino: Einaudi, 1973): 773 et seq. See also Atti del congresso muratoriano tenuto in Modena, settembre 1972; Franco Venturi, Settecento Riformatore Vol. 1 "Da Muratori a Beccaria" (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1969) and "Lodovico Antonio Muratori in Russia," Rivista storica italiana LXXXIV, fasc. II, June 1972, pp. 437 et seq. See also Peset Reig, Mariano, "Una propuesta de codigo romanohispano inspirada en Lodovico Antonio Muratori," in Estudios juridicos en homenaje al profesor Santa Cruz Teijeiro (Valencia, 1974), which deals with mid-eighteenth-century Spanish law reform as inspired by the works of Muratori.
their debt to him. Giambattista Venturi, statesman, scientist, and a leader of the later Modenese enlightenment, wrote in 1818 of "the most learned, immortal Muratori ... whose inspiration, reason, truth and wisdom teach and direct the homeland." Lodovico Bosellini, a Modenese historian writing in the 1850s, called Muratori the father of history ... theologian, canonist, publicist, jurist, economist, antiquarian, man of letters; at one and the same time he shows us temperance in every doctrine, and clearly indicates our distinctive character.19

Muratori's most distinctive feature was his Roman Catholic Christianity, and he, like the Christian Enlightenment thinkers who would follow him, embraced modernism as the handmaiden, not the enemy, of Christian belief. He needed a philosophical tool for fitting a religion based on revelation into a universe of progress and reason, and he found this tool in the classic scholastic dual concept of truth. For Muratori there was one sort of truth for science and the business of running the world, and quite another for religion and morals. He made the general rule that one should accept reason over tradition in most secular matters -- the older a scientific concept, for example, the less likely it was to be reliable. On the other hand, he held that tradition must be accepted over reason in matters of theology -- the older a truth about religion (that is, the

19 Prof. Cavaliere Lodovico Bosellini, Elogio del Conte Cavaliere Luigi Valdrighi, 15 November 1862 (Modena: 1865).
closer to the revelation or the event), the more likely it was to be reliable, providing one had scraped away the encrustations of popular superstition.20 A logical extension of this was Muratori's assumption that human history consists of two parts -- one fixed and unchanging (that is, morals and religion), the other open to progress, development and change (that is, the arts, including medicine, architecture, mechanics and agriculture).21

For Muratori, man's religious nature defined him in every possible context, and it was the spiritual imperative which provided the foundation upon which the edifice of public happiness was to be erected. However, when he turned to a consideration of religion per se in his final work, Della pubblica felicità, he was largely concerned with a discussion of the usefulness of religion and the institutional Church.22 He defended religious orthodoxy on the grounds of usefulness, as when he wrote that "the religion of Jesus Christ was instituted to be useful to people in

20De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio (Paris: Robustel, 1714); La Letteratura Italiana, Storia e Testi, Vol. 44, Book I, "Dal Muratori al Cesarotti" (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960). This aspect of Muratorian thought is also discussed by Luigi Badeloni, Storia d'Italia, p. 780.

21Della pubblica felicità (Venice: 1748). La Letteratura Italiana, Volume 46, Book VII, op cit, 1965. Again, Badeloni has some interesting comments to make on this subject, as does Franco Venturi in his Settecento Riformatore (Torino: Einaudi, 1976).

22The quotes which follow have been translated from Della pubblica felicità, chapter VI.
their civil state, not to harm them."

The Church was to be supported and encouraged as a partner of the state, and each was to honor "the true, and not the imaginary, rights" of the other. Contemplative orders were to be discouraged as selfish, "spending all of their capital on making themselves good, without doing anything to do the same for others." Superstition and "excessive sacred functions and excessive clerics" were seen as a drain on the time, money and talent available to the state. Feast days and processions were not to be allowed to distract the poor from the work necessary for their sustenance. Building churches was seen as laudable, but one shouldn't build too many of them or allow them to serve as "refuges for evil-doers". Muratori actively supported state regulation of religious functions and religious bodies, even going so far as to point with admiration to the Piedmontese introduction of state-sponsored programs for preparing the upper clergy.

Muratori took a keen interest in administrative reform, and in particular in the reform of welfare institutions which were to be run by the state. In particular the prince was to take responsibility for the hospitals, and for

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23 Thus condemning the custom of sanctuary, which was to plague Italy for much of the rest of the century.

24 These projects are dealt with in some detail in Carità cristiana (Modena: 1723), which lay the foundation for the typically Modenese welfare institutions (see Chapter IV, below).
the shelters for the poor and for foundlings. He offered no advice on whether or not the schools should be manned by religious orders, but there is no doubt that the administrative authority was to rest with the state. The prince was also responsible for the wayward poor — able-bodied beggars and juvenile delinquents. Muratori proposed a typically Enlightened course of action for these people: they should not simply be punished or driven away, but rather should be "compelled to change their lives" by doing useful and productive work, especially in textile manufacturing. They would be thankful later, he observed, and the silk and woollen industries needed the extra labor. This attitude regarding welfare can be seen as a move away from traditional Christian almsgiving towards a modern, economically rational approach to the problem of poverty. However, unlike later reforms it retained its fundamental Christian rationale.

Two points must be stressed with regard to "the Great Muratori": his role as a founder of the Christian Enlightenment, and his role as heir to the changing philosophy of charity. He was perhaps the most influential, and certainly the clearest and most moderate, spokesman for the Catholic Enlightenment. Almost all of the ideas of Enlightened or

Muratori's enduring impact on reformers both within and outside his own state can be seen in a circular which Archduke (later Emperor) Leopold sent to the Bishops of Tuscany in January of 1786. Part of the circular dealt with a proposed library which should be made available, without
reform Catholicism either stemmed from or can be found stated in the writings of Muratori.26

Even in his early works Muratori, under the influence of Bacchini, insisted that history and theology must be studied together in a balanced fashion so that the influence of one upon the other might be understood.27 Although he never went so far as to challenge openly the principle of ecclesiastical authority, he consistently advocated putting such authority into historical context, thereby implying that what had once changed could reasonably be expected to change again.

In his most direct study of charity, Muratori took what was to be the typical and characteristic stance of the Enlightened Christian: "Charity," he stated, "is not only an abstract bond which holds society together, but an ideal which requires practical implementation." (Chapter I) Compassion for the poor was to be valued far above the laudable but hardly necessary works of building churches and cost, to parish priests. This included a vernacular copy of the Scriptures, pastoral works by Bossuet and Quesnel, and a copy of Muratori's Della Regolata Devozione dei Cristiani (Venice: 1761). Bolton cites this circular and comments that the "restraint and moderation of this great critic [i.e., Muratori] in his attitude to things spiritual found him many admirers among the Jansenists." Bolton, Church Reform (The Hague: 1969), 49.

26I am indebted to Samuel J. Miller's Portugal and Rome (Rome: 1978) for much of the following analysis.

27Muratori, Reflessioni sopra il buon gusto, (1708).
paying for Masses.\textsuperscript{28}

In two of his last works (the final one published posthumously) Muratori clearly stated the basic doctrines of Enlightened Catholicism. In \textit{Della regolata divozione} he argued that the religious practices of Catholics should return to the simpler piety of earlier days, avoiding such excesses as the "blood oath" (an extreme Marian devotion) and the numerous saints' days and superstitious devotions which tended to characterize Italian piety.\textsuperscript{29} And in \textit{Della pubblica felicità} he stated that the Prince, not the Church, was to be the ultimate authority within the state (with the caveat that the Prince's law must always be subject to "the law of nature, of nations, and most of all to the law of the Gospels").\textsuperscript{30} The Good Prince, however, was to encourage "a perfect and enduring harmony between the sacerdotium and the imperium." (Ch. VI)

The second characteristic which must be stressed in relation to Muratori is the fact that he was the most important Modenese heir of the "new philanthropy" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, identified by Brian Pullan.\textsuperscript{31} This new philanthropy aimed at extending charity

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\textsuperscript{28} Muratori, \textit{Trattato della carita cristiana}, (1723).
\textsuperscript{29} Muratori, \textit{Della regolata divozione de' cristiani} (1747).
\textsuperscript{30} Muratori, \textit{Della pubblica felicita} (1750).
\textsuperscript{31} Brian Pullan, "Support and redeem: charity and poor relief in Italian cities from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries," \textit{Continuity and Change: A journal of
social structure, law and demography in past societies.
Special issue on Charity and the Poor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, 3:2 (August 1988), 177-208.
beyond the traditional recipients, the respectable, shame-faced poor, to include social and moral outcasts.

Pullan has suggested that the change from medieval to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poor relief in Italy was less a shift from personal, casual charity towards a rational, organized and more official charity, than it was a change in emphasis. In the "new philanthropy" of the sixteenth and later centuries, the emphasis moved from aid for the respectable poor towards an attempt to integrate social and moral outcasts into disciplined Christian society. Part of this move may be traced to the great reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — Francis Xavier in Venice, Filippo Neri in Rome, Vincent de Paul in Paris. In the Modena of the eighteenth century, this trend continued — Muratori was clearly influenced by Vincent de Paul and the tradition of Tridentine pious charity which he embodied. At the same time, the centralization which characterized the century had its effect, so that the shift from private to official charity which Pullan does not find in earlier periods is a defining mark of the Enlightenment reforms from at least the middle of the 1700s. [See Chapter IV below for an examination of the transition in Modenese charity which took place in mid-century.]

Muratori's Compagnia della Carità, or Charitable Company (see Chapter IV, below) represented a mixture of the corporate charities typified by the confraternities, plus
the central institutionalized charities of the Great Hospitals. Muratori's emphasis was two-pronged. In part, he stressed aid for the respectable poor who were ill and either ineligible or unwilling to go to the Hospital. But another, equally important, stress was laid on rescuing the sons and daughters of the poor from the moral and social dangers inherent in extreme poverty. He and his disciples thus reached out to the offspring of vagabonds, beggars and prostitutes as well as to the respectable poor in their homes.

We will see that Battista Araldi, as the protegee and spiritual heir of Muratori, carried his master's work and philosophy to their logical extremes in his close alliance with the state.

The Modenese character

It is easy to overstate the particularity of any Italian state or city. The tendency to do this has plagued Italian historiography from its beginnings and has greatly weakened any attempts to draw generally applicable conclusions from Italian data. This tendency is partly due to the divided political history of the peninsula. In an at least nominally unified state such as Old Regime France it is easier to overlook these particularities. Nevertheless, the
campanilismo\textsuperscript{32} which has been seen as typical of Italy was almost certainly characteristic of all Old Regime states. These elements developed out of the isolation and parochialism which in turn were created by tradition and by the sheer technological inability to overcome distance. Obviously these conditions are pre-modern rather than specifically Italian.

Any discussion of the distinctiveness of the Modenese character and Modenese traditions must therefore be prefaced by a caution. Certainly there are a number of qualities which set Modena apart, qualities drawn from its unique history and from the strength of the Muratorian tradition in this, his home state. But while it is true that Modena, like all Italian cities, had its own unique character, it is nonetheless also true that it shared many characteristics not only with other cities and states in Italy, but with the rest of Europe as well. In fact, in the Italian context it is as easy to argue the cosmopolitan case as it is to argue the case for \textit{campanilismo}. Brian Pullan's study of poor relief in four large Italian cities found dramatically similar institutions in all four. These similarities are all the more remarkable for the lack of any form of Italian central state. Perhaps this very absence of a central state

\textsuperscript{32}Literally, \textit{"bell-towerism"}, attitudes typical of a group of persons who live within the sound of a particular bell. It shares the same conceptual origins as the English term \textit{"parochialism"}.
encouraged Italian rulers to look abroad for models, not only to Florence, Venice, Turin or Rome, but also to Potsdam, Lisbon and Madrid as well as to Paris and Vienna.33

Insofar as it is peculiarly local, the Modenese character appears to be the result of four elements in the city's history. The first is the long period the city spent as a back-water marquisate, which helped to create a merchant-citizen orientation which emphasised the traditional Lombard reserve of her people, rather than a courtly-aristocratic one. Another is the character of the ruling dynasty, grafted onto the city and the state quite late in her history at the end of the sixteenth century.34 A third element must be the moderate philosophical outlook of Muratori, whose modest, progressive but profoundly Christian philosophy has permeated the social and political thinking of the duchy. And finally, Modena has long been a crossroads with a large transient population.35

33Pullan, "Support and redeem."

34Gundeschimer notes that the Este traditionally established a mutually beneficial relationship with the state they ruled, providing political stability, promoting economic development, supporting and encouraging artists, writers and musicians, and taking a keen interest in education, especially in such useful arts as shipbuilding, architecture and hydraulic engineering. Gundeschimer, Ferrara.

35Modena today is rich and crowded, drawing thousands of "foreign" workers (mainly from the South of Italy) to her potteries and knitting factories and the near-by Ferrari plant. Giuseppe Orlandi, in Le Campagne Modenesi fra Rivoluzione e Restaurazione (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1967) points out that even in the eighteenth century the
The Modenese have the reputation of being well-fed (food there rivals the famous Bolognese cuisine as the richest and best in Italy), cool, and on the whole unwel­coming. It is a reputation of which they are rather proud. "This was a Longobard city," they will tell you, and the implication is that this heritage is the source of the solid, unemotional and "Germanic" traits in the Modenese character. The city is, in fact, dramatically different from and far less sophisticated and cosmopolitan than nearby Bologna.

The long and bitterly-contested border between Modena and Bologna is one of those fault-lines that run through Europe, invisible but profoundly influential. To the East, the Papal States -- courtly, Byzantine and later Baroque -- had an aristocratic culture and style; to the West towards Modena was a broad land of merchants and peasants, strongly imbued with their own version of the work ethic and somewhat lacking in flair.

Because Modena has tended to be progressive while shunning innovation, developments there frequently reflected what had already happened elsewhere in Europe. It is not difficult to find parallels to most Modenese institutions in France (the Albergo of the Poor for instance directly parallels the auberges des pauvres), in the Habsburg lands

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institutional developments in Este administration such as the Economic Council), as well as in Italian states such as Parma and Tuscany (dealings with the Church were deliberately patterned on the experiences of these states). Modena typically used larger, more renowned states as models, and yet insisted that foreign elements conform to Modenese native traditions. Characteristically, when Francesco III (inspired by the writings of his former tutor, Muratori) decided to reform the judicial system of Modena, he sent to Naples for an expert to codify his laws. And just as characteristically, the Modenese disliked him, and finished the job themselves.

The Poor

Counter-Reformation views of the poor, in Modena as in Catholic Europe as a whole, tended to alternate between two poles: hostility to the poor as vice-ridden and dangerous, and something very like awe for these, the specially beloved of Christ. This ambivalence would not be easily resolved. In Modenese ceremony (Modenese rhetoric notwithstanding) they would remain God's poor. Throughout the eighteenth century orphan girls with flowers in their hair held licensed begging boxes at church doors; children from the poorhouse claimed honored (and remunerative) positions in

See Mario Rosa, ed., Timore e carità: i poveri in Italia moderna (Cremona: Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civile di Cremona, 1982).
funeral processions (a reliable source of income for charitable institutions); during Holy Week the feet of beggars would be washed by the most noble clerics of the city; and on at least one occasion the Duke himself served at table in the poorhouse. Certainly in 1700 and in 1750, help for the poor was still among the most laudable and beneficial of Christian social exercises.

At the same time, Modenese political philosophers from Muratori to Lodovico Ricci (1742-1799) denounced the lazy poor and called for programs which would put them to work instead of encouraging the vice of idleness. This dichotomy of attitudes would express itself in complex programs designed to identify the "true poor" and parallel moves to exclude the "unworthy" from public assistance. In some areas (notably in France) this has been identified as a conflict between traditional Christian attitudes to the poor (which encouraged the vice of laziness) versus a more modern, secular attitude which stressed economic utility. In Modena, however, Christian enlightened reformers and state officials tended to be in agreement over the aim and extent of charity. It was only at the end of the period that there was a clear and identifiable break with Christian ideology as a motive force in social welfare, and even then the recipients of aid tended to remain the same despite a change in rhetoric.

Muratori, as a major spokesman for the Christian
Enlightenment, saw the poor as a permanent and valuable element of society: they "would be always with us" and their presence enabled their more fortunate brothers to exercise the virtue of charity. But at the same time he insisted that social welfare should attack the roots of the problem and not perpetuate poverty for its own sake. For Lodovico Ricci at the end of the century, the Christian element in social welfare would become little more than window dressing for an economic policy. Charity, according to Ricci, should be used to help organize the economic forces of the state, and to encourage thrift and hard work. The aim would be to squeeze as much value as possible out of the poor, who for Ricci represented an essentially useless portion of the population.37

Part of this dichotomy had to do with the fact that by the early years of the eighteenth century centralizing monarchs, even monarchs of so small a state as Modena, had begun to assume control of the multiplicity of welfare institutions in the state. At the same time, the state was neither technically nor financially capable of taking over these onerous duties. Indeed, there was no agreement that such duties lay within the exclusive authority and competence of the state.38 And the corporate solution,

37Ricci, op cit.

38Cissy Fairchilds suggests as much, arguing that by the Counter-Reformation the "religiously inspired private almsgiving of the Middle Ages had been repudiated as inef-
whereby lay institutions handled what individuals, Church and state could not, was becoming increasingly unworkable as the corporate state broke down in the face of the paternal state. The result was a schizophrenic view of the poor who were not quite God’s poor, nor economic units, no neighbors.

In this connection it is important to note the role of the Church in this period of transition. Though the macro-political movement was characterized by royal encroachment on and assumption of Church properties and social roles, the relationship between the representatives of two powers was by no means always confrontational. In Italy in particular, as we have noted, reform Catholicism encouraged the lower clergy to work with the state even against the interests of Rome. Not only the parish clergy, but also men such as Felice Antonio Bianchi (who later became a Bishop) and Battista Araldi not only made their careers within the Church and the state simultaneously, they saw no conflict of interest between their loyalty to the sovereign, and their apparently sincere religious faith. A certain amount of

f ective, but the modern principle that the state was responsible for the material welfare of its citizens had not yet been established." Fairchilds, Poverty and Charity, ix. The role of confraternities and lay associations in Modena has not yet been studied, but see Pullan (op cit), Rosa (op cit), and Bronislaw Geremek, La pietà e la forca: Storia della miseria e della carità in Europa (Bari: Laterza, 1986). See also Ivo Biagenti, "Povertà e assistenza durante l'Ancien Regime: La fraternità dei laici di Arezzo nelle riforme Leopoldine" in Cultura e Società nel settecento toscano: Arezzo e la fraternità dei laici (Firenze: Olschki, 1986), pp. 85-174.
this must of course be attributed to the normal compromises of career-building. Nevertheless there was clearly a considerable degree of cooperation and mutual interest. The broad social, economic, and often even political, goals of the State and at least the lower clergy tended to be much the same. And because of the overlap in personnel, from chief ministers who were clerics to the parish priests who administered the welfare systems, their programs and policies were often indistinguishable.

At the same time, dealing with poverty inevitably became the subject of a power struggle. This was the single largest, most permanent, and least soluble problem faced by any state. And because it was so large and ever-present a problem, it touched almost everyone in some way or another. It also involved more property, more authority, and more patronage than almost any other issue. To that we must add the fact that the poor loomed large in the self-definition of the Christian state. Christian social doctrine centered around the treatment of the poor, and no matter how pearl-encrusted the Neapolitan baroque mangers or how gilded the churches, the poor were (to continue the metaphor) the perpetual grain of sand in the oyster, the irritant around which the most elaborate and sometimes grotesque social solutions were to be shaped.

The issue of poverty thus involved a struggle for power, a rich source of patronage in a society where
patronage was a key institution, and an element in social status. It also touched the deepest religious and cultural convictions. It is hardly surprising then that the two great institutions of Church and state would struggle for control in this issue.

Poor relief was the major business of society, and sent out tendrils into every area of life. A third to a half of the people in an Old Regime state like Modena were either poor, or so close to being poor that their work was all they had to sell, and any inability to work, any crisis at all was enough to imperil their very survival.39

Pastore Alessandro, writing about the welfare institutions of the Counter-Reform era, notes the 1541 consolidation of the poor relief institutions in Modena and sees it as typical of the ongoing struggle to take control of such bodies away from the Church and to exclude artisans and persons of low condition in favor of "qualified citizens of better judgment and reputation."40 This occurred with the creation of the Sant' Unione in 1541 when the Este

39Cissy Fairchilds, op cit, using Pierre Gutton's figures from La Societe et les pauvres, suggests that as many as a half of the people of Old Regime France were poor. Lodovico Ricci, writing in the 1780s, decided that a third of the people of Modena were so poor as to require public assistance (La Riforma degli Istituti Pii).

consolidated a number of small hospitals run by confraternities or dedicated to a variety of diseases or problems in the then-provincial center of Modena. The consolidation was not an attempt to deny the corporate nature of charity; it was merely an attempt to consolidate and control its administration. Nevertheless, Hospitals dedicated to caring for victims of plague and venereal disease, along with those devoted to beggars, pilgrims, prostitutes, and unmarried mothers were brought together into one Hospital of the Holy Union, and financed (as the consolidated opere two centuries later would be) by the goods and bequests belonging to the suppressed opere pie, while the buildings and property of the older charities were rented or sold. The Hospital of the Sant'Unione cared for abandoned children, the poor, pilgrims and strangers, and provided more general help to the unfortunate in times of war and famine.41

According to Fairchilds, in France the wave of post-Trent piety was dying out by the eighteenth century, and the citizens took over from the Church and the state by funding and operating small private charities ... charities which created a strong personal bond between the rich and the less fortunate and helped forge a sense of common citizenship. In Aix en Provence, this came under attack and collapsed in the face of centralization in the 1760s (the same period when

41See Evaristo Gatti, l'Ospedale di Modena e la sua parrocchia (Parma: n.p., 1928).
the Este were consolidating and centralizing charity in the Opera Pia Generale, leaving the charity system in shambles and the social order disrupted. This development is less clear in Modena where the small private charities of an earlier period had been largely replaced by consolidated institutions well before the parallel push for centralization became irresistible in the 1760s.

By the 1780s, Ricci valued the holdings of the Opera Pia Generale at "one sixth of the contada of Modena."42 Carlo Poni cites Ricci and his own research to indicate that within a very few years of its creation in 1764, the Opera Pia Generale had accumulated "colossal holdings" and was a major economic factor in the state.43 The Opera Pia Generale absorbed the property of at least twenty-eight convents and monasteries. No general accounting has been made of the total holdings and values of these properties, but the 1783 suppression of nine convents alone brought the Opera Pia well over 5,000 biolche (about 1,330 acres) of land.

Clearly, the question of what should be done about the poor had profound and widespread implications. The temptation has been to see it as a purely economic or as a purely

42Ricci, pp. 15-16.

social question. This is, however, clearly misleading.

"Pietas" and the Opere Pie

In his introduction to The Great Cat Massacre, Robert Darnton observed, "When we cannot get a proverb, or a joke, or a ritual, we know we are on to something." In the same way, when a body of data refuses to jell, we might suspect that there is an important connecting concept to be discovered. In this case, the data on social welfare in eighteenth-century Modena appeared to involve the poor only marginally. Tangled up with what looked like perfectly reasonable, modern, economic-oriented efforts to provide the poor with food, clothing and shelter and to create jobs and train workers was another set of policies, policies more directed towards moral, religious, and social ends: maintaining the hierarchical relationships, creating and shoring up family groups, saving souls. While the complex of charitable institutions (the opere pie) seemed to be a form of poor relief, in fact that was not their sole, or perhaps even their primary, function. What must be understood before we can "get the point" of Modenese social welfare is the fact that in Modena charity was seen, not in utilitarian or even humanitarian terms, but rather in terms of piety. In eighteenth-century Modena functions which we separate

into religious worship, care for the poor, public health, education or social planning were all seen as part of a single entity, under the umbrella concept of pious works, or opere pie.

In part the problem is linguistic, or semantic. To translate is proverbially to betray; a culture is inextricably imbedded in its language, and vice versa. It is often fruitful to examine the histories of words in order to understand the complex of meanings which they carry. Pietas, opera pia, carità, beneficenza and assistenza are all words which carry their own very specific baggage with them, and it would be misleading to attempt to discuss Modenese society and social welfare without examining them.

Pietas may be defined as the dutiful respect of an individual for those institutions such as family, faith and community within which he carries on his existence. It is rooted in and epitomized by the cult of the family in Ancient Rome. There, the individual recognized that he was a subordinate part of a greater whole, and it was this subordination in the service of the whole which characterized his devotion to the prosperity, continuity and above all to the honor of his line. It was a natural progression that this family feeling should transfer itself to the more general, public gods of Rome, and thence to the state, the object of these civic cults. The foundation of civic piety was the recognition that the community, like the family, has
a persona which shapes its members and is greater than the sum of them as individuals. The Christian God and the Christian state were the natural heirs of the familial, religious and civic piety of Rome.

*Opera pia* (the singular), like so many Italian terms, has no precise English equivalent: the direct translation, "pious work", carries few of the complex range of connotations which defined the words in their Old Regime context (no more than the literal translation of *opera lirica*, "lyric or musical work", carries the connotations of what in English we call grand opera). The concept of the *opera pia* included bodies dedicated to such diverse ends as perpetual Masses for souls in purgatory, dowries for poor girls, scholarships, distribution of bread and alms, and public institutions such as orphanages, poor houses and hospitals.

*Carità* can be rendered as charity, but to do so would be to fall into the trap which has eviscerated the word in English, that is to cut out the concept of Christian love which is the root meaning. This meaning is retained far more in Italian, where *carità* carries the idea of benevolence, love or pity. *Beneficenza*, another common term for the group of ideas with which we are dealing, is clearly similar to the French *bienfaisance*, "the doing of good". Of the commonly used terms, perhaps only *assistenza*, assistance or help, seems to carry its literal meaning into English.

Pious works might be thought of as those works which
benefit the soul. If Masses directly benefited the souls of the donors (and the theological points of this popular belief will be examined in Chapter IV, below), help for less fortunate was no less sure a path to heaven -- so we find testamentary bequests including the proviso (stated or assumed) that the recipients of charity should pray for their benefactors.

Certainly by the middle of the eighteenth century the Modenese leading classes no longer saw their actions exclusively in religious terms (if, indeed, any leading class had ever done so). By the time we reach the Ricci reforms of the 1780s we will find that the rationale behind social welfare has moved away from the twin foundations of piety and patronage, towards a more purely economic and rationalistic philosophy. Nevertheless the whole self-definition of the culture was so tied up in religious concepts that the term *opera pia* continued to be used for pretty much the same range of phenomena as before. When in 1764 the relentlessly modern and reform-minded Duke Francesco III pulled all of the social welfare institutions of the state under one umbrella institution, he gave it the name of the Opera Pia Generale -- the universal, or public, pious work.

If we think of social welfare as a pious work, it is fairly obvious that both prayer and help for the helpless -- the poor, the orphaned, the sick -- would come under its
provenance. But there is another type of social welfare activity in an Old Regime state such as Modena that is less easy to explain but which nonetheless was considered an opera pia. This might be most clearly seen in the many dowry funds (though these were clearly pious works intended to save girls from prostitution, they served another purpose as well). It is also apparent in the casa di correzione, or house of correction, a very specific sort of prison intended for social nonconformists who were not (or at least not yet) members of the criminal class. These two institutions and others show that the opere pia were meant to reinforce and protect the hierarchy which defined the whole of society. And this was done, as it has classically been done in Mediterranean societies, by means of a complex net of client-patron relationships.

A study of the social welfare institutions of the city of Modena in the eighteenth century cannot confine itself to a study of the poor or even a study of the relationship between the poor and the rest of society. It must extend to those other groups and activities which were what a Modenese meant when he used the term opera pia.

For contemporaries the poor were an integral part of something else, and that something else was religious and moral in nature and involved not a special segment but the whole of society. On the one hand, the poor were a part of the body of the community, and as such their health was
essential to the general health of the body. On the other, they were part of the family headed by the Duke, and in this role they had a call upon his paternal (and thus by its nature centralizing) care.

This dual concept of the nature of the relationship between the poor and the rest of society offers a clue about the steady simplification and centralization of responsibility for the care of the poor. The eighteenth century saw the end of a move away from the corporations — guild, religious order, confraternity — who did the job when the community was understood as a body, and towards the central state personified as the Duke and his agents — that is, the father. We may then speak of a shift in piety, away from the religious and the civic, and towards the familial.

Body versus Family Images of Society

It is difficult to characterize reform in Modena without coming to terms with two fundamentally conflicting views of the state which coexisted there during the eighteenth century. In one, which we might call the sacramental view, the community was seen as a body, in much the same way that the Church was seen as the body of Christ. This view had its greatest currency during the late medieval period and the renaissance, but with the typical tenacity of fundamental concepts, it had by no means dissipated by the eighteenth century. This was the view of the state
characterized by corporations (literally, expressions of bodies), and it was within those corporations — the guilds, the communal governing bodies, the various religious associations — that it held on the longest. In this view of the state help for the poor was justified as good for the general health of the body. It was the view we might expect to find underlying the actions of the Counsellors of the Comunità.

The second view was both older, in that it had Roman as well as Germanic roots, and newer, in that it was characteristic of a certain type of Enlightenment thought. In this view the state was seen less as a body than as a family. By the middle of the eighteenth century this was the view current in Modena. It was an Enlightened as opposed to an Absolutist concept, and its local origins may be found in Muratorì, particularly in his last work in which he summed up his political and social philosophy in terms of the Good Prince, the father of his people.43 Under the family concept, help for the poor was justified with moral arguments related to the duty of a good father to his children. But at the same time, the other duties of a father — fostering economic progress and ensuring that society functioned efficiently and fairly — were quite liable to come into conflict with his duties to the poor. Paternalism introduced a

43 Muratorì, Della pubblica felicità.
rationalistic element which would become dominant when paternalism in its turn gave way to the deification of the state as the expression of the (generally male, property-owning) people.

During the eighteenth century the tension between these two concepts can be seen working itself out in the uneven struggles between the Duke on one side, and the university, the guilds and the city fathers on the other. By the third quarter of the century, the political aspects of the struggle had been resolved in favor of the Duke, and the Araldi, as tireless ducal partisans, reaped the benefits of that victory.

The Family

A further point must be noted with regard to Modenese, and indeed Italian, reform, and this is the almost schizophrenic split between the legalistic framework of institutions, and the reality of their operation. Italian institutions have historically functioned less to accomplish their stated aim than to maintain the general coherence and stability of society. In eighteenth-century Modena, coherence and stability were found primarily in the family, and in institutions patterned on the family. It therefore follows that the institutions and legal structures of enlightened reform in Modena were effective less as a vehicle for changing society than as a frame on which to
hang a network of family-related jobs and connections. There is no need to posit any particular cynicism on the part of the Modenese (or Italian) government. It is merely important to note that any attempt at administration could only function insofar as it maintained a continuity with the traditional ways of doing things. That continuity was typically ensured in terms of family connections.

It is entirely appropriate that this study centers around a family — the fundamental social building block — and that this family's leading members at mid-century were a priest and courtier (whose work involved the religious and the patronage related aspects of welfare) and a physician (who was involved in public health, the quintessential Modenese pious work).

It is hardly necessary to stress the concept that the family was the fundamental economic, social, educational, legal and religious unit of pre-industrial society.46 The family was central to the survival and success of the individual and the state in pre-unification Italy. For this reason, the political and social developments of the age of reform did not take place in a vacuum or in a sanitized theoretical atmosphere of court and comunità, but rather in the context of family groups, in the widest as well as the most narrow definitions of this term. Reform provided


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families with opportunities for making and undermining careers. At the same time family politics and career-making shaped the implementation if not the conceptualization of reform.

In the period under consideration, the political nation (roughly ten percent of the population) was clearly organized into families and these families (such as the Araldi, the subjects of this enquiry) tended to spread their participation in government so as to cover as many options as possible. Thus for example a successful family might contain a priest, a physician and a businessman. They would be careful to have brothers on as many sides as possible in any conflict, so that in the 1740s we will see one Araldi brother identified with the Inquisition and another with the Freemasons, while in the 1790s one will be a partisan of the clerical party while another is a leader in the revolutionary party.

In order to accomplish this aim of multiple representation, they formed complex networks of more or less distant relations, inlaws, and persons connected to the family by ties of patronage or of friendship, often formalized as godparentage. Their purpose in this activity was at least two-fold. First, they aimed at survival and, if possible, prosperity. The second purpose had to do with honor, a measurable commodity which at least in part was gained by participating in the work of the world at an appropriate
level. Lodovico Ricci, writing in the 1780s, held that public office holders should be encouraged by public honors, "since honors are the secret of making this class of men useful." The social position of an individual or a family was defined by a number of factors, not least of which was that of obligation: obligations to family; obligations as friends, clients, and patrons; obligations to the ruler, to the comunità, and to fellow members of any of a dozen corporations; obligations to the ideals which defined the culture. In order to fulfill his role in a way satisfactory to both himself and his peers, a member of the power structure in eighteenth-century Modena had to participate in certain public duties, and above all in works of charity.

Family honor was particularly important because the family, much more than the individual, was the unit of social mobility. In a society where stability retained at least as high a value as innovation (or reform), social mobility was a delicate issue, and a surprising proportion of the social welfare system went to ease these transitions. This will be clearly seen in the question of the vergognosi, the shame-faced poor, families which were sinking in contrast to families, such as the Araldi, which were on the rise.48

47Ricci, Maxim 12, p. 211.

48The Elizabethan term "shame-faced poor" is a good translation of the Italian vergognoso, or ashamed. The charter of the Compagnia di San Paolo of Turin in 1637
In the chapters which follow we will examine the question of how the Araldi, a family newly arrived in the duchy of Modena, managed to rise to the highest circles of ducal administration, and how at the same time they dealt with threats and opportunities presented by the comunità. We will also examine the structure and character of this family; the sides they chose, and how they went about choosing them; what they won and what they lost, and how they consolidated their position or cut their losses in crises such as 1699, 1768, and 1796.

The Araldi were upwardly mobile, ambitious and capable, a hard-working and tenacious group, fiercely loyal to their allies and ever ready to go into battle against those who threatened or offended them. They began as a classically constituted northern Italian merchant family, and their original power base in Modena lay in the Merchants' Guild. However, within a generation they had moved away from this commercial identity towards a series of careers in the Church and in the professions (most notably in medicine), drawing on the court and the intelligentsia for support and

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described the poveri vergognosi as "those who, either noble, because of the decadence of their families, or rich, because of some disaster have become poor." ("... quali, o essendo nobili, per il dicadimento delle Famiglie, o essendo ricchi, per alcun disastroso accidente, impoverivano.") In Ospizio di Carità di Torino e ordinamenti negli Stati Sardi per prevenire e soccorrere l'indigenza, (Torino: n.d., 1657), pp. 113-129, cited in La Storia dei Poveri: pauperismo e assistenza nell'età moderna, Alberto Monticone, ed. (Rome: Editore Studium, 1985), p. 184.
friendship rather than on the urban patriciate of the capital city. Because the Araldi of the second and third Modenese generations were characteristically churchmen, physicians and accountants, they were particularly associated with the opere pie, those institutions for pious works which in Modena included such diverse functions as aid to the shamefaced poor and to the sick and the abandoned; the distribution of alms by members of the court; the grandiose ducal projects of the Great Hospital and the Poor House; and the administration (and confiscation) of Church property and income.

In asking how the Araldi managed to insert themselves into the system in positions of influence so as to ensure the continuation and the honor of their family, we immediately arrive at the issue of friendship, influence and personal relations: the issue of patronage.

Patrons and Friends

The term we translate as "patronage" has several quite revealing Italian counterparts.49 One is patroncinio, which

carries implications of protection, defense and support as well as patronage. Another, related, term is patronato which can mean both patronage, and a charitable institution. A third is clientela, used to describe patronage, clientele (in the commercial sense), and a practice (in the medical or professional sense), so that one can have a clientela (as in a medical practice), or make a clientela (farsi una clientela) that is, form a (useful) connection.

Closely related is the term amicizia, which is literally translated "friendship" but which can carry implications of social and political alliances.

Together these terms describe a subtle, complex network of social relationships by means of which business of all sorts is carried out in a grey area between the personal and the public. The two aspects differ primarily in that clientela is fundamentally a relationship between persons who are not social equals (that is, they would not be expected to intermarry) while amicizia describes an alliance between at least potential equals.

Patronage, on its simplest level, can be understood as an institution whereby a superior (the patron, or padrone) extends his protection — in the broadest sense of the term — to an inferior (client, or avvocato), for their mutual

benefit. In practice the social gap between patron and client could be either wide or narrow. To borrow examples from the transcendent (which in a sense formed the pattern for Mediterranean social relationships), the gap could be enormous, as between God, the supreme patron, and everything in creation; or it could be minimal, as between an earthly benefactor who offered prayers for a soul in purgatory and hoped in his turn to receive the prayers of those he had thus helped towards heaven. The key to the relationship is the expected mutual benefit, so that God was seen as somehow benefitting from the praise and obedience of his creation (a theologically shaky proposition but one generally believed), while a person offering prayers for a soul in purgatory expected to gain an advocate when the soul went on to heaven and the benefactor himself died and was in need of assistance.

The clearest antecedents of this system are in ancient Rome, where its overtones were strongly political, but it also shares an essential similarity with the system of lord and vassal idealized in the feudal relationship. Like the lord-vassal tie, it was a means of organizing all human relationships. In a society such as Old Regime Modena, institutional and personal patron-client relationships interpenetrated and mirrored one another at every level and in every aspect of life and of government. We will see this at work in Chapter VI in the Opera Pia Coltri, where the
distribution of alms and dowries was set within an institution whose very existence was defined by patronage at all levels, from God to the poveri infermi who received alms.

Indeed, the system of patronage has, openly or covertly, characterized almost all economic, social, political and even intellectual and spiritual relationships in the Mediterranean world. Sexual relationships -- at least regular and licit ones -- also tended to be worked out within this system. Women were always in a patron-client position (most usually with males from their own biological or surrogate families). But so was everyone else. In the universities, a professor collected his group of clients, students and lesser professors, who raised the status and authority of their "barone" while he advanced and protected them. The same held true in the professions, as the experience of Gaetano and Michele Araldi will graphically demonstrate. The Church taken as a profession fits this pattern. There a patron might be a bishop or abbot, or a connection at court, or an outstandingly talented or saintly man such as Muratori. The system, by the very flexibility which made it an ideal social tool, worked up and down the ladder. From the Pope to the parish priest, and on down below the religious to peripheral figures such as factors, servants, and those involved in Christian Doctrine classes -- all and each had both a padrone and a bit of patronage to distribute on his or her own account.
As a truly universal system, patronage extended far beyond materialistic self-interest to provide an analog of the transcendent. The concept of a contractual relationship with God did not die out with the Roman do et dus vision of religious truth; despite the best efforts of theologians popular faith clearly held that Masses and sacrifices could be accumulated, like favors to a padrone, to the benefit of the client. (See Chapter III, below.) Similarly the institution of the patron saint (in Italian, patrone or patrona) obviously shared a great deal more than mere terminology with secular patronage. And in a typically parallel function, the secular patron was expected to assume the position taken by the patron saint -- or the Roman household god. So on one hand the padrone was the head of a surrogate family whose role it was to provide protection and material benefits, and to bind together his adherents in a common cause; on the other hand, he acted as a type of the patron saint, providing moral justification and emotional security.

The network which we have been describing is one which reformers have attempted to short-circuit by means of civil service examinations and by laws and guidelines on hiring practices. But this is the way society worked, and to large degree continues to work. Insofar as it was flexible and

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made room for talented newcomers such as the Araldi, it was arguably a reasonably efficient system. Perhaps the "permeability" of Old Regime society should be sought here, in the ability of aspirants to gain access to the patron-client network.

By extending up and down the scale to provide appoggia-turi -- those upon whom one can lean -- at every level of settled society, this set of personal relationships acted to create the coherence and legitimacy which every social institution must have to survive. How well or how badly the system functioned must be the subject of a good deal more research, but the fact that this was a vital aspect of how society was put together cannot be denied. And surely, of all western societies, Italy must be the most fertile and potentially revealing area for study, since in Italy we find that archaic social forms coexist with an advanced urban society in which a wealth of written records are produced.

In a society arranged (as eighteenth-century Modena was) in a frankly hierarchical system, with each member filling a mutually-recognized niche, the system of patronage and friendship was an obvious way of organizing relationships. By means of these strong but flexible tools, each person from the Duke to the gatekeeper at the Poor House could assemble a set of persons upon whom he could depend and who could in turn depend upon him. Favors were done, money was loaned, jobs were distributed, weight was shifted
in arguments great and small — and all not as a matter of accident or whim but rather built upon a structured and more or less predictable system.

The world of the Araldi was this world, where matters of state and matters of family and friendship more than overlapped, they became identical. It was a world where the ideas of the Christian Enlightenment, crystallized in the thoughts of Lodovico Antonio Muratori, determined their attitudes towards the pious works of helping the poor, but where their careers and their actions were shaped by far older traditions and by the dutiful pieties of family, Church, and community.
CHAPTER II

THE ARALDI, 1692-1796

This chapter will introduce and analyze the Araldi family, an ambitious merchant-banker family whose members arrived in Modena in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The Araldi rose in Modenese society by fitting themselves into the existing network of patrons and clients, but they found their niche within the Church, the guilds and the court, not the urban patriciate. They took advantage of opportunities offered them through the Guild of Merchants and through their court connections. An intrinsic part of their career building involved them with traditional institutions devoted to helping the poor: Guild dowries, and distribution of grain through the Santo Monte della Farina.

Part I

Confrontation, 1699

Antonio Araldi, red-haired and ambitious, kept his shop in Modena at the corner where the Emilian Road crossed the little square called Delle Uova.\(^1\) Araldi, like most Italian merchant-bankers, dealt in whatever the market had to offer: now scarlet ribbons and silver braid, now bolts of silk, now candles, hardware and ironmongery. He bought and sold, imported and exported flour and grain. He had a carriage built for the Duke. He purchased bales of silk from the

\(^1\)"Square of the Eggs," so-called because it had once been the site of the poultry market.
Jewish manufacturers of Modena and sold them in the markets of Parma and Reggio.²

From the door of his shop Araldi could look through the archway to the cobbled piazza where the less established or less prosperous merchants sold their goods from carts or bancarelle (moveable stalls or benches) on fair days; beyond them lay the great apse of the seven hundred years' old Romanesque cathedral; and over them all rose the bell tower, the Ghirlandina, which, visible as it was for leagues across the flat plains, symbolized the city. Looking towards the left Araldi could not avoid seeing the clock tower and the offices of the Conservators, the city government. And one day in 1699 he would have seen the displeasing spectacle of the Good Commissioners (Giudici della Vittovaglia), the city officials in charge of regulating trade, bearing down on him.

Although he had lived in the city with his young family for at least a dozen years, Araldi had not been born a subject of the Duke of Modena, still less a citizen of the comunità. The family had come from Vocogna, a parish under the jurisdiction of Milan. From time to time his father, Giovanni Battista, took a hand in the Modenese branch of the business but the family base had remained in the north until Antonio Araldi took up his residence in the city of Modena²

²ASMO, Particolari 42, and BE gamma W 4,6 includes some of the business correspondence of Antonio Araldi and his partners and heirs.
in the 1680s. Because Antonio was not Modenese he had perforce imported as much of his own family as he could: a cousin, named Antonio Araldi like himself, was a partner in the business in 1694; by the end of the century a younger brother, Carlo Giuseppe, had joined them. Outside this circle of family, there were other allies, such as the Milanese merchants who lived and worked in the city of Modena and in the nearby cities of Parma, Piacenza and Bologna. He also formed connections with the great Modenese Jewish merchant families of Norsa and Sacerdotti, and silk mill owners like Abramo Sanguinetti and Moise Rovighi. And from the start there are hints of alliances formed in the court and with the Church, alliances which would provide the Araldi and their sons with the opportunities for advancement throughout the coming century.

In a time and place where roots went deep, and a man's only real refuge lay in his family and in the network of patronage and clientage which his family wove around him.

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3BE, gamma W 4.6 includes letters which indicate that the elder Araldi was present in the Modenese state in 1689, but as late as 1694 Antonio's wife was in Vocogna, which he referred to as his home parish in the will he made in that year. ASMO, Archivio Notarile 4422 (Manini), testament of Antonio Araldi, 18 October 1694.

4ASCM, Camera Segreta, Lucchi IV.IV.6, Arte de' Merciai.

5ASMO. Archivio Notarile #5123 (Alessandri) includes a number of contracts between Antonio Araldi and later his brother Giovanni Antonio, and Jewish merchants of Modena, notably Norsa and Sacerdotti. Doc. # 366 (27 May 1762) is a contract in which Giovanni Antonio Araldi and Emanuele Norsa agree to act as executors for the estate of Aaron Sanguinetti.
Antonio Araldi had arrived in Modena as a vulnerable man in need of allies. He had not found them in the city government. Instead he had looked to the Guild of Merchants (Arte de' Merciai), many of them of foreign origin like himself; to supranational bodies such as the Jews and the Church; and above all to the reigning House of Este, represented since 1695 by Rinaldo I, Duke of Modena and Reggio. And he had done well. In 1699, seven years after being accepted as a member, he held the office of massaro, head of the Guild. This was a job rotated by lot but subject to the nomination of the leading members, and therefore a great honor and a post of some authority. When the Goods Commissioners stopped at the door of his shop and insisted on their right to inspect, it must have been obvious that Araldi would soon need every ally he had.

The Commissioners entered the shop and began to search for infractions of any of the multitude of city regulations. Araldi, as head of his Guild, protested that their statutes, confirmed by the Duke, clearly stated that no such inspection should take place unless the Committee were accompanied by an authorized representative of the Guild. The Araldi were a testy family, jealous of their dignity and honor and never ones to avoid a confrontation: we may be sure that Antonio's protests were clear and forceful. The Commissioners, however, continued with their search. If the shelves and counters yielded nothing, there were always the
storage areas. There, among the boxes left in Araldi's care by a foreign merchant, they found what they wanted: two balances, without the official seal making them legal for use in the comunità of Modena. It must have been with triumph that they turned to the irate shop owner and imposed their stunning fine: £125.6

The account later presented to the Duke does not describe Araldi's reaction. In it the merchant confines himself to protesting two points: that the scales were obviously not his and not intended for use in the city, and that the maximum customary fine, even had the accusation been valid, should have been only £25. Nevertheless before the day was out Araldi had been bodily removed from his shop and hauled the short distance to the city prisons, where he was turned over to the authority of the Podestà until he should see fit to pay his fine.

But the resolution of the question was not to be so simple. Not only had Araldi been affronted in his dignity as a merchant, but the Guild itself had been challenged. There was surely never any question of the five-times inflated fine being paid. The only recourse was an appeal to the Duke.

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6The account of these events is taken from two documents in ASMO, Particolari 42: Araldi's protest to the Duke, and a petition from the Merchants' Guild regarding the outrage perpetrated upon their head.
Like most cities of the time, the comunità of Modena was made up of corporations: guilds, confraternities, parishes, religious orders, the dependents of noble houses, and the like. The city functioned as an amalgamation of these overlapping and related bodies, and in order for it to work each group had to be sure of its appropriate role and recognition. But Modena was not simply a minor northern Italian merchant city, if in fact we can call it a merchant city at all; it was also the capital city of the Este domains. The arrival of the Este had meant the beginning of a struggle for power between comunità and court, a struggle which the comunità would gradually but inexorably lose. It is difficult to see this confrontation between the foreign-born head of the Merchants' Guild and the Goods Commissioners (a committee appointed by the city Conservators) as other than an aspect of that struggle. If it did not begin so it certainly ended that way when Araldi and the Guild appealed to the Duke.

We do not have the Duke's ruling settling the matter, but what we do have suggests that Araldi and the Guild triumphed. Araldi continued to run his increasingly

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Here the term "comunità" is not being used to denote the formal representative body of the city (the Conservators of the Commune), but in the broader, lower-case sense of the set of social and civic arrangements within which the population related to one another.

See Gundesheimer, op cit, for the character and ruling techniques of the Este.
profitable shop and the following year found him once again a Guild official. More important, the family continued to forge connections with the court which within a generation would raise them from the rank of alien merchants to ducal functionaries just below the level of the nobility.⁹

The incident introduces a number of themes which will be important in the life of this family. Here we meet Antonio Araldi at thirty-seven, successful in his profession and ultimately successful in creating a structure of allies and patrons to protect and advance him and his family. Here we can see the Araldi character in its early days: dogged, pugnacious, and incapable of yielding before a threat. Above all, we see Araldi in the context which will allow him to survive and prosper: calling on allies who are merchants like himself, and when challenged by the city, calling on the overriding authority of the royal court.

Origins

The Araldi had come to Modena from Vocogna, a parish west of Milan in the diocese of Novarra, some time in the middle of the 1680s. This was generally speaking a time of

⁹At least two notarized documents in the course of the eighteenth century refer to a family member as "nobile Modenesi" but they never held a title and were never entered in the Libro d'Oro (ACM, Lucchi, Camera Segreta) of the city. The great bulk of documentation simply gives them the status of citizen.
peace and prosperity in Habsburg Lombardy after the Treaty of the Pyrenees had put an end to the wars between Spain and France in 1659. Although the general economic improvement was not widely visible in the cities, it has been cogently argued that industry and commerce flourished in the countryside.\(^\text{10}\) Few Araldi papers exist for the seventeenth century but it seems highly probable that they were among the "many merchant manufacturers with considerable financial means [and] commercial expertise" whose entrepreneurial talent had been honed in the traditional textile industries of Lombardy.\(^\text{11}\)

We don't know why the Araldi family decided to expand operations into the duchies of the central plains. Certainly it was well within the tradition of the time and place to send family members to establish branches of the business or to explore new markets. We do know that the family held debts owed by the king of France, which suggests that they were among the luckless Italian merchants who invested in French bonds which they never managed to redeem.\(^\text{12}\) We also know that they were general merchants, doing business at the


\(^{\text{11}}\)Sella, op cit, pp. 139-400.

\(^{\text{12}}\)These bonds figured in family testaments, along with other patrimonial property, until the end of the eighteenth century: "and to my brother I leave the French bonds, should they ever be collected." The Revolution, of course, put an end to such wistful speculation.
fairs around northern Italy and dealing in a wide variety of goods. And we know that they operated as a typical family firm: Antonio Araldi's cousin and younger brother were in business with him, and on at least one occasion we have record of Antonio's father Giovanni Battista dealing in goods around the Modenese town of Carpi. We know enough about their later career to characterize them as a hard-headed, hard working, ambitious Italian family of the middling sort, heirs to a long tradition of business acuity and family solidarity.

Although we know that Antonio Araldi was living in Modena with his family by 1687 and evidently had been dealing in the surrounding area for some time previous to that, he did not enter the Merchants' Guild until January of 1692 when he and a fellow northerner, Claudio Bonavia, petitioned for membership and were accepted.\textsuperscript{13} Guild membership would have given Araldi a status in his adopted community which no amount of commercial success could have provided — a status absolutely essential to the survival and prosperity of the family.

\textsuperscript{13}ASCM, Camera Segreta, Lucchi IV.IV.6, "Libro delle Sessioni dell'Arte, 1680-1758": "un memoriale a d.ta Claudio Bonavia e Antonio Araldi mercante qui in Modena che fanno instanza d'esser ammetto nell'Arte." The Merchant's Guild, or Arte de' Merciai, was one of nineteen guilds in Modena in the seventeenth century. It was joined to the Silk-worker's Guild in 1758 and both were abolished at the end of the century with the arrival of the Revolution.
By 1696 Antonio Araldi was one of the inner circle of Guild members. His very admission made him one of the twenty or so Modenese merchants who attended the sessions, from among the seventy-four shop-keeping families in the city in 1692. From 1696 on he held Guild offices, selected in an ingenious procedure which skillfully allowed both God and man a voice in deciding who would head the Guild.

Election, in accord with medieval tradition, was by lot from among the membership. However an electoral committee (the Mezzori del' Ecconomi) stood between Guild leadership and the unfettered random action of the Divinity. First, the committee retired to "reflect, consider and diligently examine the qualities, usefulness, social state, reputation and prosperity (dabbenaggine)" of the members, and on this basis they selected five sets, or mute, of potential officers. One of these sets, made up of three officers

14ASMO, Archivio per Materie, Arte de' Merciai, contains a survey of Modenese merchants made in 1692. In this survey the shop owned by Antonio Araldi "and associates" is valued as the eighth-richest in the city, with debiti of £7,000, while Araldi's friend and sponsor for guild membership, Claudio Bonavia, is among the three leading merchants of the city with debiti of £20,000.

15The election procedure is described in Lucchi IV.IV.6, in the session of 3 February 1700.

16The term muta is derived from the verb mutare, to change or mutate, and has connotations of changing (as in changing the guard) or of going turn and turn around or taking turns.
called the massaro, the sottomassaro and the sindaco, was then selected by lot to serve. As there were five mute of three men each, the system seems to have been designed to include all or most of the active membership (usually a group of about twenty). In practice, however, the same names often appeared in two or more mute, so that the pool of potential office holders was perhaps a third of the active membership. The fifty or so merchants who were not active members were, of course, excluded. From 1696 until shortly before his death in 1725, Antonio regularly appeared among the mute, both proposed and serving.

For the Araldi as for the other guildsmen, membership was a family affair. In 1702 Antonio introduced his younger brother Carlo Giuseppe, then only 23 but already married and the father of two children, and ready to assume his role as an adult male. By 1706 Carlo Giuseppe held office in his own right and by the time of Antonio's death in 1725 Carlo seems to have taken over his elder brother's role both in the business and in the Guild, while at the same time expanding his activities into another power base, the Church. He held a patent from the Inquisition, and served as the treasurer for the Opera Pia Coltri, an important endowment belonging to the Theatine order.17 Although they would soon expand

17 ASMO, Inquisizione 280, Patenti 1700-1787, and BE, Epsilon 24.2.2, an untitled ledger which was in fact an account book for the Opera Pia Coltri. See below, Chapter VII, as well as the discussion of the Opera Pia Coltri in chapter VI of this dissertation.
into other areas and find other means to rise in the world, it was Guild membership which first allowed the Araldi to assume a secure and respected position within the highly structured social world of the comunità of Modena. From the security of this position they could reach towards the court and the Church, the twin powers they would use as the base of their family fortunes.

It was as Guild officials that the Araldi first became involved with attempts to deal with the overwhelming and essentially insoluble problem of the poor. Because this was a corporate society, the methods of dealing with the problem were corporate, as each body dealt primarily with its own poor. As a Guild official Araldi's chief concern would have been with those among the poor who had Guild connections -- old or sick members fallen on hard times, or their dependents and survivors.

Charity within the Guild consisted primarily of two elements: dowries for "daughters of the Guild" and aid to indigent members. In 1696 there was an extensive discussion of the procedure to be followed for a dowry application from "a true daughter of the Guild, that is a girl who was born after her father became a member." When such a girl was on the point of marrying, she was to make a petition (memoriale) in writing to the Masaro, who would present it
to the membership for approval of a dowry of £100. If there were more than one request for dowry, then each girl would receive £50. In no case would more than two dowries be given in any one year. If, on the other hand, no dowries were requested, then the Masaro was empowered to spend £50 on bread, to be distributed equally among the Guild members, with the other £50 to be set aside. Once £500 had been accumulated the three officers were to invest it, either in land or houses, or in a censo, in a manner approved by the membership.

One of the primary functions of any guild, especially in the eighteenth century when guild ability to control prices and competition was being steadily eroded, was to aid members who had become indigent or victims of misfortune. The records of the Merchants' Guild include many such cases, often with the counter-signatures of either Antonio or Carlo Giuseppe Araldi.

18ASCN, Camera Segreta. Lucchi IV.IV.9, "Arte de' Merciai." The amount of £100 seems to have been hallowed by tradition since at least the fifteenth century.

19A censo was a public or private interest-drawing bond. This form of investment is discussed below in connection with Araldi family property.

20In terms of mutual aid restricted to fellow members, the Merchants' Guild, like other guilds of this period, functioned much like the eighteenth-century confraternities studied by Massimo Ganci in "Appunti Preliminari ad una ricerca sulla funzione di mutuo soccorso delle confraternite nella sicilia occidentale del secolo XVIII," in Timore e Carita: I Poveri nell'Italia moderna, edited by Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa and Franco della Peruta. (Cremona: Biblioteca Statale di Cremona, 1982).
Orazio Rubbini wrote that he needed help because he had three sick children, and had sustained a disastrous fire in his home. On the reverse side of his petition it is noted that "Araldi" had seen it, and that it had been decided to give Rubbini £36 "per carita".

Geminiano Cavazzuti, describing himself as a "uomo vecchio dell'arte" who has for several years been blind and unable to rise from his bed, asked for £100, stating that he does not know where else to look for help. On the reverse there is the notation that Araldi (in this case, Carlo Giuseppe) gave him the money, along with a statement from Cavazzuti, witnessed by a priest, that he received it.

Charity was not, however, entirely confined to one's own group since the Guild, like any corporation, existed within the wider context of the comunità of which it was a component part. Thus Guild membership did far more than simply connect Araldi with his colleagues and thereby create an extended corporate family; it also secured him a position within the wider community. An example of this can be seen in the relationship between the Guild and the Santo Monte della Farina.21

Each year at twilight on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, the day on which the Gospel recalled the multiplication of the loaves and the fishes, a solemn procession would set out from the Duomo. At the head walked the Duke's representative 21See Glossary.
and the chief ducal ministers, followed by the Bishop and
the parish clergy and representatives and inmates from the
city's major charitable institutions; the procession ended
with the lay confraternities and guilds. The group made
their around the cathedral and through the Piazza Grande to
the portico beneath the Civic Palace, between the clock
tower and the great staircase, where the Presidents of the
Monte were seated at tapestry-draped tables. There, under
a portrait of the founder, they accepted the offerings of
the pious which would support the opera for another year.

The Monte della Farina had been founded in the first
years of the sixteenth century at the urging of one of the
charismatic itinerant preachers of the time, the Dominican
Fra Girolamo of Verona. The city guilds, in response to
Girolamo's call for repentance and good works, joined with
the parish priests of the city to create a charity whose aim
was to provide a steady source of low-priced flour for the
poor. The Monte was administered by a group of Presidents

\[\text{BE, gamma S. 7.2, Anonimo, "Cronaca di Modena," entry}
\text{for 3 March 1747 describes the ceremonies for that year.}
\text{Because of the occupation of the city by the Austro-}
\text{Sardinians, the representatives of the Duke did not}
\text{participate.}

\[\text{Charities and public bodies in Modena were}
\text{traditionally headed by a rotating body of presidenti-}
\text{amministratori, or presiding administrators, a term I have}
\text{translated as Presidents. These men could be appointed or}
\text{chosen in a number of different ways, depending on the}
\text{charter of the group, but the post was regarded as an honor}
\text{and generally involved a considerable investment of time and}
\text{energy.} \]
who were drawn from among the guildsmen and merchants of the city, along with the Prior of the Dominicans and one of the city parish priests. These officials operated under municipal patronage, meeting in a hall in the Civic Palace and reporting annually to the Conservators, and they had the approval and assistance of the Dukes, who regularly exempted Monte flour from taxation. Modenese historians have called this the most useful and the largest of the seventeenth-century opere pie dedicated to helping the poor of the city. Its statutes were regularly reissued, in 1598, in 1621, in 1682 and in 1700. It remained under guild administration until 1737 when, in an early example of rationalizing reform in Modena, it was brought under the control of the city's Foodstuffs Committee (the Congregazione dell'Anona or Abbondanza).24

In the days when Antonio and Carlo Araldi were serving as leaders of the Merchants' Guild, however, the Monte was an important element in both guild and city life. In January and December of 1699, when Antonio Araldi was massaro, regular meetings of the Guild were held in the meeting rooms of the Santo Monte rather than in the usual Guild offices. This suggests that Araldi probably served as one of the Presidents of the Monte. In those periods, Araldi would have been brought into direct and publically

evident association with the important ceremonial and Christian activity of helping the poor. Despite the traditional dichotomy in views of the poor, helping the helpless was still among the most laudable and beneficial of Christian social duties, and Araldi's participation in it would have gone a long way towards legitimizing his position in his adopted city.

Citizenship in a city such as Modena was more than just complex legal arrangement. Antonio Araldi might have been a respected merchant but without integrating forces such as his Guild position, his status within the comunità would have been tenuous indeed. Even with such reinforcement he and his family remained in some sense aliens for at least two generations. When half a century after Antonio's arrival, his nephew Gaetano was appointed professor of medicine at the University, the party which opposed him did so on the pretext that his parents and grandparents had not been born in Modena. This degree of isolation would continue to characterize the family. Traditional law allowed the Araldi to assume the rights and responsibilities of citizenship after ten years' residence in the city, since none of them had engaged in mechanical arts nor followed a dishonorable profession. Modenese marriages, investments and sepulchers would bind them to the city. But they would be the Duke's men and men of the Church, not men of the
city, and their appointment to civic office would invariably come through royal and ecclesiastical, not civil, patronage.

The Family to 1796

The first half of the eighteenth century was a difficult time for Modena, as wars and economic hardships battered the Duchy, but Antonio and his younger brother prospered. Carlo Giuseppe expanded his association with the Church, based largely on the business skills which had helped create a place for the brothers within the community. By 1739 he was Treasurer of the Opera Pia Coltri, a Theatine charity discussed in Chapter VI below. A 1732 diagram showing pew assignment in the church of San Domenico (the Dominican church associated with the Holy Office) shows that pew number fourteen in the fifth row from the main altar belonged to "Sig. Carlo Giuseppe Araldi", indicating an early tie with the Dominicans and the Holy Office. This is reinforced by a 1752 list of patenti or office-holders under the Inquisition, which includes the name of Sig. Giuseppe Araldi. Although we do not know on what basis he held his Inquisition patent, it seems likely that it had

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26 ASMO, Inquisizione 280. Patenti 1700-1787.
some connection with the practice of confiscating and meticulously inventorying the property of accused persons.

Although Carlo's wife Giovanna Vidrini does not appear to have been Modenese, their "naturalization" into the community is indicated by the fact that they increasingly chose Modenese godparents for their fourteen children. They settled down to lives of rather spectacular fecundity and by the 1720s as their first sons approached adulthood Carlo was able to provide them with professions which would lift them well above the rank, however respectable, of merchant.

In 1727 Giovanni Battista, still so young that he required a dispensation for his ordination, was raised from the rank of deacon to that of priest. The very fact of ordination, especially at so young an age, testifies to the status of his family. Further, his ordination certificate notes that he entered the Church with his own patrimony, not with one provided by his Bishop or order as was sometimes the case with talented young men from poor families. Giovanni Battista -- or Battista, as he usually signed his name -- had a brilliant career in which he moved from being the protegee of the great Muratori to being a noted literary

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27See Appendix 3 for the Araldi in-laws and godparents.

figure in his own right and confidant to the very highest members of the ducal court.

In these same early years Gaetano, Battista's junior by two years, found enough patronage, money and talent to enter the newly-reformed (in 1682) University of Modena, which at this time was closely identified with the College of San Carlo, also known as the Noble's College. There the classmates of the merchant's son were scions of Modena's noblest houses, but Gaetano seems to have outdistanced them all when, in 1737 at the age of 29, he was appointed to the Third Chair of Medicine at the University.29

While Battista and his younger brother were indisputably talented and capable young men, there is no doubt that their early advancement (both achieved prominence while still in their twenties) was due to the fact that they both had powerful and influential patrons and friends. Battista flourished under the protection of Lodovico Antonio Muratori, the most respected philosopher and churchman of his day, while Gaetano became the protegee of Francesco Torti, the reigning medical authority of the city after the death of his rival, the famous Bernardo Ramazzini.

Neither Battista nor Gaetano married, but in the classic tradition of nepotism they assumed responsibility for their nephews, the sons of their brother Giovanni

29See below, Chapter VI.
Antonio. The very word nepotism, after all, comes directly from nepote or nipote, a flexible Italian term which can mean nephew or grandson. Giovanni Antonio's three surviving sons, Antonio, Michele and Giovanni Pietro, represented the second generation of the Modenese Araldi brothers and, with the support of their highly successful uncles, they prospered. Antonio carried on the family business though his real interests were writing poetry and dealing in books. Michele, sponsored by his uncle Gaetano, became a noted physician and scientist while Giovanni Pietro followed his uncle Battista into the priesthood and ended his days a cathedral canon with some modest publications to his name.

An episode at the very end of our period, in the early days of the French revolutionary occupation, is as emblematic of the later character and strategy of this family as was their great-uncle's 1699 encounter with the city Goods Commissioners. The first Antonio Araldi came into conflict with the powers of the city, and successfully defended himself by his connections with Guild and court. By the end of the century, the dangers were greater and the actors had changed: the leading players were no longer the city, the Guild and the court, but rather the French

As we will see below, the other brother who married, Pietro, moved his family to the provincial town of Carpi, and neither he nor his children played any notable role in the history of the Modenese Araldi.
revolutionary armies, the local Jacobins, and the embattled Church. Nevertheless the Araldi had constructed a network of support and influence which was more than adequate to protect the family no matter which way the winds of politics might blow.

On the morning of the twentieth of May in 1797, Don Pietro Araldi was passing by the church of San Bartolomeo in Modena when he was overheard speaking of the new government, set up by the French when they created the Cispadane Republic in August of the previous year. Although Don Pietro's comments were, he would later insist, made while he was "laughing and joking", some humorless partisan of the Republic reported them to the police, who found them less than amusing. In fact, they found them treasonable, and proceedings were instituted. The fifty-year-old priest was, after all, a typical enemy of the Revolution: born into a wealthy and influential family, he belonged to the conservative clerical party, having frankly used his uncle Battista's influence to gain the important post of canon. While there was certainly a clerical party which welcomed the Revolution and loudly preached the compatibility between Christianity and Democracy, Pietro Araldi showed no sign of being of a similar opinion. In 1806 he would write a history of the religious institutions of Modena, larded with caustic

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31BE, gamma F 1.1, pre-trial statement from Pietro Araldi dated 1 June 1797.
references to "the spirit of irreligion of these recent
times" and the attempts to destroy the monuments of faith,
"to the grief of the Good and the exultation of the Wicked,
and the scandal of future generations."32 But in the
question of his remarks about the new government, he
insisted that he had "never wished to offend or injure any
person." that such a thing would be alien to "my nature and
customs, as well as to my character as a priest."

The issue was obviously a serious one, and more impor­
tant men than this Araldi nephew had come to grief on less
weighty accusations. But the file is brief. It contains
only Pietro's statement, and the note that the hearing never
took place, as the charges were dropped. This unexplained
leniency may perhaps have been related to the fact that the
priest's brother, the respected physician and scientist
Michele Araldi, had been a deputy to the Congress which had
created the "present government" (as well as, incidentally,
the modern Italian tricolor flag).

Part II
An Arrangement Among Brothers

The handiest way of visualizing the Araldi family is as
a series of groups of brothers, and the fundamental family
strategy (whether deliberate or merely guided by

32BE, gamma Q 6.29. "Notizie storico-cronologico delle
chieze, confraternite, monasterj della città di Modena" by
Canon Gio:Pietro Araldi, Modenese.
circumstance) lay in the judicious division of roles among the brothers of any one generation.

An examination of the legal documents relating to the family suggests that property, at least patrimonial property, was usually held in common among the brothers.\textsuperscript{33} James Davis suggests that similar practices among the Venetian nobility may have been socially and economically useful. As merchants and traders the Venetians found that a family could make better use of its wealth if financial resources were equally available to all members of the family.\textsuperscript{34} This may well have been true for the Araldi as well, especially in the early years when the family depended on commerce for its income. Although the Araldi would continue the practice of holding patrimonial property in common through the eighteenth century, there was an increasing trend towards distributing personally-acquired property among a more narrowly defined group of heirs (for example the sons of one brother but not of another in cases where more than one brother married, or among selected, not all, nephews and nieces).

\textsuperscript{33}ASMO, Archivio Notarile and BE, Raccolta Ferrari Mor, Famigliie (A). See in particular A.N. 5371, testament of Gaetano Araldi of 25 February 1780, concerning the "Paternal and Maternal goods" in the old Milanese state (now Piedmont) which "are to the present time undivided among us brothers."

A glance at the attached genealogical chart shows two important facts about the Araldi: they were a hardy, prolific breed, but as a rule only one or at most two brothers in any generation produced heirs. This is a reflection of the fact that the Araldi, again like the Venetians, did not use primogeniture to prevent the splintering of family fortunes, but rather relied on an
I. GIOVANNI BATTISTA ("Milanese")

11. 1662 ANTONIO MILANESE (d. 1725)
   ♀ DOMENICA GIULIANI
   1682 CATERINA
   1697 ANTONIO (Anna?) MARIA (d. 1697)
   1699 GIOVANNI BATTISTA
   TAMASO (d. 1697)

II. 1679 CARLO GIUSTE (d. 1755)
    ♀ GIOVANNA VISINI (VISINELLI)
    1700 MARIA CATERINA (d. 1703)
    1702 GIOVANNI ANTONIO LODOVICO (d. 1706)
    1704 GIOVANNI BATTISTA (d. 1793)
    1706 MARIA BELICA MANIAT (d. 1791)
    1708 GIOVANNI ANTONIO LODOVICI (d. 1790)
    1710 GIOVANNI ANTONIO LODOVICI (d. 1794)
    1712 ANTONIO MARIA LODOVICO (d. 1717)
    1714 ANTONIO MARIA LODOVICO (d. 1702)
    1716 GIOVANNI LIBERATO (d. 1799)
    1718 ANNA MARIA (d. ?)
    1719 FRANCESCO CARLO LODOVICO (d. 1727)
    1720 GIOVANNI PIETRO (d. 1797)
    1724 ROSSO (d. 1724)
    1725 CARLO GIUSEPPE (d. 1761)

III. GIOVANNI ANTONIO
     ♀ BEATRICE BASTARDI
     1733 ANNA MARIA VINCENZA (d. alter 1780)
     1734 FRANCESCO TEOFILO CARLO LODOVICO (d. 1793)
     1737 ANTONIO (d. ?)
     1738 TERESA (d. ?)
     1740 MICHELE (d. 1740)
     1742 LUIGI (d. 1746)
     1746 GIOVANNI PIETRO LUIGI (priest) (d. ?)

III. PIERGI
     ♀ MARIA MADDALENA JATICE
     1753 TERESA GIACOMA COSTANZA (d. alter 1780)
     1755 BARTOLOMEO UNGARE HOMALDO (d. ?)
     1756 ANNA CONEBONI DONNICE (d. alter 1790)
     1759 CARLO GIUSEPPE IGNATTO
     1762 GIANNI (d. ?)
     1767 PAOLO (d. 1795)
     1767 FRANCESCO (d. 1793?)
     1787 GIOVANNI (d. ?)

IV. MICHELE
     ♀ MARIA (LUIGIA?) CONTI
     1783 MARIA TERESA DIAMANTE
     1785 GIOVANNI
     1785 ANTONIO
     1786 CARLO
     1787 LUIGI

V. CARLO
     ♀ A woman of the ROCCABADATI
     1815 GERARDO, Bishop of Carpi

3. ARALDI GENEALOGY
older, more traditional technique of birth control in the form of limited marriage. Under this system of affine birth control, one brother would marry and, ideally, produce a large number of children, while no legitimate children at all would be produced by the other brothers. These unmarried uncles would then sponsor and protect the offspring of their married brother, and all family wealth (except, of course, for dowries) would ultimately be bequeathed to the males among these offspring, who would in turn hold their property in common.35

Structure of the Generations

The first generation (Generation I) of Araldi brothers in Modena began with Antonio, who arrived in the city around 1685, probably with his cousin (also named Antonio Araldi). Some twenty years later he was joined by his brother Carlo Giuseppe, seventeen years his junior. In this generation, Antonio appears to have taken the leading part in the business, a general merchandising concern, while his brother began the connections with court and Church which would provide the way up for the next generation. Although Antonio was married none of his children survived, and the last of his children was born (and quite possibly died) before the marriage of the younger brother, Carlo Giuseppe.

35 For a discussion of affine birth control as practices among the Venetians, see Davis, pp. 61-73 and 93-112.
Generation II consisted of Carlo Giuseppe's fourteen children, and more specifically of the five boys who survived to adulthood. Of these, the eldest (Giovanni Antonio) assumed responsibility for the business interests, while his younger brothers, following the classic pattern, entered the Church (Battista), medicine (Gaetano), the law (Pietro), and the army (Carlo Giuseppe).

Two sons in Generation II married, the eldest (Giovanni Antonio) and the second-youngest (Pietro). However, Pietro moved to the provincial town of Carpi where the family held property, and he and his children re-enter the main story only intermittently.

Four girls in Generation II survived to adulthood. Only two of them married, and none entered the religious life. In fact, there is no record of any Araldi woman becoming a nun, a rather curious situation for a family where the Church was an important career field for the men.

Generation III was dominated by the children of Giovanni Antonio, eight in all, three of whom were males who reached adulthood. Again, family roles appear to have been distributed among the brothers with some care. The eldest, Antonio (something of a black sheep), was put in charge of the business interests which by this time were of diminishing importance in the overall plan, while his two brothers followed the careers of their most successful uncles, one entering medicine (Michele) and the other
(Pietro) the Church. Of these brothers only Michele married and he was forty-two years of age when he did so.

**Households**

The arrangement of households among the Araldi reinforces the image of what we might call family management by fraternal arrangement. In Generation II (for our purposes the critical one) we find that households did not consist of nuclear families made up of father, mother and children, but rather were made up of some combination of a married couple, an unmarried brother or sister, and some but not all of the couple's children. In at least one case (Household Two below) the household consisted of an unmarried brother and sister, and two children of different siblings.

**Household One** consisted of two brothers, Giovanni Antonio and Battista, and the wife and some of the children of Giovanni Antonio. Since Battista, as parish priest of Sant'Agata, had a parish-owned house as well as the one he shared with his brother, their actual living accommodations seem to have varied from time to time. Nevertheless, family tradition plus the notations in the Catasto of 1775 indicate that the household was normally shared.\(^{36}\) The priest Battista in his 1787 testament speaks of two of his older brother's children (Antonio and Pietro) as having "lived

\(^{36}\)ASMO, Estimo e Catasto 307, "Case di Modena".
with me for a long time, and are living with me still, having given me much companionship and help." These two nephews are named as their uncle's universal heirs, despite the old man's outspoken disapproval of the elder. The nephews' father, Giovanni Antonio, had died the previous year and was buried in the tomb at San Lazaro which he was to share with his brother Battista. Battista not only shared the household with his brother and two nephews, he also acted as patron to the boys. In Pietro's application for the post of cathedral canon he frankly referred to his uncle's support as a qualification.

Household Two was headed by Gaetano, the third brother of Generation II whose brilliant medical career made him certainly the wealthiest, if arguably not the most influential, Araldi of his generation. Gaetano took in two children: his nephew Michele, son of Giovanni Antonio, and his niece Teresa, daughter of Pietro. He also shared his

37ASMO. Archivio Notarile 5595, testament of G.B. Araldi, 26b November 1787.

38BE, gamma W 4,6, undated application from Pietro Araldi, Doctor of Theology, age 46, second librarian of the University Library, for the post of Cathedral Canon, "non per nessuno di lui merito personale, ma per i conosciuti meriti del di lui Zio Giambattista Araldi, Teologo e Consigliere di V.A.S." (about 1792).

39ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371, testament of Gaetano Araldi, 25 February 1780 and codicil of 30 June 1786; and Archivio Notarile 5272, rogito of Pietro Araldi with regard to the marriage of his daughter Teresa, 6 January 1794.
home with his unmarried sister Liberata. Gaetano's sponsorship of Michele is evident in the nephew's medical career in which he closely followed his uncle as university professor, court physician, and finally as consultant to the Sanità, the city health department.

Household Three, headed by the second married brother Pietro with his wife Maria Maddalena Jatici, seems to have been situated in the provincial town of Carpi. There is tantalizingly little information about the children of this family, although we know that the eldest child, a daughter named Teresa Giacoma Costanza, lived with her uncle Gaetano in Household Two. One of Pietro's sons, Francesco, was a notary in the city of Carpi until his death in 1793, and another, Giovanni, was a physician.

Of the three remaining Araldi of Generation II, two were daughters who married and moved to the households of their husbands (Maria Felice Margarita Tondini Araldi, and Antonia Maria Lodovica Consetti Araldi). The third was a brother, Carlo Giuseppe, who served as a Lieutenant in the military service of the Duke and died, unmarried, at the early age of 36.

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40ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371, settlement on the death of Liberata Araldi, 2 January 1783.
Family Strategy

There is no indication that there was ever an explicitly stated strategy in the Araldi family. Nevertheless it is possible to identify some strategic elements in family behavior through the eighteenth century.

The Araldi showed a willingness to pick up and move when it seemed necessary or expedient. We have seen a very young Antonio Araldi leave the Milanese at the end of the seventeenth century, perhaps as the representative of a family enterprise. And we have seen his grand-nephew Pietro move his wife and children to the provincial town of Carpi, perhaps to look after the family interests in that region. In this behavior the Araldi were of course following the old medieval pattern of Italian merchants evident since at least the twelfth century. Given the relative decline in Italian economic fortunes by the eighteenth century, it is interesting to see this old pattern persisting. Even after commerce ceased to be the main source of family income (see Family Property, below), the Araldi seem never to have conformed to the static, post-1580 norm of landed wealth living exclusively off investments, but neither did they conform to the proto-industrialist, liberal model.

Either through conscious choice or under the force of circumstances created by the behavior described above, the Araldi settled on an "outsider" route to success. Although they gained Modenese citizenship relatively early, socially
they would remain forestieri (outsiders) for at least two
generations. It is not surprising therefore that they allied
themselves with the "progressive" forces within the culture:
the court, where the ruler regularly turned to outsiders for
support in his attempts at centralizing reform; the
intelligentsia, both literary and scientific; and the
Church, at least in theory universal, and always a body
within which talent could find opportunity.

Whether as a matter of strategy or of character, the
Araldi were never a family to keep their heads down. They
took sides, joined in controversies, and fiercely defended
their prerogatives and those of their allies. This comba­
tiveness kept them more or less permanently embroiled in
controversy, but it also helped them to forge strong allia­
nces and ensured that they were generally involved in the
leading issues of the day. It seems quite possible, for
example, that it was Battista's energetic defense of his
parish in 1768 which ensured his seat on the Giunta di
Giurisdizione in 1773, while the battle over Gaetano's
appointment to the Third Chair of Medicine at the University
almost certainly led to his being included in the governing
board of the Physicians' Guild when the Duke reconstituted
that body in 1754.

Marriage, of course, is the fundamental family stra­
tegy. We have already noted that the Araldi attempted to
avoid splintering the family fortunes by a policy of limited
marriage among the brothers while at the same time the un-married brothers assumed responsibility for their nephews.

In terms of marriage partners, Generation II of the Araldi began to marry into Modenese families: the Bastardi, the Jatici, the Tondini and the Consetti. These families were of parallel or slightly higher rank than the Araldi, one of the sure hallmarks of a family on the rise. In Generation V a son of Michele married into the aristocracy when he made an alliance with the Boccabadati, but otherwise the Araldi married into the families of physicians, of University professors, and of persons connected with the ducal bureaucracy or with the court (the Consetti were court painters). Two families, the Bastardi and the Jatici, were clearly professional associates of Generation II Araldi.

A survey of godparentage among the Araldi and their in-laws shows a network tying the Araldi with leading families in the medical and administrative establishment, most specifically with families involved in the administration of the Hospital and other opere pie. It is particularly notable that the Araldi did not marry into the urban patriciate: a study of city Conservators during the eighteenth century shows that not a single Araldi in-law or godparent family name appears among the families who held the highest city offices during that century.41

41Franca Baldelli, "I Conservatori della Città di Modena. 1700-1800," in Formazione e Controllo dell'Opinione Pubblica a Modena nel '700, Albano Biondi, ed. (Modena:
Family Careers

In the four generations included in this study the Araldi men found careers in the Church and in the opere pie and the ducal bureaucracy (which often overlapped), as well as in medicine, the law, commerce and the military. [The roman numerals below indicate generation number.]

The Church

I. Carlo Giuseppe, though not in orders, held a commission from the Inquisition, and acted as a treasurer for the Theatine order.

II. Battista, a secular priest, rose to the position of ducal theologian and head of the Collegio of parish priests of the city, as well as confessor and almoner to the crown princess and rector and parish priest of Sant'Agata.

III. Giovanni Pietro, nephew of Battista and grandson of Carlo Giuseppe, entered the secular clergy and became a cathedral canon.

V. Gherardo, a grandson of Michele, became Bishop of Carpi in the nineteenth century (his mother, a Baccabadati, was noble).

It is interesting to note that the only generation without any clerical representation is Generation IV, which

Mucchi, 1986)
came to maturity under the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy and tended to choose careers in the sciences and the military.

**Opere Pia**

I. Carlo Giuseppe, younger brother of the original Araldi immigrant, not only ran the business and worked for the Inquisition, but was also associated with the Theatine Opera Pia Coltri.

II. Gaetano, as a Hospital official, was intimately involved with the management of the opere pие, especially after the 1764 creation of the Opera Pia Generale.

II. Battista's position in the Giunta di Giurisdizione made him a de facto head of all of the lay opere pие in the State, since all of these bodies were subject to the administrative fiat of the Giunta. He was also, along with his brother Giovanni Antonio, one of the Presidents of Monte Generale dei Pegni, an institution set up to provide loans at low interest rates to the poor of the city. After 1780, he was one of the Presidents of the Opera Pia Generale.

II. Giovanni Antonio, as noted above, was among the Presidents of the Monte Generale dei Pegni.

III. In 1781, Antonio, the poet and bookseller who had taken over the family business, was made Treasurer of the Monte Generale dei Pegni on the bond of his two uncles.

**The Ducal Bureaucracy**
I. Battista's Church career coincided with a career in the ducal bureaucracy when in 1773 he was made one of the three members of the Giunta di Giurisdizione (the committee set up in 1759 to oversee Church affairs). He also held a number of other more or less formal positions within the bureaucracy.

II. Gaetano not only served as Chief Physician to the Duke (Protomedico Ducale), but was also a University professor, a director of the Great Hospital, and consultant to the city Health Department (the Sanità), a post to which he was appointed by the Duke.

III. Pietro received a salary from the Duke's paymaster as an official of the Ecclesiastical Tax Office in the provincial dioceses of Lucca and Garzano.

III. Carlo Giuseppe, a son of Pietro (who lived in Carpi) appears on the ducal payroll in 1786 as a minor functionary in the census department.

Medicine and Science

II. Gaetano founded the medical and scientific careers of the Araldi when he became Professor of medicine at the University of Modena.

III. Michele, his nephew, followed his uncle as University professor of medicine and anatomy, doctor at the Great Hospital, and consultant to the Sanità. After the Revolution, Michele was one of the leading scientists in
Italy and a member of numerous scientific academies in Italy and in France.

III. Giovanni, a son of Pietro, is held by family tradition to have been a medical doctor.

IV. Antonio, a son of Michele, taught mathematics in the nineteenth century.

**Commerce**

I. Antonio and Carlo Giuseppe, the original Modenese Araldi, kept the shops on the main street and traded extensively within the state and abroad.

II. Giovanni Antonio, eldest son of Carlo Giuseppe, took charge of the shops as the eldest brother and the only one whose career did not clearly exclude him from running the business (he was an accountant). Nevertheless, in 1775 Battista, a priest, was noted in the catasto as the proprietor of the four shops.

III. Antonio, eldest son of Giovanni Antonio and a book dealer and poet, inherited the shops in his own name.

The Araldi began in commerce but by the third generation this had become a minor aspect of their activities. The Church (except for the period of the Kingdom of Italy) was a consistent career choice for the Araldi men, as were science and medicine. Although the Araldi used bureaucracy as a way of improving and consolidating their position, they
characteristically held their bureaucratic positions by virtue of their other careers, and were not generally bureaucrats per se.

Cost of Living

In order to put the Araldi wealth into context, it will be useful to glance at a few items which suggest the general value of money and cost of living in Modena in the eighteenth century: rents, salaries, dowries, and cost of food as calculated by the Opera Pia Generale.

Traditionally, the cost of supporting one person for one day was about one lire modenese (£1). This is reflected in one of the most stable economic elements in the state, the price of a Mass obligation. Although this could vary, it was usually in the region of one lire per Mass, based on the assumption that this was the amount required to support the priest for one day. This traditional cost of living also formed the basis for many of the calculations of the late eighteenth-century economic reformer, Lodovico Ricci, who suggested that Modenese beggars should not be given more than two-thirds of a lira per day, the amount required to

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42 This price was set by a combination of tradition and the current Bishop's ruling. The offering was sometimes specified in a testament, but more often the amount being dedicated to this purpose was flexible, depending as it often did on the value of investments or the sale of property, and only the number of Masses was specified.
support an agricultural worker for one day. In Ricci's 1786 proposals, poor families were expected to support themselves on one lira per day per person.

**Housing**

A document in the Archives of the Commune lists the Comunità-owned properties on which the rents were in arrears. In this listing, the average rent for a room appears to be about £25 per year. The fact that these rents were in arrears — most of them quite seriously so — suggests that these were rooms rented to the poorer segment of the population and that they were therefore relatively low-priced quarters. This impression is strengthened by the 1785 account books of the Opera Pia Generale, which include a segment on the rents payable to that body. These show a median price of £50 to £60 per annum for the rooms, and of £100 to £150 for more spacious accommodations described as "appartamenti". In the same document the rent of the house provided for the use of the chief physician at the Hospital is valued at £437 per year. This represented one of the perquisites attached to an important position (a position held by both Gaetano and Michele Araldi in the course of the

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43 Ricci, op cit. Part I, Chapter IV, p. 41.

44 ASCM, Miscellanea di Ragioneria 215, Recapiti di Computisteria. Amministrazione pubblica, 1766 al 1800.

45 ASCM, Stato dell'Opera Pia Generale, 1785.
century), so we may assume that the house was a substantial one.

The purchase price of houses of course varied enormously, but an impressionistic idea may be gained by contracts of sale appearing in the Notarial Archives. In 1775, Gaetano Araldi sold a two-story, eight-room house to the Jewish banker Emmanuele Sacerdoti for £30,000. The house had been described as in "very good condition" in that year's catasto, and valued (for tax purposes) at £8000.46 From the value of nearby houses described as the private dwellings of nobles and wealthy merchants, we may judge this to have been a house towards the upper middle scale of the market.

Salaries

Estimating the value of salaries presents a number of difficulties. Money wages often represented only a small portion of any individual's actual means of support. A parish priest's wages, for examples, were set at £750 per year.47 However, a parish priest also received payment in kind of food, fuel and clothing, plus free housing and supplemental payments associated with the rights of stole bianca and stola nera. The same was true for more humble

46ASMO, Estimi e Catasti 307, Estimo Nuovo delle Case di Modena, 1775.

47ASMO, Giurisdizione Sovrana 2 contains a detailed survey of the wages and perquisites of the clergy in the 1770s.
workers. A kitchen porter (garzone di cucina) in the Ducal household in 1788 drew a salary of £708 per year plus £180 worth of bread; the head nurse (female) at the Hospital in 1785 drew a salary of only £366, but her payments in kind as listed in the account books add up to a further £1,167. At the other end of the scale, Gaetano Araldi was paid a pension of £1,500 a year when he retired from his position as chief ducal physician (protomedico ducale) in 1772. In 1789, Silvio della Cappelina, the head of the Ritiro (one of the three divisions of the Opere Pie of the city) received a monthly salary of £375 a month (£4,500 per year) while Battista Araldi, as the spiritual director of the bedridden for that institution, was paid £62.10 a month (£750 per year).

Dowries

Dowries give another measure of the perceived cost of living decently. The traditional figure for a charity dowry in Modena was £100, and had been so since at least the fifteenth century. In the eighteenth century this amount was presumed adequate to pay for a year's rent on a room and

48ASMO, Bolletino dei Salariati 1785–1790, and ASCM, Stato dell'Opera Pia Generale, 1785.

49ASMO, Camera Marchionale, Mandati della Computisteria (Volume 4986–99), includes a 1435 petition to the Duke from a baker who had eight children, two of them daughters. He asked for, and was granted, a dowry of £m100 for one of them. In the same year, four different girls were also granted dowries of £m100 each.
provide the essential furniture for a married couple, that is, the wedding bed.

We have two examples of dower settlements in the Araldi family, both for the later years of the century. In one, two uncles settled a total of £16,700 on their orphaned niece (£500 in cash and a censo of £16,200). In another, the bride of an Araldi nephew came with a dowry of £15,000.

Food

The Modenese archives contain any number of sample diets and estimated costs of feeding people at the public charge. Thus we find in 1785 that the cost of bread for one year in the Casa di Dio (the shelter for unmarried mothers and their infants) was estimated at £146 for each woman. The total cost for food and wine for the Orphans of Saint Bernard (boys of citizen rank or above) was estimated to be £431 per person per year.

**Araldi Property and Income**

When we turn to the Araldi, the most obvious and perhaps the most predictable thing about their family income and property is the shift these underwent in the three years.
generations under consideration. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they were a mercantile family, drawing most if not all of their income from commerce. Very quickly, however, they began to acquire land and invest in bonds, or censi. Following a classic pattern, the first generation earned their money in commerce, while succeeding generations turned towards the professions and the court.

By the end of the 1730s, two of the Araldi brothers were University professors, while their father acted as a familiar of the Inquisition and Treasurer for the wealthy and influential Theatine order. By the 1750s the two brothers who had entered the professions were firmly entrenched at court, serving respectively as confessor and almsgiver to the Crown Princess, and personal physician to the Duke and his family.

These court connections gave the family access to a considerable source of amicizia and patronage. The true value of such associations, of course, lies in the access which they give to the network where decisions are made and favors given and taken. The Araldi place in this network must be the subject of another examination, but we may note a few hints in the form of mementoes and tokens of esteem, tokens which at least suggest more negotiable benefits. Thus Gaetano in his 1780 testament left to his niece Teresa "a diamond ring given to me by the Princess Amalia d'Este [sister to Francesco III] in her last illness"; and to his
sister Antonia Consetti Araldi he gave "the ring with the portrait of the Archduchess Maria Beatrice d'Este [daughter of Ercole III], surrounded by diamonds."

**Salaries**

Salaries paid to members of the Araldi family for their public service can be traced only in part. Records of payments by the city government are incomplete or missing, as are the payrolls of the University. Indeed, the only consistent record which remains is the Bolletino dei Salariati, which details payments to members of the Ducal household, the military, and city and judicial officials in the states administered directly by the Duke rather than through a feudal intermediary.

The Araldi make their first appearance in this record in 1771, when Battista is shown as receiving £2,000 per year as a Ducal Counsellor for the Giunta di Giurisdizione plus a further £1,000 annually as compensation for the loss of the parish of Sant'Agata which he had recently surrendered. In 1778 Battista's brother Gaetano appears, being paid an annual pension of £1,500 for the post of ducal physician.

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52 ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371. There are a number of similar tokens still in the possession of the Araldi family, such as a portrait of Francesco III on horseback, and a marble bust of the Crown Princess Maria Teresa Cybo.

53 ASMO, Bolletino and Piano Generale dei Salariati Camerali, Militari, Magistrali, Comunitativi, di tutto lo Stato immediato di SAS Serenissimo.
from which he retired in that year. The two brothers continued on the rolls until March of 1780, when Battista was moved to the (now lost) books of the Opera Pia Generale on the accession of Ercole III.

Other members of the Araldi family appear often enough in these books to suggest that the ducal payroll was a consistent, if not a major, contributor to the family income. Dottore Pietro Araldi, who married and moved his family to Carpi around mid-century, held a post as official of the Ecclesiastical Tax Evaluation office (the Estimo Ecclesiastico), deputized to the provincial diocese of Lucca and Garzana. And in 1786 Pietro's son, Sig. Giuseppe Araldi, was paid £840 per year as an adjutant in the Land Drainage Tax office.

In addition to these salaries, members of the family certainly received a number of further payments of which no record remains: salaries attached to their University posts, salaries as physicians at the Hospital, as well as private fees from their medical practice and legal and notarial fees. There were in addition the whole complex of benefits which Battista received as part of the benefice of his parish, and retained after its suppression.

In addition to these salaries and fees, the Araldi received the income from the shops which they owned on the Via Emilia. Although none of the financial records of these
shops remain, the 1775 catasto valued them at £18,000, by far the most valuable group of shops in the area.\textsuperscript{34}

\textbf{Bonds and Land}

While gifts, salaries and professional fees were no doubt important elements in the family budget, it would be surprising if the Araldi, in common with most monied people of the century, had not invested their growing wealth in real property, and in public and private bonds.

Bonds, called \textit{censi}, were perhaps the most common form of investment in eighteenth-century Modena.\textsuperscript{55} Battista, in his 1788 \textit{Encyclopaedic Dictionary} defined a censo as "a contract of sale, or the right to claim a portion of the profits of a profitable establishment."\textsuperscript{56} A modern dictionary offers, as the sixth definition of censo, the meaning of "a contract by which a person, paying out a capital amount in money, acquires a secured income by a

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\textsuperscript{34}ASMO, Estimi e Catasti #307, property number 118 in the Cathedral Parish, 1775.

\textsuperscript{55}No monographic study of the censo has been made. My evaluation of their function and importance is derived from their role in testaments and in the financial records of the public bodies examined in this dissertation.

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mortgage against a set fund."⁵⁷ Censi, related to the French cens, were a major factor in Modenese financial life, and public bodies in particular tended to depend on censi for their income more than they depended on rents or donations. Families such as the Araldi both bought and sold them. That is, they invested in censi issued by the city government, by corporations by opere pie and by individuals, and on occasion they themselves raised money by selling censi.

The first record we have of an Araldi purchase of a censo comes in 1690 when "Antonio Araldi, Milanese" bought a bond of £400 from Madonna Ippolita Piccioli, the widow Bentolia of Modena, with an annual income (frutti) of £28 (that is, an annual interest rate of 7%).⁵⁸ The buying of bonds seems to have been among the first steps taken by a man intent on financing his business and increasing his fortune.

Araldi sales of these bonds are recorded in a 1754 volume of 215 censi whose interest rates have been reduced from six percent to five percent. Among these are two issued by Battista Araldi, one for £2,000 against the property of his parish, and another for £9,500 against his personal...

⁵⁷Grande Dizionario (MYS volume and date): "6. Contratto mediante il quale una persona, sborsando un capitale in denaro, acquista una rendita assicurata con ipoteca su un fondo determinato."

⁵⁸BE, Araldi famiglia, Gamma W 4.6.
properties. Of these 215 censi, fully a third (seventy) were issued by opere pie, religious corporations, confraternities or guilds, that is, by corporations which worked with the poor. The overwhelming impression one gains in reading the records of these and similar public bodies is that the eighteenth-century Modenese did not donate goods and monies to charity so much as they invested in it.

Bonds issued by public bodies as well as by private individuals were bought and sold as negotiable securities. Thus we find Gaetano Araldi in 1780 bequeathing a bond of £3,000 against the comunità of Modena to his niece Teresa — a bond he had bought four years earlier from a man named Griffi in the provincial town of Castellarano.

Trading and manipulating such bonds formed an essential part of business dealings. In 1788 Pietro, the youngest of the surviving Araldi brothers of Generation II, sold a £3,000 bond with a five percent rate of return which he had purchased against the goods of a Modenese noble. The purchaser was a French officer in the service of the Duke of Modena, who was buying it on behalf of his brother who owed money to the bankers of the Sacerdoti family (Abramo and Emmanuele, neighbors and long-time business associates of

59 ASCM, Estimo, Istrumento 1754. During these years Battista Araldi was rebuilding his damaged parish church, and the bonds were probably sold to raise money for this purpose.

60 ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371.
the Araldi). In this complex, four-party arrangement the censo is being used by two parties (Araldi and the officer) to satisfy the debt between two secondary parties (the officer's brother, and the Sacerdoti bankers).

The bond in question had been issued in 1770 and at the time of the transaction was eighteen years old. In effect, censi did not carry an expiration date, but continued until redeemed, though an issuer could plead hardship and petition the city government to allow him to suspend payment for a time.

The importance of bonds in the Araldi wealth is suggested by the role these securities play in family testaments and legal settlements. In 1780, Gaetano left a bond of £3,000 to his niece Teresa; in 1792 Battista left all of his "active bonds" (that is, bonds on which he was collecting, not paying, interest) to his nephew Giovanni Pietro, and at the same time repaid the eighty zecchini (£2,400 at £30 to the zecchino) which Giovanni Pietro had invested along with him in these bonds. Few if any Araldi wills are complete without the disposition of the bonds held by the testator, and their disposition indicates that censi.

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61ASM0, Archivio Notarile 5272.
62ASCM, Ex Actis. Numerous petitions of this sort may be seen in the Atti and Prodotti of the Comunità.
63ASM0, Archivio Notarile 5371.
along with real property, formed the backbone of the Araldi fortune.

**Real Property**

Throughout the eighteenth century the stated aim of Estense land policy was to free the land from the stagnating effects of lay and clerical feudalism and open it up to the use of small farmers who, either as owners or leaseholders, were considered able greatly to increase its productivity. This idea came directly from the writings of Muratori. This process culminated in the 1771 codification of Modenese law, the Estense Code, a portion of which was devoted to land reform with the aim of freeing the fondi, or great estates, from entail. Although the stated aim of the reform was to encourage small landed proprietorship, in fact the predictable cumulative effect was to encourage land speculation by prosperous townsmen. Land ownership among the Araldi suggests the extent of this speculation.

Gaetano, the wealthiest Araldi of Generation II, invested extensively in rural lands, apparently as an

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individual rather than as a member of a combine. \(^6^5\) These lands clustered around the capital city of Modena, the seat of the family, and around the provincial town of Carpi some 10 km away, where Pietro had settled and where Gaetano himself would ask to be buried.

No complete listing of Araldi real property in Generation II exists, but the records which have survived suggest that it consisted of four shops in the city center of Modena, and nine houses in the city, plus a number of small rural holdings (averaging about ten acres each). \(^6^6\) After 1764 it is evident that a good deal of this rural property was purchased through the brothers' connections with the Opera Pia Generale, which had acquired a vast amount of land in the district of Modena through its confiscations of the properties of the opere pie of the city, and which frequently sold these properties in a less than regular fashion. Economic historian Carlo Poni charges

\[^6^5\]Poni describes the typical Modenese land speculation as the work of a group of partners who joined together to buy large plots of land which were then sublet to tenants, usually on mezzadria, or sharecropping, contracts. Carlo Poni, "Aspetti e problemi del agricoltura modenese dal'eta delle riforme alla fine della restaurazione," in Aspetti e problemi del Risorgimento a Modena (Modena: n.p., 1963), p. 141.

\[^6^6\]Property belonging to the Araldi can be estimated from a number of deeds of sale, from partial tax rolls, and from two other documents: an agreement made in 1783 arranging for the rental of a number of properties, and Gaetano's 1786 will, in which he disposed of much of his real property among his heirs. Holdings in the city have mainly been identified from the 1775 catasto of houses.
that this land was often sold without public notice or valuation: those few times when it was sold at public auction there was no survey valuation given, and where there was a survey valuation (as there usually was) there was no public auction held. Among the purchasers of the Opera Pia Generale land were nobles, professionals, some Jewish merchants, and a group of speculators which clearly included the Araldi.

As early as July 1764 Gaetano Araldi was applying to buy a field belonging to the Opera Pia Generale outside the Porta Bologna (that is, just outside the gates on the western side of the city). And the fragmentary Araldi papers at the Estense Library contain six separate rental agreements between Gaetano Araldi and the Opera Pia Generale, represented by two family friends (Camillo Codebo and Silvio della Capellina) and Gaetano's brother Battista, then a President of the Opera. This land was later sublet to middlemen or to tenant farmers.

In 1783 Gaetano had a five-year rental agreement drawn

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67Poni, p. 142. See also ASMO, ECA 1914. Stato generale degli effetti dell'Opera Pia Generale della citta di Modena dal 1753, tempo che fu eretto il nuovo Grande Spedale a tutto l'anno 1771. Registro 1899, pp. 381-383.

68ASMO, ECA 1914.

69ASMO, ECA 1076, 14 July 1764, doc. # 7.

70BE, Gamma G 1.9, June 1783.
up between himself and the five Forghieri brothers. Eight properties are specified in this document: two near Modena in the suburb of San Cataldo, four at Gargallo (near Carpi), and two for which no locations are indicated. Two of the Gargallo sites consisted of lands bought from the estates of suppressed religious bodies, the Augustinians and the Servites, while one of the properties at San Cataldo had been bought from lands belonging to the Sant'Unione, the sixteenth century union of charitable bodies which in 1764 was replaced by the Opera Pia Generale. It seems likely that the Forghieri brothers in their turn sublet at least some of these properties to sharecroppers, since in the 1786 codicil to his will Gaetano refers to one of these properties, La Servita, as being "worked on a sharecropping contract by the Montanaroli family." Three of the properties in the Forghieri rental agreement feature in the codicil to his will which Gaetano made in 1786. In addition to these three, there are six

71 ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371, doc. # 86.
72 ASMO, Archivio Notarile. 7905 (Cavecchioli)
73 ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371 In this document Gaetano distributed his real property, carefully assigning holdings among his brothers' children and a grandnephew. His share of the patrimonial property held in common among the brothers is assigned jointly to his two older brothers, Giovanni Antonio and Battista. To his third surviving brother, the much younger Pietro, he leaves a portion of his real holdings -- holdings apparently not considered to be common property but rather as personal property, to be distributed at will.
additional properties: an orchard at Carpi, three farms at Gargallo, and two houses in the city of Modena. These represent fourteen separate real properties, twelve of which are rural land holdings.

We know that at least some of the Gargallo lands were used for *villegiature*, the holiday homes in the country so essential to the good life in Italy. The fact that Gaetano asked to be buried in the parish of Gargallo, and that his niece Teresa, who lived with him, married into a Carpi family, suggests that at least by the 1780s Gargallo had become Gaetano's main residence. The youngest Araldi brother of Generation II, Pietro, lived nearby in the city of Carpi, and perhaps Gaetano moved there after his retirement in 1772 freed him of the need for daily attendance at the university, the hospital and the court.

A further (though partial) source of information on property owned by Gaetano is the 1783 census of suburban property holdings which shows him as owning three properties in the suburb of San Cataldo to a total of sixty-eight biolche (about seventeen acres) — a holding which made him the third-greatest of the sixteen lay landowners in the area.\(^{24}\)

If Gaetano invested in more rural property than any of his brothers, the same holds true for property in the city

\(^{24}\)ASCM, Campioni del Censimento Generale, 1783. The sixteen lay landowners held 579 biolche among them, which the fifteen ecclesiastical owners held 421 biolchi.
of Modena. The 1775 catasto of houses shows four houses and a separate stable belonging to Signor Protomedico Gaetano Araldi, with relative valuations of £5,100, £8,000, £8,100 and £10,200 for the houses, and £200 for the stable. A house very near the ducal palace in the parish of San Giorgio and valued at £10,700 is owned by "i signori Araldi" (that is, Giovanni Antonio and Battista, who shared a household), while a nearby house of considerably less value (£3,600) is owned by Battista in his own name. At this time Battista also had the use of a house belonging to the parish of Sant'Agata, and he is listed as the nominal owner of the four shops on the main street (shops which in fact were held in common among the brothers).

In 1786 Ercole III introduced a system of numbering the houses of the city. Under this new system, five houses are shown as belonging to "Sig. Protomedico Araldi" (that is, Gaetano), one belongs to "Sig. Consigliere Araldi (that is, Battista), and two are shows as the property of "Sig. Rettore Araldi" (that is, property belonging to the suppressed parish of Sant'Agata but administered by Battista until his death in 1793).

Women and Property

Before we turn away from the question of Araldi property, we may look to the provisions made for women of the Araldi family. The main sources for this are testamentary
bequests made by Araldi men, and the settlements made at
times of marriage or redistribution of family property.

Modenese tradition (and in many cases, law) insisted
that appropriate provision be made for female family
members. Wives, unless they utterly disgraced the family,
were to enjoy the usufruct of at least a portion of their
decayed husbands' property. Daughters had to be provided
with dowries so that they could marry or enter convents
(maratarsi o monacarsi). Araldi bachelors, not strictly
obliged by law to provide for their nieces, nonetheless
consistently contributed generously.

Antonio Araldi, making his will in 1694, instructed
that his wife Domenica should enjoy the usufruct of his
goods, and that his daughters should be dowered appropria-
tely to their estate. One thousand Milanese lire was to be
set aside for each of his daughters, and his administrators
were reminded that, should his wealth increase, the dowries
were to be increased as well.

Gaetano, almost a century later in 1786, left £8000 to
Anna, daughter of his brother Giovanni Antonio, specifying
that this bequest should not be considered as part of the
dowry which her father was obliged by law to give her. In
addition he instructed that she be repaid the £12,000 which
he owed her. From other documents we may surmise that he
had borrowed from the settlements of the patrimony of the
girl's grandfather as well as monies associated with her
mother's dowry funds. At the same time, Gaetano left a house in Modena to the two daughters of his brother Pietro, with instructions that its value should not be deducted from their paternal inheritance. A codicil adds a further sum (eighty filippi, or £1,200) for each niece.²⁵

Battista, who made his final will in 1792, held far less property than did his wealthier brother. He left forty filippi (£600) to each of the children and grandchildren of his brothers, male and female alike, with an additional forty filippi to his niece Anna (Giovanni Antonio's daughter) who shared his household. All of his real and personal property, however, was left to the two nephews who lived with him, while his patrimonial property went to his last surviving brother, Pietro.

Redistribution agreements on family property indicate that the female members of the family were given the interest paid on bequests from their parents. When in 1761, the young Carlo Araldi died intestate, his sisters shared in the distribution of his property to the amount of £100 each per year, the interest on amounts due them (probably £2,000 at five percent interest). They were already receiving £300 a year in interest on the monies left them on the death of their mother. No gentlewoman could have lived independently on these amounts alone. However, between this money and monies left by other male relatives, plus ownership of a

²⁵ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371.
house, two or three unmarried sisters could contrive to maintain their own household had they chosen to do so (and figures obtained from the 1773 catasto of houses suggest that at least some Modenese women so chose).

Some of the sums left to Araldi women are quite considerable. In 1755, Liberata Araldi received £16,000 as her share of the patrimony divided that year.

Pietro Araldi, making his will in 1794 after the death of his second son, Francesco, made generous provisions for his daughters and granddaughters. He left £20,000 to his granddaughter Paola (the daughter of his deceased son), two houses to his unmarried daughter Anna, and £8,000 to his married daughter, Teresa. If his remaining son were to die without heirs, the daughters would then inherit the entire estate, which they were to share in equal portions and give a further £5,000 to their niece Paola.

We have already noted the dowry which her bachelor uncles provided for Teresa Araldi in 1782: in addition to the £5,000 from her father, she had £5,000 from her uncle Battista, and a bond of £11,700 from her uncle Gaetano, whose home she had shared. Only half of this bond was to go towards her dowry. Her uncle specified that the rest was to be at her personal disposal.

The Araldi women were well provided for, with monies available for their use whether or not they chose to marry or enter convents. This may explain why many of them appear
to have done neither, but instead lived with their brothers or uncles with some degree of independence.

Conclusions

Through the century, the Araldi gradually diversified the sources of their income and grew steadily richer. Gaetano in particular invested in bonds and in the rural property that came on the market with the suppression of convents and monasteries in the 1760s and 1770s. It can hardly have been coincidental that these were the years in which his brother Battista was a member of the Giunta di Giurisdizione and the Opera Pia Generale. But Gaetano himself was not lacking in influence. In the late 1760s, while a member of the governing board of the Opera Pia Generale, he bought land in San Cataldo from the Opera (this was at about the time that the cemetery was being established there, and land values were increasing). According to family tradition Gaetano also used his influence with Francesco III in order to buy and demolish the suppressed church of Sant'Agostino at Carpi.76

The 1787 tax records show Gaetano owning 67 biolche of land in the suburbs of Modena to a total value of

76BE, Araldi family papers, and conversation with Sig. Carlo Araldi, November 1987.
£72,424. The same volume shows no other Araldi holding land in this area.

Gaetano was a considerable property-owner in the city of Modena as well, owning four large houses (from six to twelve rooms each) and a valuable stable property. On the other hand Battista and Giovanni Antonio, who shared a household, owned only two houses, one a large and valuable property of thirteen rooms and the other considerably smaller and of less than half the value which evidently served as rental property.

Unfortunately the value of the bonds held by the family cannot be estimated. However, such investments in the city, in individual enterprises, and in charitable institutions made up a significant portion of the family wealth.

The Araldi property was surprisingly diverse, and no one area stands out above any other in importance. They were moving with their times, taking advantage of opportunities created by economic reforms and at the same time maintaining their more traditional sources of income. By and large, their property accumulation closely followed the macroeconomic developments in northern Italy at the time, and included commerce, investment in the commune, bonds, professional fees, indirect benefits derived through friendships at court, city rental properties, and rural land

77ASMO, Estimi e Catasti 368, "Estratto dei Possidenti nelle ville del distretto di Modena".
sublet through middlemen to tenant farmers.
CHAPTER III

FAMILY AND CITY

The first two chapters have presented the concepts of reform which were current in Modena during the eighteenth century, and introduced the Araldi family. Now we will turn to a series of representations of Modena in the 1760s and 1770s. Taken together these will give the context of the city in which the reforms took place, and show the interdependent relationship between the traditional city and the reforms which both shaped and reflected it.

The Modenese State: Land and Economy

The Araldi arrived in Modena towards the end of the seventeenth century to a city which had become a capital by default less than a century earlier in 1598, when the Este family had been forced from their Ferrara seat to the backwater states of Modena. The Renaissance had touched Modena lightly and the city even once it had become a ducal capital was never to feel really at home with the courtly spirit of the Baroque. It was a hard-headed Lombard town whose merchants and guildsmen built solid and unfashionable houses along narrow, muddy streets, the center of a patchwork of small Po valley states whose modest prosperity was built on the broad backs of share-cropping peasants, a stable community bound together by centuries of civic ritual and cooperation.
4. MAP OF THE STATE OF MODENA

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The duchy of Modena in the eighteenth century consisted of some 5,500 square kilometers in an elongated shape, oriented northeast by southwest across the northern part of the Italian peninsula just below the Po. The heartland of the duchy, and the site of the only two true cities, Modena and Reggio, lay in the plain between the Secchia and Panaro river valleys. Lengthwise the land sloped down some 2,000 meters in elevation from the Appenines in the south to the Po valley in the north. Because of its slope and orientation, the Modenese state contained a wide variety of conditions but basically consisted of three zones: the flat plains (the pianura) made up about half of the area (roughly the northern), while hill and mountain regions covered most of the other half.

The mountainous zone consisted of two parts. The first was a series of roughly north-south mountain ranges and spurs and the parallel watershed valleys of the Panaro, Leo, Scoltenna, Secchia, Rossenna, Dolo and Dragone rivers. Another axial range ran roughly east-west across the Secchia and Panaro valleys parallel to the Po valley and the Appenines, and descended gradually to the plain from elevations of 700 to 900 meters. These Modenese Apennines rose to spectacular peaks, and made a formidable barrier between Modena and the states to the south.

Between the mountain ranges were valleys in which wide but rather shallow rivers flowed. The hilly section of the
The duchy, which roughly paralleled the modern province of Emilia, was located almost exactly halfway between the Equator and the North Pole. Its climate was more continental
than Mediterranean, with high humidity and precipitation, cold winters and hot summers.

In general, the rivers of the duchy flowed from south to north. The most important of them were the Secchia and the Panaro; the Po at the northeast border (an exception, flowing east to west); and the rivers of the Apennine valleys such as the Dragone, Dolo and Leo. In addition to these natural waterways there was an extensive network of canals, many of them dating to the fourteenth century. These criss-crossed the pianura providing a relatively rapid and inexpensive system of communication within the duchy, and an opening onto the sea routes of the Adriatic. The mountainous regions, which lacked this system of canals, were the site of major road-building efforts. In 1738 the Vandelli road was constructed to connect Modena with the duchy of Massa-Carrara, which was soon to be joined to the Modenese states through the marriage of its duchess to the future Ercole III.\(^2\) In 1781, the ambitious Giardini road was completed, which not only joined Modena with Tuscany but also connected all of the Habsburg-allied states of Northern Italy without passing through the Papal States of Bologna and the Romagna. The oldest and most important road in the duchy was the Ancient Roman Via Emilia, which cut across the

\(^2\)The Vandelli, a court family noted for scientists and engineers, were related by ties of marriage and godparentage to the Araldi.
upper third of the state leading from Bologna to Parma by way of Modena, Rubbiera and Reggio.

Population

The population of the duchy in the latter half of the eighteenth century varied between 300,000 and 350,000, gradually increasing as the century progressed. In 1771 the only true cities, Modena and Reggio, had populations of 21,306 and 15,816 respectively. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the city of Modena consistently held its place in the ranking of Italian cities. In 1550, there were twenty-four cities with populations of 20,000 or more; in 1770, this number had risen by only two, to twenty-six. Modena held twenty-fourth place in both lists, with a population which remained essentially stable at about 22,000 from 1500 until 1800 except for temporary fluctuations due to war, pestilence and natural disaster.

3ASCM. Frumentaria 64.

4Population data is taken from G. Beloch, La popolazione d'Italia nei secoli XVI. XVII. XVIII (Roma: n.p., c. 1908). Censuses of the urban parishes taken early in the current century show much the same population, between 22,000 and 24,000. The areas outside the traditional city center began to gain population by the end of the nineteenth century. The 1890 census showed 31,053 people, while censuses of 1921 and 1931 counted 51,320 and 64,810 respectively. This increase was almost entirely due to immigration from the poorer parts of Italy. Native Modenese of established families have numbered about 20,000 for the past 500 years and probably still do, though the traditionally Modenese families are not formally identified among the 200,000 or so who make up the modern population of the city.
Land Use

Estense land use policy had from the earliest days favored increasing the numbers of independent peasant farmers on the land, on the theory that this was both the best way to increase productivity and the best way to create a loyal, prosperous citizenry. This ideal, however, was never more than imperfectly realized. A study made at the end of the eighteenth century found that most farm land in the mountains was peasant-owned but that, predictably, peasant proprietorship declined sharply as the value of the land increased. In the moderately fertile region of the "middle plains" most farmers held their land on mezzadria, or sharecropping, contracts, while the rich farmlands of the "lower plains" were worked primarily by day-laborers. 5

The duchy was primarily agricultural and only marginally prosperous, with large areas of unproductive mountain and marsh lands and a peasantry whose productivity was limited by restrictive land use in the most fertile regions. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century the Este attempted to improve the condition and status of agriculture by breaking up the big estates (both lay and ecclesiastical) and by increasing the number of peasant families who owned or leased lands. These policies led to increased land speculation and to energetic if generally

5ASMO, Suprema Consiglio di Economia, 1795, no. 169.
unsuccessful efforts to transfer the unemployed city population to the countryside.

**Social Orders**

The nobility in Modena was by no means a homogeneous group. It consisted in part of an old feudal nobility which pre-dated the Este, many of whose members were coopted into the royal service. Equally traditional but generally much lower in rank were nobles seated in the provincial towns and defined by local criteria which varied widely from commune to commune. Coexisting with these by the seventeenth century was a group of Ferrarese nobles who had come to the new capital with the exiled Este dukes, and a new landed nobility created by the Este, most commonly through the sale of fiefdoms in the mountainous areas.

Poor nobles (some of them on public assistance as poveri vergognosi) existed alongside the great and wealthy houses. Few Modenese nobles had incomes of more than £40,000 Modenese lire a year, and the average noble income was closer to £10,000. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century most nobles of any consequence had moved away from their estates and lived most of the year in the city.

The Este dukes, like so many centralizing monarchs, tended to employ non-noble administrators such as the Araldi or to create their own "nobility of the robe" in the royal

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service. This of course exacerbated the split between the ruling style of the Este and the local traditions.

Modena had a traditionally strong citizen class, but by the eighteenth century the old communal bourgeoisie had lost most of its status and authority and a new middle class was forming -- a class of wealthy non-nobles who lived in the towns, made their money from administration, the professions, merchandising or money-lending, and invested in land for the status and the income it brought with it. It was here that the Araldi, as newcomers to the comunità under ducal patronage, found their opportunities for advancement. In the last half of the eighteenth century, the government's determined efforts to break up the manomorte lands of the Church brought great tracts of land onto the market, land that was purchased to some extent by nobles, but also by individuals or by joint stock companies whose members made up a new entrepreneurial class of bourgeois land speculators. As we have seen, the Araldi took full advantage of such opportunities.

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8 For example, in the Reggio district some 15,000 biolche passed into the hands of bourgeois land owners between 1771 and 1791. For a case study of changing land ownership patterns in the Reggio district, see Odoardo Rombaldi, "L'insurrezione dei rustici e i giacobbini reggiani," in Convegno di Studi sul Risorgimento a Bologna e nell'Emilia (Bologna: myc 1960). See Chapter II below for Araldi ventures into land speculation.
Urban workers did not fare well during the eighteenth century. Artisans gradually but inexorably lost the protection of their guilds, which had by and large atrophied long before they were formally abolished at the end of the century. Prices rose steadily while wages stayed the same or fell. The once-prosperous silk industry declined, owing to competition from nearby Italian states and from abroad, and also because Modenese capital was now invested in the more profitable area of agriculture and land speculation rather than in industrial development.\(^9\)

Outside the city, the great bulk of the duchy's population were of course peasants, and for them the eighteenth century would be a difficult period. The contadini grew steadily poorer despite the most energetic measures taken by the government to control and improve conditions on the land. The rural poor migrated to the cities where the operapie were better organized and where they could take advantage of state-sponsored aid programs. There they joined a growing class of urban poor which had traditionally consisted of the very young, the sick and the very old but which increasingly included able-bodied young people unable to find work.

Thus, although the issue of urban poverty is a constant in the history of any Italian city, the eighteenth century was to prove a particularly critical period in Modena. Attempts to cope with the problem of the poor would fuel much of the social and fiscal reform of the century, and the Araldi, whose talents lay in money management, in medicine and in the Church, would find themselves by character and by social condition drawn to this "growth area" of city administration.

**Perceptions of the City: The Clerks' City**

Analyses of land use, population and social structure allow the scholar to reconstruct aspects of life in a city and state. There are, however, numerous other ways of gaining a perspective on a time and place. For the remainder of this chapter we will look at a number of ways in which Modena described itself in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

The Clerks' City is derived from two statistical views of Modena. The first, a catasto of city houses, arranges property and its owners into carefully designated geographical units. The second is a general view of the population taken from the Easter census prepared by the parish priests in 1773.
In 1773, the office of the Estimo presented the Duke with a catasto of immoveable property in the city of Modena, excluding only the ghetto, and based on inspections made by four bureaucrats and the ducal quartermaster between April of 1771 and the end of 1772.10 This catasto was a typical Enlightened attempt to enumerate and evaluate, to regularize, organize and control. Its primary purpose was, of course, to establish property values for tax purposes, but its compilers did not confine themselves to that. As they state in the preface, they sought to "measure the buildings of the city according to their quality, uses, locations and accommodations." What they produced was a systematic description of the houses, shops, factories, churches and public buildings as they existed in the early 1770s, along with information about the owners of the property.

Any discussion based on statistics gathered from eighteenth-century sources must be prefaced by some reflection on the nature and limitations of such sources. Eighteenth-century governments were small, and they lacked the technology to collect information on a modern scale. They also proceeded on an entirely different set of pre-suppositions from ours. They seem to have felt little compulsion to subordinate their numbers to an objective reality; rather, the numbers were expected to reflect reality as it was

10 ASMO, Estimi e Catasti 307, Catasto Preunitario, Case di Modena 1773.
already understood to exist. Thus in a census a parish was assumed to consist of a group of more or less permanent communicants: temporary migrants or persons with no strong ties to the immediate area could therefore be ignored. In a catasto, the city was assumed to consist of discrete buildings with clearly identifiable owners; therefore multiple or disputed ownership, residence, shared use, or occupation by persons other than the owner were all irrelevant.

Such caveats by no means invalidate early modern numerical assessments, but they do mean that one would be rash indeed to place excessive weight on the evidence derived from them. As surely as in any of the other "Cities" we will consider, the Clerks' City is a perception tailored to the purposes of its creators.

The Clerks' City consisted of some 1,747 case (a word better translated as "apartments" or "rooms" than as "houses") and over 500 shops and commercial establishments, the vast majority of which consisted of one room or part of a room connected to the shopkeeper's living quarters. By far the greatest number of these shops, and almost all of those identified as separate establishments rather than as parts of houses, were located in the Cathedral parish (that is, in the very core of the city, the ancient center of communal and religious as well as commercial life), or in the two parishes (Santa Maria Pomposa and San Michele) which...
included parts of the main street and bordered on the ghetto.

Modena in the third quarter of the eighteenth century was, as the capitol of the state, largely an administrative center whose population earned their living in the liberal professions, in services and crafts, in small-scale commerce, in food processing, and to a very small degree in industrial activities. As befitted a capital city, which inevitably attracted a large number of both wanted and unwanted visitors, there was a fair sprinkling of inns and wineshops (nineteen appear in the catasto), and fifty-five churches or oratories. These latter ranged from the Cathedral and the parish churches, to shrines associated with confraternities and regular orders.

Industrial Modena was largely confined to the eight spinning factories of the city, employing between four and twelve workers each and almost exclusively Jewish-owned, and to the glass factories and dye shops owned by the Comunità. The Ducal camera owned and operated a saltpeter factory but where a century before there had been an arsenal, now there was a poor house. The Soliani family owned and operated a printing house and shop. Religious orders owned three mills, and two tanneries owned by private individuals made use of the hides from two butchering centers in the city. There was in addition the predictable array of small shops: candle-
makers, ironmongers, bakers, shoemakers, woodworkers and the like.

The catasto lists some 2,200 property owners, ranging from the great nobles whose homes clustered around the Ducal Palace to unmarried sisters who owned one room in common. This number suggests that about eleven percent of the people of Modena owned real property of one sort or another, a percentage well within what one would expect in a pre-industrial capital city.

Although Modena was a court city with a substantial noble presence, the vast majority of property owners (eighty-two percent) were not titled. By far the largest single group of proprietors were non-noble males with no apparent Church connections: persons of this sort owned forty-nine percent of the dwellings and almost sixty percent of the shops. After these came a very substantial group of institutional ecclesiastical owners (they held sixteen percent of dwellings and fourteen percent of shops) and an associated group, men whose titles indicate ecclesiastical status (e.g. Don. Canon, Rector or the like) who owned twelve percent of the dwellings and almost ten percent of the shops. Taken together these clerical owners make a substantial group indeed, owning twenty-eight percent of residential and twenty-four percent of commercial
property. The percentage is especially striking when one considers that clerics made up only about three percent of the population. Clerical representation in the catasto is much closer to their role in the Painter's City than it is to any objective reality, reinforcing the conviction that what the painter saw was the social and economic, not the numerical, weight of the various components of society.

By far the most characteristic non-residential holding by the regular clergy, outside of the numerous convents, churches and oratories, were orchards and kitchen gardens, usually but not always directly associated with the convent or monastery. The regular clergy also owned shops, and the Reverend Fathers of San Cataldo went so far as to convert an old hospice of theirs in the parish of San Michele into an inn. By and large, however, it was the secular clerics who owned shops and houses. Sometimes they exercised this ownership in groups, as when the priests of the College of

11 It is important to note here that in Modena, as elsewhere in Catholic Europe, any family whose numbers included a cleric tended to report as much family property as possible under his name, probably in order to avoid whatever taxation or regulation could thus be avoided (though by the third quarter of the century clerical privilege had dwindled to the point of making this manoeuvre of dubious value).

12 This can no doubt be traced to the fact that self-sufficiency and isolation were built into the regula which established most of these orders, and this remained a part of the tradition even after the orders moved into urban areas. For an interesting discussion of this and related points, see Natura e Cultura Urbana a Modena. AAVV (Modena: Panini, 1983), p. 29.
San Carlo owned a shop and eight houses in San Biaggio and operated eighteen shops in the Cathedral parish, or when the Cathedral canons as a group owned no fewer than twenty-one shops. In other cases, they owned property as individuals. Most of the houses owned by clerics belonged to individual secular priests: Don Domenico Palastri and his brothers owned an inn, and the Abbate Ciocchi personally owned a wine storehouse.

In a third type of clerical ownership, most of the parishes (as distinct from the parish priest) owned a few houses or shops in addition to the parish church and the pastor's residence. Thus the parish of San Giacomo had two small shops under the portico at the canon's house, the parish of San Michele owned a shoemaker's shop, and the parish of Sant' Agata owned a three-story house including a woodworker's shop in the neighboring parish of Santa Maria Pomposa.

Nobles owned almost ten percent of the houses of the city, some rental property and some their own great houses. Most nobles lived near the ducal palace but the oldest families, such as the Rangone or the Molza, formed their own smaller centers of patronage in other parts of the city. Often a sort of family compound would be created when several members of the same family built houses in the same immediate area. In addition to their houses, nobles (like
the regular clergy) traditionally owned gardens and orchards.

Few nobles seem to have owned businesses as such. Only about eight and a quarter percent of the shops had noble landlords, the smallest percentage of any of the groups measured. But, perhaps as an extension of the noble tradition of hospitality, members of the upper aristocracy owned three of the inns in the city, and both of the public theaters.

The most important of the institutional proprietors outside the Church were the Opere Pie, or charitable institutions, and above all the Opera Pia Generale, the body into which most of the individual charitable institutions of the city had been consolidated in 1764. The Opera Pia Generale owned the Great Hospital and the Poor House, or Albergo de' Poveri, but they also owned a large amount of residential as well as commercial property throughout the city, accumulated in centuries of pious testamentary bequests and rented out to support the good works of the consolidated charities. In addition to the more usual properties, the Opera Pia Generale owned a number of granaries and wine storehouses, and an old hospice which had been converted into a factory for the making of woollen cloth.

There was one further group represented among the proprietors of the city, and these were the women who owned real property -- either dwellings (thirteen percent of the
5. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP
total) or shops (nine percent) -- in their own names. A few of these female property owners were noble, and one, Mme. Mouton, was a duke's mistress who managed to accumulate a considerable amount of property. Many of the others were either sisters holding small properties in common, or widows who seem to have inherited their husbands' property outright rather than simply the usufruct thereof. Other women appear to have conducted business in their own right. Women owned a number of inns and shops. Sra. Anna Cangiassi, a considerable businesswoman, owned a hand-spinning factory as well as an inn, six shops, and a wine store, while a silk mill employing six workers was owned by a Jewish matron, Sra. Marianna Rovighi.

The Clerks' City is a very different perception of reality from the cities that will be presented by painters and chroniclers. There is no crime or sin here, no ceremonial or theatrical reality. Even that most fundamental building block, the sense of community, seems to be absent. The clerks were concerned with only a small segment of the social hierarchy, as it were in close-up, and even this close-up concentrated exclusively on their ownership of urban, immovable property. The clergy are amply represented here, but they are seen less as a separate order than as a subset of the order of property-owners. This is all nicely quantifiable (always assuming that it is more or less accurate), but it is both highly abstract and limited.
Where the painter removed all elements of discord or confusion, the clerk reduced his city to buildings, and reduced his buildings to use and value, and showed his people only as they stood in an ownership relation to the buildings.

The Easter Census

In these years the city was divided into seven parishes, plus the ducal parish which in essence consisted only of the palace and its permanent inhabitants (a total of 122 persons in 1773). This arrangement was a very temporary one: a few years earlier there had been fourteen parishes; a few years later there would be only five. ¹³

The division of the city into parishes was by this time something of an administrative fiction and probably bore little relationship with the religious affiliations of the people, many of whom took the sacraments in any of the more than fifty smaller, non-parish churches. ¹⁴ By 1773 the parish priest was an employee paid by the state and working

¹³ The move to reduce the number of parishes from 14 had been a project of Francesco III's reforming minister Felice Antonio Bianchi, and by 1768 the parishes had been reduced from fourteen to seven. In 1774, the year after the completion of the catasto, they were finally reduced from seven to five. See ASMO, Giurisdizione Sovrana 161.

¹⁴ Many of these small churches were associated with religious orders or confraternities, while others were simply former parish churches where the sacraments continued to be celebrated within the revised parish system.
under the direction of the Giunta di Giurisdizione. The priest was still, of course, subject to the spiritual and to some degree the administrative direction of his bishop, but in the absence of a concordat the bishop's authority vis à vis the state on one hand and Rome on the other was largely a matter for day-to-day accommodation. Among his many administrative duties, each parish priest was required to prepare an annual Easter census describing the population of his parish.

The most striking fact about the population in the parishes in 1773 is the disproportionate number of adult females: fifty-six percent of adults were women, compared to forty-four percent men. This phenomenon occurs after adolescence, as figures for children to age fourteen are much closer to normal, showing forty-eight percent males to fifty-two percent females. One possible explanation would be the relative absence of employment opportunities for men.

The three-member body set up in 1758 to deal with Church-state relations, patterned on similar bodies in Lombardy and in the Habsburg lands. ASMO, Giurisdizione Sovrana 161 indicates that in 1774 a parish priest was paid a salary of £750 per year.

Although there was a great deal of negotiation between the Este and Rome, no concordat was signed during the eighteenth century. See G. Salvioli's classic article, "La legislazione di Francesco III duca di Modena," in Atti e Memorie Deputazione di Storia Patria, series IV, volume IX (Modena, 1893).

ASCN, Formentaria 62 (1773 census reports). The ducal parish (122 persons), the ghetto (1,270 persons), the residential charitable institutions (900 persons) and the Citadel are excluded from this discussion.
in the city, and the consequent migration to larger cities such as Bologna or Florence. There is certainly anecdotal evidence to support such an hypothesis. The records of the Poor House show that many women sought temporary shelter for their children when their husbands were absent from the city seeking work. Another, and complementary, condition might have been the influx of young women from the countryside seeking employment in domestic service. There is ample evidence of a constant and unwelcome emigration from the country into the city, though there is little evidence that women outnumbered men here.

Children, or young persons under the age of fourteen, made up almost twenty-five percent of the city population, while adults between the ages of fourteen and fifty-six accounted for over fifty-four percent. The remaining twenty-one percent was made up of the elderly, many of whom to judge by parish records lived well into their seventies, eighties and even nineties.

Clerics, as we have already noted, represented quite a small percentage of the total population (at least in Italian terms), with only slightly more than three persons per hundred reported in the census as clerics (a figure which included students and regular clergy as well as parish

\footnote{BE, Selmi Index of Opera Pia records, Misc. Esp. 24.2.3 (intake records of the Albergo de' Poveri, 1770-1776).}
clergy, but may have excluded persons in minor orders not attached to an institution).

These clerics, and most specifically the parish clergy, functioned at least in part as civil servants, and provided a vital link between the state and the people. In this respect one of their more important tasks was this annual census, the only reliable data on population before the administrative reforms of the Kingdom of Italy.

The Rebuilt City

The Este spent much of the seventeenth century attempting to transform their provincial seat into a capital city, and to reconstruct the court life they had left behind in Ferrara. They had brought their famous art collection and library, and in 1632 Duke Francesco I began transforming his citadel into a ducal palace. Religious orders were invited in to build or rebuild churches, and a ghetto was created in which the Jewish population was confined.

The study of the eighteenth-century parish clergy, in Modena as elsewhere in Italy, has been neglected. Indeed, in Modena it has only been the fact that Muratori served for 16 years as a parish priest that has attracted the attention of researchers to this topic at all. P. Giuseppe Orlandi's masterful Le Campagne Modenesi fra Rivoluzione e Ristaurazione (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1967), while addressing the question of the clergy as essential members of the governing class, deals with a slightly later period and concentrates, as the title suggests, on the country clergy.
Wars and epidemics, however, delayed the successful transformation of the city. The first half of the eighteenth century was dominated by a series of succession wars, and on three separate occasions the city was occupied by enemy forces. The French held the city from 1 August 1703 to 7 February 1707 during the War of Spanish Succession, and again from 20 July 1734 to 23 May 1736, during the War of Polish Succession. The War of Austrian Succession brought an extended occupation by the Austrians, from 8 June 1742 until 11 February 1749.

After the peace of Aquisgrana put an end to the wars in Italy in 1748, Francesco III set out in earnest to rebuild his capital. He widened streets, built piazze framed by magnificent and useful buildings, and brought openness and light into the dirty, narrow town. His activity reached a peak in the 1760s and by 1790, ten years after his death, Modena had been transformed from a dark medieval town to an open and elegant metropolis.

The city lies along the ancient Roman Via Emilia, the major thoroughfare which passes through Bologna, Modena, Reggio Emilia and Parma, and goes on to Milan and the north. The Via Emilia bisects Modena in a southeast by northeast line, cutting through the walls at the Porta Bologna to the east, and the Porta Sant' Agostino to the west. To the south, off the Via Emilia, is the Piazza Grande, the heart of the city. On one side of the piazza are the Romanesque
Duomo (built 1099 to 1106) and the Ghirlandina tower, the bell-tower that rises above and symbolizes the city. Adjacent to the Piazza Grande is the Palazzo del Comune, the offices of the city government. Balancing the Piazza Grande and the Duomo to the north of the Via Emilia lie the Piazza Ducale and the ducal palace and, behind that to the north-east, the extensive ducal gardens. Finally, balancing this open space to the northwest is the enormous expanse of the old Piazza d'Armi, the military parade ground which lay in front of a traditional star-shaped citadel. Until the late nineteenth century the whole was surrounded by city walls and guarded by four major bastions. [SEE MAP]

The transformation of Modena began in 1753 at the Piazza Sant' Agostino, with the erection of the new Hospital (see Chapter VII). This was an appropriate institution with which to begin the re-creation of Modena, as the ancient university, which Francesco set about reforming a few years later, was one of the most venerable medical training schools in Italy. Francesco spent over a million modenese lire on the hospital, money from his own treasury, from the comunità, and from Pope Benedict XIV. The new hospital opened in 1758, just in time for an outbreak of pectoral typhus. A decade or so later, when the new university opened, an anatomy theater was built next door to the hospital. A west wing was added later, and for some time it
6. MAP OF THE CITY OF MODENA
served as a military hospital; Ercole III added a wing for the care of the mentally ill after 1780.

Facing the Hospital across the broad piazza in 1753 was an arsenal and cannon foundry, and the Augustinian friary which had given the nearby city gate its name. In 1764, when Francesco consolidated the many charitable institutions of the duchy into one Opera Pia Generale, he decided to balance his great Hospital with an equally magnificent shelter for the poor — the Poor House, or Grande Albergo dei Poveri. The architect Termanini, who had designed the Hospital, consolidated the arsenal and the friary and adapted them for their new purpose. The Piazza Sant'Agostino became an airy and luminous introduction to Francesco's new city, and it was appropriate that his statue, an equestrian study inaugurated in spring of 1774, should have been placed here.

From the Piazza Sant'Agostino one proceeded into the city along the Via Emilia, and here the Duke set to work in his grandest style in 1760. Over the centuries this major thoroughfare had grown narrow and dark, as neglected palaces fronted by dark wooden porticoes closed in on it. In the usual Italian style, the ground floors of the palaces housed shops whose dim recesses added to the congestion and gloom. The duke sent orders from Milan for the compulsory purchase of the buildings on either side of the road, tore down the old porticoes and facades, and rebuilt them. The bright and
airy shops thus created were sold, and the proceeds went into the cassa d'ornato (the rebuilding fund). Modena never rivalled Bologna, with its thirty-five kilometers of airy and protected walkways, cool in summer and sheltered in winter, but now at last the provincial town began to take on the look of a capital city.

The Piazza Grande had always been the heart of the city. Its open, cobbled expanse served as the site of concerts and balls, open-air religious ceremonies and processions, and a place where the men of the city could gather to see and be seen. A celebration, an execution or a riot — any Modenese corporate activity had to begin in the Piazza Grande. The east side of the Piazza was confined by the eleventh-century Romanesque cathedral and by the bell tower. Francesco ordered restoration work on both of these civic monuments. Fluted towers and marble mosaics were added to the cathedral, while the interior of the bell tower was excavated, an ornate gate and railings set up around it, and marble facing used to repair the ravages of seven centuries. The cluster of little houses that had closed in the tower and the cathedral was cleared away.21


21The Ghirlandina was a tourist attraction in the eighteenth century as it is today. The famous "stolen bucket", the secchia rapita of Tassoni's poem, had been carefully guarded here since it was taken as a trophy of war from Bologna in MYS ????

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The Palazzo Comunale, seat of city government, stood across the square from the cathedral. University lectures were held on the second floor of the Palazzo until a new university palace was built in 1772, not far from the Piazza Grande. The building was worthy of its elevated purpose, with a fine atrium and courtyard and a great marble staircase.

Across the Via Emilia, balancing that part of the city dedicated to the Church and the citizenry, lay the great expanse of the ducal palace and gardens. Francesco I had begun his palace on the site of the medieval citadel, and through the years since 1596 the dukes had worked to complete and improve it. As early as 1749, Francesco III had begun to make his own additions, to create his own Versailles or Schönbrunn by adding a clock tower, a south wing, and a new court theater. In 1756 he ordered the creation of the stunning "golden salon" (the salottino d'oro). The room was panelled with gold laminate and purple, with mirrors, inlays and friezes depicting the myths of Leda and the Swan, and Daphne and Apollo. The panels are distinguished by the fact that they are completely removable, so that they can be taken down and hidden in underground chambers in case of a recurrence of the wars and invasions to which the duchy had become accustomed. Ercole

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22The room has since become the pride of the Officers' Club since the palace now houses a distinguished military academy.
III carried on the work, completing the facade and demolishing several houses to enlarge the piazza in front of the palace.

Francesco, like Joseph II two decades later, opened his palace gardens to his subjects, "a comodo e a solievo dei cittadini".\(^\text{23}\) The walkways were enlarged and expanded: an *palazzina* was erected there and decorated with marble busts of Roman emperors set in niches, and on summer nights the philharmonic academies held concerts. Francesco's heir built a new pleasure garden, full of fountains and running water and joined to the larger gardens by a subterranean passageway. In the same spirit, Ercole transformed the *piazza d'armi* into an enormous public park, with an elegant Rotunda at its center.

Francesco gave one final improvement to his capital: in 1777, three years before his death, he opened the cemetery of San Cataldo outside the city walls, and at the same time banned the ancient and desperately unsanitary practice of burying corpses in the churches.\(^\text{24}\)

\(^\text{23}\)"For the convenience and pleasure of the citizens."

Memorie dell'anno 1738 al 1796 per servire alla storia delle fabbriche restauri, abbellimenti ed ornato di Modena (Parma: Pietro Fiaccadore, 1854), p. 12. This was the same period in which Francesco opened the Estense library to the public, and shortly before he dedicated a part of the ducal gardens as a botanical garden for the new University.

\(^\text{24}\)This was done only in winter, but a mild winter meant that services had to be suspended, church doors left open, and the streets around the building rendered all but impassable by the stench. See the manuscript history of the city by A. Campori cited by Namias, *Storia di Modena e dei*
The series of paintings to which we will now turn are in a sense a visual reflection of the reform and rebuilding of the mid-century. They not only offer a careful and precise representation of important sites and buildings, they go a great deal further: they present the people of the city, carefully arranged in social hierarchies, as part of the order and the progress represented by the reforms.

The Painter's City

Historians until recently have rarely used paintings as anything but illustrative material. As documentation, art has seemed to be marred by subjectivity if not outright misrepresentation, by narrowness of vision, and by a conventionality of statement resulting from a combination of style, technical limitation, and the pressures of patronage.\(^25\) Nevertheless, in any culture such as the Italian where public display was (and is) so essential a part of social rank and relationship, direct evidence of visual self-representation at work must be of considerable value.

\(^{25}\)As recorded in the Vacchetta per li Giustiziati 1593-1826, ASCM Camera Segreta, Lucchi 11.8. A striking exception is Simon Schama's *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), which makes extensive and illuminating use of Dutch art as a way of understanding Dutch society and mindset. In a more anthropological approach, Peter Burke makes ingenious use of the Renaissance portrait in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
Francesco's rebuilding of his city has been chronicled in a remarkable series of paintings which proudly display the streets, buildings and people of a busy and prosperous city shaped by reform. These paintings, obviously created on commission as a set, were found as part of the household effects of an old, non-noble Modenese family. In the early 1980s they were sold to another Modenese family, wealthy, civic-minded, but again not of the nobility. To date no clue about the identity of the painters or the patrons who commissioned the works has emerged.

The seven canvases were painted at about the same time that the Araldi married into the Consetti family, the father and the son of which were moderately talented court painters. Although the style of the paintings in question is somewhat below that evinced by the Consetti it is interesting to note that the Araldi had ties with the art world at about this time. The connection in fact was an enduring one, as Michele Araldi served on the original board of Ercole's Fine Arts academy in the 1780s and the early 1790s. This, taken with one certain and two possible portraits of Battista Araldi, seems to indicate that the man who commissioned these works may well have been an Araldi connection.

The works considered here are genre paintings of a kind
7. BALOARDO SAN PIETRO (A). A fete champetre set at the baloardo San Pietro (a wide space along the city walls near the church of San Pietro). The predominant figures are gentlemen (twenty figures), ladies (twenty-two), and children (sixteen). Almost half of the ladies represented in these paintings are here.
8. SAN FRANCESCO GATE (B). No single social group numerically dominates this scene at the San Francesco Gate, except for the eleven chierici, who are both children and clerics of a sort.
9. SANT'AGOSTINO GATE (C). The Sant'Agostino Gate was the site of the two projects which crowned the reforms of Francesco III: the Albergo of the Poor (right) and the Great Hospital (left). Gentlemen and soldiers are the dominant groups here.
10. CARNIVAL (D). This crowded carnival scene is set at one of the major intersections in the city center, Canalgrande Street and the Via Emilia. The scarcity of gentlemen and clerics is notable here: in the upside-down world of carnival, the dominant groups take a back seat.
11. COLLEGE OF SAN CARLO (E). The new porticoes of the College of San Carlo dominate this scene in the city center. The Via Emilia leads away to the left while the street to the right ends at the Ducal Palace. Here gentlemen resume their dominance, with eight figures.
12. NAVIGLIO CANAL (F). The wide streets and open spaces of the "New Land" at the extreme north-east of the city feature in this painting set at the Castello gate. Thirty of the sixty-two soldiers who appear in the series march in review near the Naviglio, the canal which joined Modena to the inland waterways of Northern Italy.
13. DUCAL GARDENS (G). The Duke's emergence from the royal gardens which he had recently opened to the public creates a conjunction of court, army and Church (the dismayed little group in the center background). Gentlemen clearly dominate this scene.
popular at the time, a step above naives.\textsuperscript{26} Their quality, which is workmanlike but hardly of the first rank, indicates that they were probably executed by the sort of artist-craftsman whose family handed the trade down from father to son, on commission from a civic-minded, wealthy businessman or professional of the type who didn't know much about art but knew what he liked. And in the fashion of such patrons what he liked was detail, clarity, straight lines that were really straight, and recognizable local sights and persons.

The city itself is the major protagonist here. Indeed, the architecture is so carefully rendered as to suggest that two different artists were at work, one who did the buildings, the other who did the people.\textsuperscript{27} It seems probable that the series was intended as an expression of civic pride, a composite portrait of the city after the monumental

\textsuperscript{26}Although view painters and topographical scenes are a commonplace in eighteenth-century art, few painters of such works included the painstaking characterization and civic presentation as did the anonymous Modenese craftsman. Only in some of Bernardo Bellotto's scenes of Vienna and Warsaw in the late 1760s and 1770s does one find the same sort of attention to personality and social role. Far more usually, eighteenth-century view painters used figures in the style of Canaletto, merely to give perspective and color. See Giulio Briganti, \textit{The View Painters of Europe} (New York: Phaidon, 1970), trans. Pamela Waley. See also Francis Haskell, \textit{Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque} (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).

\textsuperscript{27}An idea put forward by the present owner of the paintings, based on the striking difference in technique between the straightforward detail of the architecture and the idiosyncratic quality of the portraits which suggests the work of a figurist brought in specially for the job.
renewal projects of the mid-century decades. Portraits of cities were an artistic commonplace in this period (Canaletto and Vanvitelli spring to mind). What makes these carefully rendered streets, churches and palaces unusually valuable is the fact that they serve as a stage set for a highly individualized and eloquent collection of Modenese. Nobles, citizens, priests, beggars, workers, ladies and soldiers are all here, many of them so idiosyncratically rendered as to make it almost certain that these were real persons who were expected to recognize themselves in the scene.

These canvases can be dated with some certainly. The absence of the equestrian statue of Francesco III in the Piazza Sant' Agostino means that they were painted before 1774, while the fact that the hospital is open indicates a date of 1758 or later. The presence of the extended porticoes at the College of San Carlo suggests a date of 1763 or later. The presence of the column at the corner of...

26 The social descriptions in this section are based on an analysis of the 304 figures large enough and clearly enough presented to be identified by their dress. They have been assigned to a social order (as people generally were at first sight) on the basis of their costume and their activity. "Gentlemen" are identified broadly as men who dress shows them clearly to be neither clerics, soldiers or workers. The category includes such diverse figures as the Crown Prince and the barely distinguishable men who accompany the ladies at San Pietro. "Ladies" are those female figures who are clearly not workers or beggars (and may include nuns); children are recognized generally by their size, and soldiers, workers, beggars and clerics are, like gentlemen and ladies, categorized by their dress and attitude.
Canalgrande and the Via Emilia, which was removed in 1764, would seem to date the paintings with some precision as having been executed in either 1763 or 1764.

There are two cities here: one, the precisely delineated architectural city, and the other the equally precisely pictured city of social relationships. If the sites present a new and prosperous Modena, the people match their settings. Nobles, priests, citizens and soldiers are all in their holiday best in a city where it never rains on carnival. The workers and the poor are here as well, but they are on their best behavior, respectfully going about their business, cleaning the streets or begging at the church door, or standing by to admire their betters.

**Children, priests and beggars**

The children in the paintings are of three basic sorts: the children of the very rich, miniatures of their parents and dressed with all the emblematic attention to detail which characterizes their elders; the children of the middling sort; and the children of the poor, carried by their parents to help with the begging (A), or running barefoot through the dust (F).

The children in the foreground of G offer a study in contrasts: the prettily-dressed girl in blue with her fan and her roses hardly seems to share the same world with the little beggar girl almost hidden behind her mother's skirts.
Boys dance in the carnival street while the son of a noble stands aloof, his hand on his small sword (D). At the baloardo San Pietro (A) boys and girls of all classes sit on the grass with their elders or gather to enjoy the slapstick delights of Pulcinello. and only the beggar child in her barefoot father’s arms is excluded.

The poor are almost always shown in family groups, as the mother and children at San Francesco or the mother, father and children at the Ducal Gardens and by San Pietro. The cripple begging at Sant' Agostino (C) and the lone man receiving alms at San Francesco (B) may be exceptions, but a close examination of the first scene shows a small girl inside the door of the church with her hand extended (the beggar’s daughter?), and the second man may belong to the woman and children in the foreground. The only exceptions are the begging children (as in D and F). The lists of licensed beggars in Modena in the 1770s indicate that many of them indeed lived in family groups — helpless old people and orphans or abandoned children tended to be taken into residential care at the Poor House.29 Beggars, however, were certainly not all licensed, despite threats to arrest and expel all unauthorized seekers of charity. One of the most savagely-worded of these threats was in fact issued in 

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29 BE. Index of Opera Pia Records, Misc. Esp. 24.2.3 (1770-1776) shows about 150 licensed beggars, two-thirds of them women or girls, the great majority of them sick or abandoned women with children.
June of 1763, probably the very time when these scenes were being painted). Modenese writers from Muratori to Ricci commented on the swarms of beggars in the churches and at the church gates. Thus the artist has been more or less true to life about the character and location of the beggars, but he seems to have grossly understated their numbers.

The artist has included several timeless cliches about the clergy: the fat friar eyeing the lady (F), the humble Franciscans engaged in acts of charity (B and C), the white-robed Dominican striding aloof and alone, with a little white and black dog to make a pun on the name of his order (A and B). The secular clergy are amply represented, from the scruffy to the respectable to the elegant. All three conditions are evident in the scene at the Ducal Gardens where Don Araldi and his two companions at the extreme left acknowledge the salute of a hunched little priest while an aristocratic clergyman with a monocle shares center stage.

30 ASMO. Cancelleria, Gridario EE (1762-1764). Proclamation of 28 June 1763, notes "the extraordinary crowd of rustic persons and families, both subjects and aliens, and other sorts of beggars and vagabonds who have been introduced into the city at this time, to the serious inconvenience of the citizens and the damage to agriculture ..." These are given eight days to leave. Those with permission to remain are reminded that anyone caught begging without a license, or under unauthorized circumstances, will be arrested.

31 Lodovico Antonio Muratori, Carità Cristiana (Modena: Soliani, 1723) and Lodovico Ricci, Riforma degl' Istituti Pii della Città di Modena (Modena: Soliani, 1786).
with an equally aristocratic father and daughter. Other members of the secular clergy appear in almost all of the paintings (with the possible exception of D. carnival), almost always in casual conversation with well-dressed gentlemen or other clerics. They are realistically presented as highly visible and dealing on an equal footing with members of the middle and upper orders, from whose ranks most of them had come.

**Soldiers and Workers**

Soldiers are ubiquitous in these scenes, marching in full kit, on guard duty, or simply lounging on the sidelines. At first glance their presence may seem to suggest that a high proportion of the Modenese population was made up of military men, but in fact this was not the case. An alternative explanation would be that the military, with their numerous regiments and highly distinctive uniforms and accouterments, contributed a disproportionate amount to civic pride.\(^{32}\) The brightly dressed, mustachioed soldiers and their dashing officers seem to be largely decorative, and their role can be exemplified by the magnificent figure on horseback at the center of B. The page at his side indicates his rank, though this is hardly necessary: he is

\(^{32}\)BE. Cronaca Rovatti, an eight-volume chronicle of the city between 1796 and 1815, devotes literally dozens of pages to illustrations showing the various regiments and the ranks and positions within them.
clearly a member of the court in military dress, perhaps the Duke himself, perhaps his natural son Federico Benedetto Tesde (an anagram of the name d'Este. 1745-1820), who held the rank of colonel.

Each painting (except, appropriately, the carnival scene) offers a view of Modena at work. Only a few of these workers represent the craftsmen, textile and food workers who made up the bulk of the working population. Instead, the workers shown here are for the most part the men and women whose jobs had a public face, such as civic employees engaged in cleaning and improving the streets, carters and porters, and vendors selling their goods.

In A, a prominent position is given to the heavy vehicle which is being used to water the road and grass. The workers here are completely anonymous, but their work itself is emblematic: keeping the streets clean was a task that featured prominently in ducal proclamations and in the records of the city's business.

Carters of one sort and another appear in two other scenes, D and F, and most notably in F, which is largely involved with transportation in any case, being centered on the goods' canal which entered Modena at this point. Other than the canal barges implied by the subject, there are two different sorts of wagons, both drawn by teams of oxen and both shaped like enormous barrels and apparently used for transporting goods. In addition, a sedan chair with its two
bearers waits at the entrance to the Silesian monastery. Another type of delivery or street-cleaning wagon appears at the corner of the Via Emilia in D. Porters are seen at work near the Piazza Sant' Agostino (D), as two men carry a stretcher into the hospital at the left, while in the distance a man pushes a heavily-laden handcart towards the city center.

Men carrying or delivering goods make up an important segment of the working population as portrayed in this series. The other segment stressed here are the vendors: the boy selling bread rings in A, the toy seller in G, and the woman balancing a bright tray of fruits and vegetables on her head in B. The woman in the foreground in C seems an experiment in chiaroscuro and foreshortening as she bends over a tiny brazier. She may simply be warming her hands, or she may be one of the many women who supplemented their incomes during the winter months by selling roasted chestnuts.

Ladies. Gentlemen. and who speaks to whom

It is obvious that the people represented in these paintings are by no means a realistic cross-section of the people who might be expected to appear in the streets of Modena. A simple head count shows that the most frequently pictured social group are Gentlemen (seventy-two figures, including the five maskers in D). After these come Soldiers

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### Graph I: Social Interactions

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14. SOCIAL INTERACTIONS
(sixty-two, but including thirty seen marching as a group in F) and Ladies (with fifty-three distinct figures). There are forty-nine clerics represented, but these include clerical students, and almost half of these (twenty-one) are in groups rather than presented as individuals. Finally, there are thirty persons who appear to be either beggars or workers. The graph shows the relationship of these figures to the actual numbers in the population, as reported in the 1773 census.

The paintings present a Modena of clean, broad streets and prosperous, happy people. The sparkling buildings, the workers and the soldiers are all there to provide the stage set and the supernumeraries who support the stars — the possidenti, the gente perbene, the plump and well-dressed upper classes of eighteenth-century Modena.

An analysis of who is talking to or in contact with whom reveals communication patterns which are closely tied to social roles. Gentlemen, as one would expect, have the widest freedom of communication, addressing or in some way dealing with every other group except for the poor, workers and, curiously, regular clerics. In seventeen separate events, they interact with five different social groups.

In fourteen events involving four social groups ladies interact almost exclusively with other ladies, or in family groups. A few are seen escorting small children into church, but otherwise their only connection with children or
gentlemen is in the family group — except for the little anecdotal flirtation in F.

Children interact in eleven events, but only among three groups, that is with other children, with their parents, or with clerics.

Next come the two sorts of clerics, secular and regular. If taken together they make up the dominant group in terms of range and number of contacts. However, their character and functions were, and were perceived to be, very different. Regular clerics are presented as more sympathetic to the helpless — in eight events they interact with four groups, including children and the poor. The secular clergy, who were more likely to form a part of the power structure, are shown dealing with only three groups, but these are all representatives of the ruling orders.

Officers appear mainly in their job-defined, symbolic roles and are shown as having little intercourse with the rest of the city. In five events they deal only with other officers, and in one case, with a gentleman.

Similarly, soldiers are seen exclusively in terms of their role. Although they appear in every painting, they interact only with other soldiers.

Even the poor seem more socially active than the soldiers. They too appear in most paintings, and in six events they deal with other members of their families, and
with clerics. However, by implication they are impinging in some way upon most of the other persons presented.

Most restricted are the workers, who lack even the begging-almmsgiving relationship which brings the poor into contact with the clergy and with their own families. Workers, like soldiers, appear here exclusively in terms of their work.

It comes as no surprise to note that the groups as represented in these paintings bear little resemblance to the actual numerical presence of social groups as identified in the census and the catasto (see below). The graph [GRAPH II] shows the relative numbers of men, women, children and clerics in the general population compared with those in the paintings. Similarly, the catasto shows that some eleven percent of the population owned immoveable property; here, well over half of the figures are clearly members of the property-owning orders.

Art and Statistics

It comes as no surprise to note that the social hierarchy represented in the painters' city bears little resemblance to the actual numerical presence of social groups as identified in the census and the catasto. The graph shows the relative numbers of men, women, children, clerics and the poor in the general population compared with those in the paintings. Although the census provides no
15. MODENESE POPULATION c1765
information about social class, it does show that lay adult males made up only a little over thirty percent of the population, while gentlemen (a small subset of the male population in any Old Regime society) account for forty-three percent of the figures in the paintings. Women, in contrast, are grossly underrepresented. While about thirty-nine percent of the population was female, only a little over seventeen percent of the figures in the paintings are women, and most of these are ladies (like gentlemen, a small subset of the population). Children, too, are underrepresented but clerics, who in fact made up only about three percent of the total population, are sixteen percent of the figures. Most underrepresented of all are the poor. In the 1780s they were described as making up a third of the population, but they account for only seven percent of the figures in the paintings. The catasto shows that some eleven percent of the population owned immovable property: in the painters' city the great majority of the figures are clearly members of the property-owing orders.

The War between the Sexes

An anonymous painting in the Civic Museum of Modena gives quite a different artist's eye view of social relationships and offers some pungent comment on the relationship between men and women. In this can as the ladies of the city snare and tame three gentlemen-birds, a lawyer, a noble
THE WAR BETWEEZ THE SEXES: An anonymous eighteenth-century canvas.
and a priest. In the distance other ladies observe a little flock of similar creatures roaming across a green meadow. Curiously, these give the impression of fat, feathered cattle, not so much free as temporarily at large. They seem to step with slow and absurd dignity, liable to be netted at will by these coolly predatory ladies of fashion. The fate of the plucked little fellow in the foreground, cuddled and imprisoned in the lap of a smocked (and possibly pregnant) young woman, suggests the dreadful end which awaits the others. Only his hat and his fine black tail remain to recall his former splendor.

In order to see what is going on here, we must remember that *uccello* (bird) is a venerable bawdy slang for the male member. It seems clear then that this painting represents the battle of the sexes in the rather heavy-handed symbolism of the feminine fowlers' net.

This desperately serious frivolity is set in a dream landscape outside the city walls, in the manicured arcadia so dear to the eighteenth-century imagination. Behind the actors rises a dream-Modena, a city of bell towers (the phallus tamed by organized religion?) which reinforce the message of the term *uccello*. The twin images of court and city are exaggerated out of all proportion: the splendid Ghirlandina (the bell tower of the cathedral) is almost embarrassing in its prominence, while the ducal palace is shown as several hundred times its actual relative size.
All of this is, of course, as idealized as any allegory of the life of Saint Dominic. And it would be as much of an error to dismiss this unrealistic scene as merely the result of the artist's lack of skill as it would be to so dismiss the air-borne allegories of religious art, or the precise misrepresentations in Egyptian tomb paintings. The landscape just as it is presented is exactly proper for this elegant scene, painting with the calm and menacing clarity of a pleasant but disturbing dream.

What is the Painters' City? Above all it is the Platonic ideal of an Enlightened city, presented in clean, open lines and bright, clear colors and characterized by order, harmony and optimistic vitality. This is the public city, the city which had just experienced two decades of feverish civic reconstruction.33 Everything here is preternaturally clean and orderly. Every social group is here, all moving in their busy, cheerful way across a peaceful and harmonious stage set provided by the meticulously rendered architecture. The private, residential Modena, the narrow lanes where the vast majority of the people lived are nowhere to be seen.

The Painters offer a precisely balanced vision of the population in terms of hierarchy, represented by social rather than by numerical weight. This is a gentleman's-eye

33 See Susan V. Nicassio, "The Native Roots of Reform" (Masters' Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1986), chapter V. See also Memorie dall'anno 1738 al 1796, op cit.
view of Modena, seen neither from the court nor from the Poor House, but rather from the vantage point of the prosperous urban professional. The almost 80 percent who live in rented rooms in back streets are all but invisible.

The social groups seen here appear in different guise in other documentation. The poor, who are mere extras in these paintings, come into their own in the reports of their parish clergy. In the Painters' City, priests are either dispensers of charity or members of the propertied order, roles which will be emphasized in the Clerks' Cities.

Women, who are almost exclusively decorative in the street scenes, take on a very different role in "The Birds" where, if they are granted the half-mocking sovereignty of petticoat rule, the joke is an uneasy one: these women are dangerous. And a glance at property ownership may suggest that the fear of female control was in fact appropriate. These paintings hint at an economic role which will be more directly stated in official documentation.

The Painter's City is blatantly theatrical. The streets and public spaces of any Italian commune carry a heavy burden of meaning. It is hardly necessary to point out that Italian public spaces have traditionally served the multiple functions of thoroughfare, forum and drawing room, or to note that nobles as well as popolani have habitually used streets and cafés as extensions of their homes. This practice has some aspects which may be overlooked, but which
play an important part in the presentation of the Painter's City.

A walk across the Piazza Grande in Modena on any early evening or Sunday noon is a graphic demonstration of the ritual of community which is enacted and reenacted as the people of the city gather to see and be seen. It is in the Piazza and along the major public streets, that the Modenese participate in the secular sacrament that makes their city a discrete organism whose life extends far beyond the lives of any individual, however important, in much the same way that a family's life does.

In theatrical terms, role-playing, appearance, making a bella figura are vital in the context of public ritual. The elaborate little dramas which fill every café and are played out in every street encounter are more than an ongoing source of entertainment. though they are certainly that; they are essential parts of the mutual creation of a group identity. This process is highly visible in all of these paintings which are, as Peter Burke observed in his study of Renaissance portraits, "a silent language, a theatre of status, a system of signs representing attitudes and values."34

How "accurate" is the Painter's Modena, a city which breathes enlightenment and rational order, hierarchy and stagecraft? This perception of the city is profoundly sub-

34Peter Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, pp. 150-167.
jective. This is the way a specific segment of Modenese society chose to see itself and its environment. These paintings do not give an objectively realistic view of how life was lived, but they do something perhaps more important: they show us what the painter, and by extension the audience for whom the painter was working, thought the city ought to be. Se non è vero, è ben trovato, and being ben trovato, in Modena as elsewhere, may tell more about reality than a photograph which tells nothing but the undigested verità.

Conclusions

The Modena which expresses itself so eloquently in the cathedral can be found in any number of other sources. The views which we have examined here seem quite discrete, but it is possible to identify common themes among them. All of them at root deal with social order and hierarchy. Their subject is the interdependence of the lawful in the face of the chaotic: of the respectable, be they rich or poor, who share the streets with decorum; of the state and its property-owners. These are dynamic, not static self-portraits

35Pocock has observed observed that what people claim to be doing and how they justify it is just as revealing as what they finally do. Similarly the way in which people present themselves, be it visually, ceremonially, anecdotally or statistically, tells us at least as much about their values, assumptions and expectations as it does about the reality being presented. J.G.A. Pocock, Virtue, Commerce and History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

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which above all present evidence about relationships: social and economic distance and closeness, gender roles, Church-state relations, and the relation between self-perception and objective reality.

They evoke a Modena which in the latter third of the eighteenth century seemed to breathe an air of communal unity, social cooperation, and a certain complacency. Yet the poor were the great majority, and the property owners were few. And despite this, and the pervasive presence of the court, the city did not see itself primarily in terms of either the great or the small. Instead, Modena gives the impression of a city of well-to-do merchants and professionals, of gentlemen.

Modena saw itself as self-contained and cohesive. It was a city utterly blind to those whom it did not consider to be a part of its organic whole. No one, not the painter or the priest, the clerk or the chronicler, so much as noted the existence of the vagabonds or destitute country people, though proclamations banning them from the city and treatises on political science which urged their exclusion give ample evidence of their presence.

Women are gradually revealed in these cities. They change from off-stage victims to decorative or dangerous supernumeraries, only to emerge as leading players in the statistical studies: substantial property owners among the rich, and the majority of the overall population.
The Church filled a number of sometimes contradictory roles in the perception of these witnesses. Despite the overwhelming tone of Enlightened rationalism, its ministers seem to have retained at least a trace of that connection with the transcendent which made them more than simply property owners on one side or dispensers of charity on the other.

The geographical and historical accidents of location and event defined Modena as out-of-the-way and slightly out of the mainstream, so that its traditional conservatism had time to grow into an inward-looking confidence, while at the same time its status as a ducal capital gave it a sense of leadership and progress. This was the environment in which the Araldi were to make their home, and make their mark.
CHAPTER IV

The Poor in Modena

Reform in Modena was inextricably bound up with the problem of poverty. Most reform, traditional or innovative, was at root an attempt to deal with this problem in one way or another. Modenese attitudes towards the poor, and Modenese models for dealing with them, derived directly from the work of Lodovico Antonio Muratori. In this chapter we will analyze the structure and background of reform by examining the poor: how the Modenese perceived them, and who they were.

Modenese political and moral philosophers traditionally divided the poor into four categories: the working poor (including the unemployed); the invalidi, those for one reason or another physically unable to work; the idle, or oziosi, made up of able-bodied beggars and others who, though able to work, did not; and the vergognosi or shamefaced poor, those persons of civil or noble rank whose fortunes had declined to the point where they could no longer support themselves in a appropriate fashion.¹

¹The characteristic statement of these classes of poor is to be found in Muratori's Carità Cristiana. For an analysis of the changing approaches to these various classes of poor, see Pullan, "Support and redeem".

180
This is at root a perception of the poor which is as much social as economic. It stands in some contrast to the broader, more economically determined analysis of poverty and its victims which would characterize later periods. We may examine this question in terms of "concentric circles of poverty". The first and inmost circle consisted of the structural poor, those persons incapable of earning their living because of age, illness or handicap, estimated at four to eight percent of the population (a group corresponding more or less to the Modenese invalidi). The second circle consisted of the conjunctural or crisis poor, a further twenty percent of the population who depended on badly-paid or casual work to sustain them, and who could descend below the level of subsistence as the result of a bad harvest, an economic downturn, or an unexpected personal reversal (the working poor of Modena, among others, would belong to this circle). Third came a large group of artisans, small retailers and petty officials whose hold on prosperity was so precarious that they were likely to join the crisis poor in bad times. Finally there were the victims of the bad harvests, plagues and invasions which occurred regularly in pre-industrial states. These could come from

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almost any social group, but characteristically they were the country people who poured into urban areas seeking refuge and relief. These last two groups contain a number of persons who in the Modenese context might qualify as vergognosi, but they also include many who were considered to be either idle or invalidi.

Brian Pullan, in his analysis of the Italian poor from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, identifies a distinct shift in the latter period. Whereas medieval charity tended to be directed largely towards the respectable poor, Tridentine charity took an interest in bringing social and moral outcasts into settled society. Muratori, as a social philosopher and as a pastor, felt obliged to attempt to redeem the fallen. He strenuously advocated that prostitutes and vagabonds should be trained for useful work. Above all he urged that the children of the poor should be rescued from the vice and poverty which had blighted the lives of their parents. Nevertheless, the Modenese continued to make a critical and essential division between the deserving and the undeserving poor, between the innocent victims and those whose disinclination to work or whose vice-dominated lives kept them poor.

In eighteenth-century Modena, as always and everywhere, the great bulk of the deserving poor were the helpless. These were children, old people living alone, and women or the dependents of women — widows and their children, old
women who had never married, abandoned women, women whose husbands were unable to work or, working, were unable to support them and their children.

Children as such were not recognized as a category of the poor, but from illegitimate infants to adolescent orphans they consistently absorbed a large share of the welfare attention and funding. Childhood, in the sense of dispensation from being self-supporting, lasted only until age eight or nine. However, this was often extended to include the "dangerous years" (roughly thirteen to twenty) in which young persons, and most particularly young girls, were recognized as requiring special protection. Children, more than any other group, were recognized as having a claim on the charity of their neighbors and their city, both because they were helpless and because there was always the hope that proper training and timely assistance could turn them into productive citizens. Children, in a word, were at least theoretically salvageable.

If children were recognized as having a claim on help, the idle poor were the bane of reformers, who blamed indiscriminate alms-giving for the proliferation of such reprobates. Any able-bodied person unable to support him or herself was liable to be condemned as idle unless there were strong evidence to the contrary, and the "swarms of beggars" described as infesting the city's public places were generally regarded as idlers despite the fact that many.
though willing to work, were unable to find employment. Much of the penal legislation against the poor was directed against this group, and under the generic label of "idler" one could find such diverse persons as prostitutes and criminals, and the large numbers of country people who came into the urban areas seeking work or alms. Moves to control these "parasites" included the licensing of beggars, and the expulsions of non-residents which were regularly proclaimed by court or city authorities.

Most Modenese workers found themselves among the working poor at one time or another. What we know about Old Regime urban work patterns suggests that people below the level of artisan or guild member routinely drifted from job to job. Porters, street cleaners and vendors all worked on a temporary basis when work could be found; even skilled workmen such as spinners and weavers floated from job to job. The intake records of the Albergo are full of such men and women, tied to the declining textile trade, either out of work or unable to live on the pittance this work earned them.

The invalidi were the core of the structural poor, and most of the institutions to be discussed below were set up to assist them. The hospital and hospice were shelters for the blind, the lame, and those whose age prevented them from earning their own living.
The unemployed and the disabled are categories of poverty familiar to the modern period, but there is little modern parallel to two categories of poor: the vergognosi, or shamefaced poor, and the forestieri or outsiders. It is important to note that Muratori's Charitable Company (Compagnia della Carità), like almost all Modenese charities of this period, was concerned specifically with the poor of the urban parishes of the city of Modena. Even people from the suburbs or provincial towns of the Modenese states were generally excluded, to say nothing of persons from outside the state. Every city in Italy, and probably every city in the Mediterranean world, rigorously excluded outsiders from benefitting from the aid created by and for citizens. Pressure from the rural poor on the resources of cities had led to the hardening attitude of civic authorities from the 1520s. This attempt to stem the tide of country people of course failed, but it established a permanent discrimination against non-residents as the norm in city policy. An example of this is the attitude towards pilgrims, which in the Middle Ages had been quite positive. By the eighteenth century the prevailing opinion in Modena as elsewhere was that, while there may once have been bona fide pilgrims, in

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3ASMO, Doni 54, "Memorie della Compagnia della Carità, 1720-1748."

4Woolf, The Poor in Western Europe, p. 8.
modern times the name was a shelter for vagabonds and ne'er-do-wells.

Certainly the Modenese in the first part of the eighteenth century thought about poor relief strictly in terms of city and parish, and those Early Modern city fathers who in plague and famine time had thought it their moral duty to drive all non-residents beyond the walls to die were the spiritual fathers of eighteenth-century Modenese aid. Even the gentle Muratori laid down the precept that, if a choice had to be made between resident and stranger, then the resident must be helped and the stranger excluded. And in a pre-industrial economy, such a choice had regularly to be made.

The second category of poor which has little modern counterpart is that of the shamefaced poor (or poveri vergognosi). Their special status disappeared with the hierarchical view of society, and while it may still be very true that poverty is hardest on those who are not used to it, the state is no longer expected to support the class structure by ensuring that those of civil or noble rank continue to live in the style appropriate to their status when they no longer have the income to support that style.

The aid available to the needy came from a complex and stratified array of charitable institutions, which reflected the carefully stratified definition of the poor. These

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Muratori, Carità Cristiana.
institutions were funded and operated by an inextricable mixture of state, Church, and private groups and individuals. These public, private and ecclesiastical groups provided three broad areas of assistance: regular non-residential aid, casual aid, and residential aid. Among the oldest and most characteristic sources of regular non-residential assistance was the Board for the Shamefaced Poor (Desco dei Poveri Vergognosi).

The Board for the Shamefaced Poor

In 1787 a set of rules for the assistance of the shamefaced poor identified the recipients as follows:

"Those persons who by their education and their situation in society are accustomed to living nobly or extremely civilly, and who for whatever reason have fallen from that state and cannot subsist without help and alms. This habit of living nobly or civilly makes them physically incapable of occupying themselves in laborious mechanical arts, even within their own homes." 

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*We may note here the rather different levels of aid in rural France described by Olwen Hufton: (1) ecclesiastical handouts, such as almshouses and distribution of bread and gifts to the poor on Palm Sunday and other special feasts; (2) village *fonds*, gifts of property the income from which went to the poor of a particular parish; (3) *hospitaux* *généraux* on the lines of those set up by Vincent de Paul, whose aim by the eighteenth century was to clear the streets of beggars; (4) *bureaux de charité*, pools of local voluntary alms. Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford: 1974) pp 132-133.

The term "living civilly" in Modena could encompass a rather broad section of society. A dowry fund operated by the Board was set aside for the daughters of tailors, while children accepted into an orphanage for this class are in 1786 described as children of artisans as well as of professionals and military officers. Ricci's description of the shamefaced poor was no recent opinion, but conforms to earlier definitions of the shamefaced poor, as can be seen by the 1759 application for aid on behalf of Count Bellancini and his family.® The Count and his family were described as being unable to continue without assistance, since his debts exceeded his annual income by £4,864. He therefore appealed to the Presidents on the grounds that "they seem obligated by the terms of their institution to aid noble families before anyone else".

A 1761 letter from Count Frosini in the same archive shows that if nobles expected special help, they were also expected to recognize special duties. Count Frosini, having been coopted as one of the Presidents of the Board, states that despite the burden of public duty which he has always avoided, he feels that he must accept "in the hope of winning the mercy of heaven."

The Board for the Shamefaced Poor certainly existed in some form in Modena as early as 1248, when it was a fund for

®ASCM. Miscellanea di Raggioneria 199, Desco dei Poveri Vergognosi, sessions 1716-1761.
the shamefaced poor administered by the Frati Umiliati and the Third Order Franciscans. Little specific is known about it until 1541, when it was being run by the comunità. At this time it was (at least in theory) taken into the new Sant' Unione. In fact it seems to have remained a separate entity, administered by its own Presidents. The Presidents met regularly in the home of one of their number, not at the Hospital of the Sant' Unione. The Desco remained on good terms with the ducal administration, being regularly exempted from taxes. In 1764 the Desco became part of the Opera Pia Generale, though it continued to keep its name and virtual autonomy. In the great reorganizations of 1786 it was placed under the Ritiro, and in 1789 a scrutiny was carried out for the purpose of removing "unworthy" recipients from the lists. After 1793 alms to the vergognosi were distributed through the parish priests.

The Acts of the Comunità regularly list families of poveri vergognosi who received Christmas alms of one zecchino (30 lire) each. In 1744, these included six families headed by men, nine headed by women, and an order of nuns.

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10 ASM0, GS 167, July 1789.

11 ASCM, Atti e Prodotti della Comunità 1744.
The Board was financed by an impressive number of bequests, among them one from the famous physician Francesco Torti, who made the Board his universal heir. A number of dowry funds were administered by the Board, such as the 1642 Secchiari fund which provided dowries for four tailors' daughters. Along with regular gifts of money, the Desco also distributed bread and occasionally meat to the homes of distressed gentlefolk.

In the eighteenth century the Board was administered by twelve Presidents, all of them nobles, who took the job in monthly turns two at a time, plus a Prior, a Syndic and a Treasurer, and a permanent notary and accountant. They met at least three times a year, and in times of trouble more often, to consider applications, examine the books, and rule on the distribution of alms. Typical of the accounts were those for 1759:

Total income (itemized) included rental of country property (£13,702), rental of houses (£164), income from censi (£5,934), income from leases (£3,588), plus income from bequests to a total of £7,836 ... in all an annual income of £33,107.

Total expenditures included provisions (£1,690), dowries (£4,478), improvements to country and city properties (£1,743), alms to the vergognosi (the largest budgeted amount by far at £20,942), plus expenses to satisfy various bequests (£1430) and obligations for the saying of
Masses (£907) ... to balance the books with an annual expenditure of £33,107.12

Casual Assistance

Casual or intermittent help came in many forms. Most characteristic perhaps were the alms distributed by religious bodies such as parishes or monasteries. An example would be the Theatine fathers who regularly budgeted for one lira worth of bread to be distributed on each Friday of the month. A further £234 worth of alms are noted as being distributed in the months around Easter. It is characteristic of the overlapping nature of such alms that the Friday bread was paid for by a monthly donation from the Duke's almsgiver, while the Easter distributions were funded in part by the Theatine order and in part by testamentary bequests. All Modenese parishes show a similar pattern, with small bequests being dedicated to the distribution of bread or money to poor persons who were to be selected by the parish priest.

Typical of these was the 1744 bequest to the parish of Sant' Agata in which Francesco Giardini left £1200 to buy a lamp for the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and another 500 scudi to pay for oil, with the provision that whatever was

12ASCM, Atti e Prodotti della Comunita, 1759.

13BE, Selmi Index, Epsilon 24.2.2, App. 3238, the Theatine account books (untitled).
left over should be distributed among the poor. The Rector, Don Araldi, invested the 500 scudi in a bond at five percent interest, which yielded an annual £128 for the poor.14 These private bequests, often but not always administered by a parish priest or the head of some religious organization, were a small but important factor in casual aid.

A second form of casual assistance came in the form of out of pocket alms given to beggars on the streets or in the churches. These alms came from private individuals, but the state was also involved in that beggars had to be licensed and judged worthy of help. The licensed beggars were, of course, in competition with the great numbers of unlicensed poor.

Sick employees, widows and orphans of city dependents frequently appealed to the Conservators, or city fathers, for assistance. The city government also regularly voted monies for the parish priests of the city, to be distributed among the needy.15 Similar appeals were made to individual members of the court, each of whom had his or her almoner whose job it was to assess need and distribute aid to the worthy.16 Guilds, as noted in Chapter I, served as a last

14ASM0, Corporazioni Soppressi 2026.

15ASCM, Atti e Prodotti della Comunità.

16See Chapter V below for a discussion of Don Araldi's work as almoner to the Crown Princess.

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recourse for artisans, who could call upon emergency assistance from their peers in the case of accident or illness.

Another form of casual assistance is equally impossible to measure, though traces of it appear in anecdotal form. This was the simple person-to-person charity extended to the needy by their friends and neighbors. In one case a mother, applying to the Beggars' Hospice for shelter for her child, stated that up to this time a neighbor had allowed them to sleep in the dry, warm stables but can no longer do so; in another, a woman appealed to the shelter for abandoned infants, stating that she had taken in a mother and child for charity, only to have the mother disappear in the night, leaving the baby behind.17

The Monte di Pietà and the Monte della Farina offered non-residential assistance to the poor in times of financial crisis by making low-interest or interest free loans available, and by offering a reliable source of low-priced flour. The Comunità and the Board for the Shamefaced Poor had lists of worthy poor to whom they administered alms at Easter and at Christmas. The Opera dei Neofiti supported converts from Judaism with loans, dowries and emergency aid, while the Opera delle Povere Vedove provided help for poor widows who qualified for their assistance.

Other forms of non-residential aid to the deserving poor came from bodies specially set up for this purpose.

17ASMO, ECA 342.
Most typical of these were the many dowry funds, often administered by a combination of laymen, clerics, and government representatives.

The Opera Pia Bisogni

The numerous dowry funds which characterized private charity in eighteenth-century Modena reflected an urgent desire to rescue poor young women from the almost certain fate of prostitution and vice. Such a fate not only meant the probable loss of a soul to perdition, but the loss to society of a productive member. The Modenese did not need Malthus to point out that a population ridden with vice was a weakened and probably declining population: despite the best efforts of public, private and ecclesiastical charity, illegitimate children had little chance of surviving, or, surviving, of being anything other than a continuing burden to their community.

The conviction that the surest bulwark against poverty was a stable family, built upon the marriage of a virtuous woman and a hardworking man, was not altogether mistaken. Although families were in constant danger of declining into poverty, a young woman alone was virtually assured of misery, and two persons working together had at least a chance of securing an adequate living. Above all, marriages were the only way to increase the population, since illegitimate children almost invariably died in infancy.
And increasing the population was seen as the touchstone of prosperity.

For all these reasons, dowry funds were the most popular form of charity, combining the religious duty of poor relief with a form of social planning. These funds were many and varied. Most larger welfare institutions included dowry benefits: the Beggars' Hospice, the orphan asylums, the Board for the Shamefaced Poor, the fund for converted Jews, and all of the guilds provided dowries for those who had a claim on their aid. In addition, there were any number of opere whose sole purpose was the giving of dowries. The Opera Ferrari, a testamentary bequest run by the Communità, provided a varying number of annual dowries for needy citizens: the Opera Estensi, a fund entirely provided by monies from the ruling family, financed the marriages of country girls to farmers.\footnote{The Opera Ferrari is interesting in that it was administered by the Comunità and tied to the church of the Vow, built by the city fathers to commemorate the end of the plague of 1660. Girls who received the Ferrari dowry were obliged to attend Mass and receive Communion at the altar of Saint Uomobono. This generically-named saint had been a lay merchant, and was one of the very few non-noble, non-clerical saints canonized in the Middle Ages. See Owen Chadwick, The Popes and the European Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 26.} Other funds were established by testamentary bequest, either to dower descendants of a particular family, or to be more generally available, as in the case of the Opera Pia Bisogni.
Cesare Bisogni, described only as a citizen of Modena and a member of the Confraternity of Saint Sebastian, died in 1676. He appears to have been a man of more than usual social generosity, as his will is a veritable catalogue of the types of Modenese personal charity. First, and like all of his fellow-citizens, he ordered that Masses be said for his soul: the Confraternity of San Sebastian was commissioned to provide 1000 Masses at the usual rate of one lira each, and a fund of 4000 scudi (£21,100) was established to pay for two Masses a day in perpetuity. Bisogni then turned to more worldly matters. Three separate institutions were left 100 scudi (£530) each, including the Putte del Canalino, an asylum for the orphaned daughters of citizens. Two additional institutions — the boy orphans of San Bernardino and the Beggars' Hospice — were given one sack of grain each. Those who owed Bisogni money were forgiven their debts, and each of his servants received £25.

His wife was to enjoy the use of the remainder of his estate, but at her death his property was to be sold in order to set up a perpetual fund to dower eight girls who were "needy, of Modenese-born parents, God-fearing, and honest."

19Bisogni's will, and the working papers of the Opera Pia he founded, are found in the Archivio della Curia in Modena, "Opera Pia Bisogni, 1676-1811."
The Opera Pia Bisogni was created in 1699, and continued to operate through the eighteenth century. Although Bisogni named three noble administrators in his will they were given the option of declining to serve, an option they apparently exercised. The Opera was set up, and continued to operate, under the administration of the Bishop, the abbot of San Pietro, and the curate of the parish of San Barnaba.²⁰

The Presidents met at least once a year, usually in April, to hear the report of their accountant and notary, and to consider the applications which had been received by December of the previous year. These applications were not confined to the parishes represented on the board, but all of them had to be accompanied by the baptismal certificates of both parents, and a statement from the girl's parish priest attesting to her virtuous life. If there were more than eight eligible applicants, the matter was resolved by lot: the names were placed in a hat, eight names were drawn, and the successful candidates were notified by means of a printed form.

Recipients had to be married within the year beginning 1 May and ending 30 April. On the night of the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) the girls assembled at the altar of the Annunciation in the church of San Pietro. In the

²⁰With the suppressions of the second half of the century these latter two were replaced by the heads of the parishes which replaced San Pietro and San Barnaba.
morning, they heard Mass, received Communion, and prayed for the soul of their benefactor.

The original property bought to support the opera was a piece of land near the town of Panizaro, valued at £16,400 in 1760 and rented out on a long term lease for a sum that varied from £600 and £1000 a year. In addition to this foundation of real property, the Opera through the years acquired a number of censi or bonds, some against the Comunità and others bought from private individuals. Each year the Treasurer presented an account of the profits from these investments, subtracted the expenses incurred during the year, and arrived at the sum from which the eight dowries were to be financed. Although Bisogni had directed that all the profit be distributed as dowries, his executors appear to have decided that a more prudent course would be to retain some of the profit each year for reinvestment. Administration expenses of the Opera were typically low: £100 for the accountant; no salary for the Presidents (who were to serve "out of pure charity and love of God"); eight lire for the annual Mass and fittings for the altar of the Annunciation. In addition there were occasional expenses such as maintenance of the property at Panizaro, printing forms to notify successful applicants, and legal fees for the inevitable law cases which arose from time to time. The great bulk of the profit was either distributed as dowries, or set aside for the purchase of bonds to supplement the
capital of the Opera, as for example the £1000 city bond bought in April 1768.

Upon presentation of proof of her marriage, each girl was given one-eighth of the sum set aside for dowries that year. In practice, this almost always approximated the traditional £100 which was the usual value of charity dowries in Modena.

The Opera Pia Bisogni was not absorbed into the Opera Pia Generale which was set up in 1764. It did, however, fall under the general administration of a state body (sometimes Buon Governo, sometimes the Giunta di Giurisdizione), which periodically examined its books. In 1787-88, the Economic Council headed by Ercole III's reforming Prime Minister Lodovico Ricci examined and approved the operations of the Opera Pia Bisogni, thus allowing it to continue until the arrival of the French in 1796.

There were literally dozens of these funds, most of them functioning along more or less the same lines and offering two or three to ten or twelve dowries a year to needy but respectable girls. Guilds not only offered casual, emergency aid. they also provided a form of social insurance by dowering the daughters of indigent members. Another, rather different, entity was the Opera Pia Estense, a dowry fund paid for by the royal family and designed for a very specific political purpose, to increase the number of
families working the land by dowering country girls to marry farmers.

Part II: Muratori, Araldi and the Charitable Company

The Civic Museum of Modena preserves a small pencil drawing of a hook-nosed, middle aged priest over the title, "Giambattista Araldi, Defender of the Great Muratori". The drawing is not a particularly good one, but the unskilled artist has managed to catch a humorous look to the eyes and a slight turning up at the corner of the mouth which hints at an energetic and perhaps an ironic character.

When Carlo Giuseppe's second son Giambattista (or Battista, as he normally signed his name) chose the Church for his career in 1727, it was inevitable that he would define himself in terms of Muratori, then at the height of his powers. Born in 1672, the great man was more than thirty years Araldi's senior, and by the late 1720s he was

21Coincidentally both Muratori and Araldi were ordained with special dispensation because of their age: a priest could not take his vows before the age of twenty-four, but Muratori was only twenty-two and Araldi, thirty years his junior, was barely twenty-three at the time of his ordination.
17. GIO: BATTISTA ARALDI, DEFENDER OF THE GREAT MURATORI
not only the Duke's librarian and a parish priest of near saintly repute, he was also a famous academic and polemicist and a man whose intellectual and political protection would have been invaluable to a young client. When in later years he claimed the title "Defender of the Great Muratori", Araldi, who began his career in Muratori's Compagnia della Carità, was associating himself with the most distinguished tradition in Modenese intellectual life.22

Modena had long been an imperial city. Situated on the borders of the Papal States of the Romagna, the tone of Modenese religiosity was set not by the Papal court nor by ultramontane pietism, but by Muratori, her own most famous son. Neither Jansenist nor Jesuit, Muratori lived a life of heroic simplicity, and his spirituality stressed the virtues of duty, hard work, and the help due to one's neighbor as a brother in Christ.

Like Muratori, the young Araldi believed that parish work was essential to a priestly vocation. Like Muratori, he would yearn for his own parish and unlike his mentor he would defy the forces of Church and state to keep it once gained (see Chapter VI). Araldi would follow Muratori in other respects as well. If one aspect of his duty lay in service to his parish another lay in service to the state;

22The title was bestowed after the publication of Araldi's second book, Lettere modenesti all'autore della Storia Letteraria d'Italia (Modena: Soliani, 1757), in which he defended Muratori (who had died in 1750) from the attacks of the Jesuits and their supporters.
GLI ELOGI
DEI PORCO
DEI CAPITOLI BERNESCHI
D'I.
TIGRINTO BISTONIO
P. A. E ACCADEMICO DUCALE
DE DISCIPLINI DI MODENA.

IN MODENA
PER GIAMPAOLO BATTISTESCHI DUCALI
MDCIL.
COSVVERME DEI SCRITTORI.

IL CONFESSARSI,
E.
IL COMUNICARSI
SAGRAMENTALMENTE
OPERETTA
A SITIUAZIONE DE' PRINCIPALI
BENEDITE A L'ADESSIMA
LA SIGR. PRINCESSE
AMALIA D'ESTE.

CAPITOLO PRIMO
INDOVINATTO DALL' AUTORE
All Illust. Signor Dott. Ranzani
GIAMBATTISTA ARALDI
Escrinale, e Esquilor di S. A. Z.
La Signora
PRINCIPESSA EREDITARIA
DI MODENA.

18. ARALDI TITLE PAGES
and, within and above both of these, in service to the poor. In this, both Araldi and Muratori were typical of an age in which the line between Church and state frequently blurred to the point of invisibility, and in which it was often impossible to tell the difference between ecclesiastical, state, and private charity.

Muratori was already famous as a thinker and writer when he finally achieved his ambition and was given the parish of Santa Maria Pomposa in 1716. He immediately set about refurbishing the church at his own expense.²³ Araldi was a great deal younger and not yet famous (though his reputation as a promising intellectual and writer helped gain him the benefice) when he became rector of Sant'Agata, the neighboring parish to that of his patron. But he too found his new parish church in less than pristine condition and embarked on an energetic program of improvements.²⁴

In a move typical of the Enlightened Catholicism of the period, both Muratori and his protegee attempted to reform the spiritual life of the clergy and the laity, encouraging a simple faith based on knowledge as well as piety. One of the first steps Muratori took was to establish the practice of explaining the catechism on Sunday afternoons, for

²³“La fabbrica della mia chiesa mi ha prese alcune migliaia de' nostri scudi ...” Epistolario #2068, letter to G. Malaspina 16 April 1722.

children and adults alike. Araldi too took a great interest in religious education, and in the 1770s he set up a detailed plan for Christian Doctrine classes to be introduced in the parishes of Modena. According to this plan, literacy in the vernacular was to be stressed, and children were to be encouraged rather than coerced (a testamentary donation paying £200 a year was set aside for prizes to be distributed in each parish).

Even after the pressures of work and ill health forced Muratori to give up his parish, he continued to take an interest in his fellow clerics, and in 1738 he encouraged the formation of a Collegio dei Parrochi, an association of parish priests organized to deal with common problems — the order in processions, the behavior of minor clerics and gravediggers, regulations for marriages, and similar issues. Muratori, though no longer a parish priest, intervened with his friend Pope Benedict XIV to secure a papal honor for the parish priests of Modena. Battista Araldi served as head of this Collegio between 1745 and 1773 when he too lost his parish.


26 ASMO, Giurisdizione Sovrana 3, Plan for the introduction of Christian Doctrine classes, 1772.

Battista Araldi never attained his model's transparent simplicity, nor did his literary accomplishments come near to rivaling Muratori's contribution to learning. Nevertheless Araldi was an enlightened thinker and a literary figure, and like his mentor his interests were comprehensive (his last work, published in manuscript when he was over eighty, was an Encyclopedic Dictionary in two volumes). A university professor of philosophy in his twenties, Araldi published books on theology, on literature, on business and economics, as well as polemical and devotional works.

Muratori served the Este court for over fifty years, in the official post of ducal librarian, and less unofficially as polemicist and genealogist. He was tutor to the future Duke Francesco III and his brothers. and despite the priest's retiring nature he had an enormous and measurable influence on social and political developments of the latter part of the century. His hand is most clearly seen in the development of the Estense Code in 1771, which drew much of its inspiration from the strong criticism of stagnant legal practices in Muratori's *Dei Difetti della Giurisprudenza*.

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29BE. Campori collection, *Notizie Sacre e Profane*. MS (1788). See also Appendix MYS for bibliography of Araldi's and Muratori's writings.

29Araldi bibliography, Appendix 2.

His 1714 treatise on public health (Governo della peste) helped shape state medical policy, and his final summary work, Della pubblica felicità, was the definitive statement of ideology and policy for the Modenese state in the Old Regime.  

Araldi, like his model, sought to combine the careers of parish priest and counsellor of state, and if his lesser genius limited the profundity of his influence, his immediate political impact matched and perhaps surpassed that of his model. By the 1750s was the almsgiver and confessor to the Crown Princess, Maria Teresa Cybo Malespina of Massa. A long-term intimate of the court he went on to become Ducal Theologian and Counsellor to the ruler. When the massive reform programs of the 1760s and 1770s came into effect Araldi not only survived personal and professional attacks, he was appointed one of the three men who ran the powerful Giunta della Giurisdizione, making him arguably the most powerful churchman in the state. But he began his career as a parish priest, and a member of Muratori's Charitable Company.  

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giurisprudenza del suo tempo. (Modena: Universita degli Studi, 1931).  

31See Appendix 1 on Muratori's influence and writings.  

32We do not know exactly when Araldi joined in the Company, but the records indicate that he was serving as one of the Presidents of the body in November of 1747, three years before Muratori's death. In 1753 we find him acting as an agent for the Company in a legal dispute over some rental property. ASMO, Doni 54, "Memorie della Compagnia
The Compagnia della Carità

Seventeenth century Modena, like France in the same period, experienced a religious awakening which stressed charity as the private duty of Christians, to supplement and extend the traditional charities offered by Church and state.33 And it is indeed ironic that the very period which witnessed the final flowering of Counter-Reformation reforms should also have seen the rise of irreligion both in the form of deism and of atheism in much of Europe.34 It was as rector of Santa Maria Pomposa, the poorest parish of the city, that Muratori conceived and pressed for the creation of the Compagnia della Carità, the Charitable Company which was established in 1720 and would continue as a model for private charity until it was absorbed into the consolidated Opera Pia Generale in 1764. Like many before and after him, della Carità. 1720–1753” and ASMO, ECA 187.

33The tradition of care for the sick had a long history in Christian doctrine but it gained new impetus in the eighteenth century. Only one seventeenth-century saint was associated with hospitals, but five saints canonized in the eighteenth century were involved in nursing, including Vincent de Paul (died 1660, canonized 1737) and Camillus de Lellis (died 1614, canonized 1746). Chadwick. The Popes and the European Revolution. pp. 26–27.

34Recent authors have noted the reform activity of the eighteenth century and commented on the irony of it coinciding with the indifferentism and even hostility of the intellectual classes. See William J. Callahan and David Higgs, eds. Church and Society in Catholic Europe of the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). p. 1, and Mario Rosa, ed. Cattolicesimo e Lumi nel Settecento Italiano (Rome: Herder, 1981), pp. 12 and 78.
Muratori was aware of the vexed problem of the deserving and the undeserving poor. He was not deaf to the argument that Christian charity simply created and encouraged laziness and begging (an argument on which Lodovico Ricci would base his reform plan sixty years later). A more urgent problem in Muratori's eyes was the likelihood (given the very finite amount of help available in a pre-industrial economy) that the undeserving would appropriate help which should go to the deserving. And yet, when all was said and done, he insisted that "it is better to give alms even to someone who doesn't deserve them rather than risk refusing to help someone who does". For Muratori the important thing was to save the poor from their poverty -- not by the indiscriminate giving of alms, but by carefully planned and implemented programs of charity. The aim was neither the spiritual benefit of the giver (this was assumed) nor the immediate gratification of the needy. The aim was to change the poor into productive and useful citizens, and the primary and fundamental tool whereby this was to be done was education.

Following the example of Vincent de Paul in France (1576-1660), Muratori saw his Company as an organization of pious lay persons of all social orders and both sexes whose work would supplement the hospitals and residential institutions of the city. His aim was to help the "little

\[35\] Muratori, Carità Cristiana.
poor" in the parishes, and especially to help the sick in their own homes. "No matter how huge or well-founded the public hospice may be," he wrote, "it won't be enough."36 Members of the Company (especially pious women) were deputized to seek out the sick in their homes and offer them whatever assistance they needed, including access to physicians who donated their services, and free or low-cost medications.

The respectable, or shamefaced poor were thought to have first call on the services of the Company, closely followed by poor girls "of a dangerous age" since "excessive poverty is the source of much sin."

To carry out his program, Muratori aimed first at organizing the vast amount of charitable good will which he was sure existed among his fellow citizens. This goodwill, however, had to be properly channeled. The public was urged not to give directly to the poor but rather to give to the Company, which would then distribute the aid to the best advantage, making sure that none went to those who were "poor only because they want to be poor."

The poor were themselves to be a part of the program. Handicapped persons or persons too weak or old to work could be deputized to see to the collection and distribution of bread, fuel, clothing and the like. And in order to involve ordinary persons personally, families were encouraged to

36Muratori, Carità Cristiana, p. 209.
"adopt" a particular poor person or family, so that they could see at first hand the effects of their charity.

Education was seen as the greatest weapon against poverty: boys and girls alike had to be taught both good moral values, and a trade. Muratori suggested that an excellent charity would be to set up a fund to provide decent wages for schoolmistresses who would then teach poor girls. This would not only help the teachers and the pupils, it would also be a great help to the mothers, who would be freed to earn enough to help support their families.

Muratori's Charitable Company was founded in February of 1720, with about seventy members. It was designed to be a body in which private citizens of all ranks could come together to offer both beneficenza (alms, good deeds, and immediate help) and assistenza (indirect aid to help the poor help themselves). Among the aims of beneficenza were to help the helpless, especially invalids; to support and encourage institutions such as the Hospital of the Holy Union, and specifically to expand care there to include the chronically ill and the insane; to provide physicians, surgeons and medication for the sick in their homes; and to support the Hospice of the Poor. Assistenza on the other

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hand attempted to go beyond the immediate needs of the weak and the defenseless to attack more fundamental problems: to provide free legal aid to accused persons, and visitors to plead the cause prisoners; to support the various monti for subsidized loans to the poor; to find work for the unemployed; to provide education for young people; and to save young girls from exploitation and prostitution by giving them education and training in a trade.

The Company was to have an unlimited membership, admitted without regard to rank or sex, taking into consideration only their desire to perform acts of charity according to their capabilities. They were to be admitted in an annual ceremony on a day to be called Charity Sunday, during which they would take quasi-religious vows promising that their membership, and their obligation to Christian charity, was to last a lifetime.

The members of the Company were to meet once a year in a General Meeting, at which officials would be chosen. Only the entire membership acting in this General Meeting could rule of buying or selling property, or on making contracts; a two-thirds majority was required for any such action. Each year the General Meeting was to select the Directors, whose number was always to include the Rector of Santa Maria Pomposa (the position held by Muratori) as well as two Cathedral canons and a priest from the Congregation of San Carlo, the order which ran the College of Nobles from which...
the University later arose. The number of Directors is unclear, but in 1724 there were sixty-eight. They were to be chosen "without regard to the flesh, or to blood." and in their weekly meetings they were to have control over the ordinary administration of the goods of the Company, hearing petitions, distributing alms, and paying bills.

Each year the General Meeting selected six Presidents, who would join the six chosen the previous year to make up a board of twelve (that is, they served for two year terms, with half of them being replaced each year). From these twelve, two were chosen by lot every two months to serve as Monthly Presidents, and these two had to be present and approve any action taken in the weekly meetings of the Directors.

In 1724, twenty-eight of the sixty-eight Directors had noble titles (forty-one percent) and sixteen were identified as clerics (twenty-three percent), leaving twenty-four of the third estate, many of whom bore titles such as Doctor or Advocate. Although Muratori urged that these men be chosen "without regard to blood, or the flesh," he nonetheless stated his belief that their number should include the leaders of the city.30

30"The Directors of this Company will come for the most part from the first orders of the nobility, the rest being doctors (dottori), churchmen, or civil persons... It is necessary to involve the nables as well as the wisest and most pious of the canons, parish priests, etc." Epistolario, # 2584, Letter to G. Muselli, 20 March 1727.
Residential Assistance

Residential assistance in Modena was almost entirely under state sponsorship or control by the eighteenth century. In 1541, while the city was still only a provincial center ruled by the Este from Ferrara, the Comunità had consolidated most of the charitable institutions of the city in an umbrella body called the Sant'Unione, or Holy Union. This Union included most of the hospitals and hospices which up to this time had been run by the confraternities and religious orders — institutions such as the quarantine hospital of San Lazaro, and the hospitals belonging to the confraternities of San Giovanni della Morte, San Bartolomeo, del Gesu, and San Giobbe, as well as the hospice for fallen and abandoned women and for abandoned or orphaned infants, and (at least in theory) the Board for the Shamefaced Poor. The Holy Union, like the consolidations which were to follow in the middle of the eighteenth century, was justified in terms of efficiency and improved administration, but both may be seen as attempts to take control of the opere pie away from individuals and the Church and bring them under the auspices of the secular power.

The consolidation was not accomplished without

39 Gatti, L'ospedale di Modena, pp. 53-54.

40 Pastore, "Strutturi assistenziali".
conflict. Four of the larger confraternities indulged in such a program of harassment that Rome was eventually called in to settle the dispute, and Rome, allying itself with the Este, ruled in favor of the Holy Union. It could be argued that this consolidation broke the medieval confraternities of Modena, and never again would they rival the Church, the city or the court in wealth or in influence. From 1541, the confraternities would play a secondary role in welfare activities, associated with but not controlling the charitable institutions which in many cases they had founded.

There has been no study of the Modenese confraternities, only fragments of research as their history crossed that of the various opere pie and was noted by Malmusi, Gatti and other local historians. Their records remain in cupboards in bell towers of parish churches, or in the files of the Giunta di Giurisdizione where some of them were haphazardly collected after the confraternities were consolidated or suppressed in the last quarter of the century (see Chapter VI).

As in most Italian cities, the lay confraternities of Modena originated as fraternal organizations devoted to religious practices or charitable deeds which cut across the

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\(^{41}\)Malmusi, *Notizie istoriche degli Istituti Pii della Città di Modena*, MS in the ASMO (1843) and Gatti, op cit.
By the middle of the eighteenth century their number was reduced, first to twenty-two and then to fourteen. Of these, five were tied to the five reorganized parishes while the others were amalgamated with the state-sponsored charitable institutions which most nearly approximated the work of the confraternity. Thus confraternities whose main work had been the care of the sick were associated with the Great Hospital, while those whose members had interested themselves in sheltering pilgrims or caring for the poor were tied to the Poor House. Those confraternities which were not suppressed or absorbed into the state institutions were directed to concern themselves exclusively with religious activities. As lay opere pie, they came under the administration of the Giunta di Giurisdizione, which claimed the right to close scrutiny of their books, to veto over their charters, and to supervision of any activities which might be considered to intrude on the public peace (such as processions, special festival services, and the like). The Giunta even claimed the authority to take over and sell confraternity property to support the Opera Pia Generale (the umbrella institution which replaced the Holy Union in 1764). In sum, by the last quarter of the eighteenth

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43 ASMO, Doni 86.
century the confraternities of Modena had become mere appendages to the state-controlled welfare bodies. Whatever social and religious purposes they may have filled (and only further research will reveal this), their wealth and influence in the area of poor relief was severely limited.

The Hospital of the Holy Union

In 1724, under the influence of Muratori, a commission was set up to study the Hospital of the Holy Union and to recommend reforms. The commission identified six areas of competence:

First, the Hospital of the Holy Union was to have control of a dowry fund set up for girls in the previous century. These dowries were, as was usual, to go to Modenese girls of good fame who were on the point of marrying.

Second, the Hospital was to care for the incurably ill and for the insane (including the violent) on the condition that there was no one else to care for them.

Third, pregnant women (married or not) who had no one to take responsibility for them were to be sheltered there. Only women who were from the city were eligible, or women who had lived in the city for at least a year.

44 Of the nine men deputized by the Duke to set the new policies and administration of the Holy Union, six were among the sixty-eight members of Muratori's Compagnia della Carità. ASMO, Doni 54.
Fourth, the Hospital was to be responsible for orphaned or abandoned children, who were to be taught a trade. Children from other parts of the state were to be accepted only if their home districts paid for their keep. Legitimate children could be taken in, but only if their parents contributed to their care.

Finally, the Hospital was to care for the sick, both medical and surgical cases.

The Hospital of the Holy Union, in operation from 1541 to 1764, did not monopolize assistance or institutionalized welfare in the city. A number of bodies remained outside from the first. These included the Opera delle Convertite (for prostitutes), the Santo Monte di Pietà (which regulated pawn shops) and the Monte della Farina (which provided cheap flour), as well as two institutions for the care of well-born orphans (the girls in the Orfane di San Geminiano, and the boys with the Orfani di San Bernardino). In addition there were a number of institutions set up after 1541: the Pilgrims' Hospice, the Hospice of the Poor and the Beggars Hospice, and the Orphan Girls of Santa Catterina. All of these, along with most of the older institutions, were to be brought together into the Opera Pia Generale in 1764.
Conclusions

Muratorian concepts of charity and of the relationship between Church and state set the tone for Enlightened Christianity in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the 1720s, with the Charitable Company, he was reaching towards a system of Christian charity which would make the most of both private and state assistance. By the 1740s, as we can see in his final work, *Della pubblica felicità*, interest in reform became central. And in this later work, direct cooperation between Church and state was the unifying theme. Muratori stressed the cooperation between private and Church charity on the one hand, and public, institutional charity on the other. In doing this, he created the philosophical link which bound Church and state together in what ideally was to have been a partnership rather than a rivalry. Muratorian charity, in short, was the link which bound together the religious and civic pieties of Modena.

It is important to remember, however, that the sort of Muratorian care for the poor which has formed the subject of this chapter was not the only type of *opera pia*, nor perhaps even the primary one in the minds of the Modenese. That

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45 See Claudio Donati, "Dalla 'regolata divozione' al 'giuseppinismo' nell'Italia del Settecento" in *Cattolicesimo e Lumi*, pp. 77-98.

46 Ibid. Donati identifies this book as the manifesto of the moderate reform movement.
role was filled by a form of pious work which Muratori specifically excluded when he wrote:

We will leave others to care for the dead: we will accept no commissions to say Masses for the dead, but will remind testators that acts of charity [as well as Masses] can also be used to help the souls of the dead. 47

47 ASMO, Doni 54, "Memorie della Compagnia della Carità".
CHAPTER V

MASS OBLIGATIONS

Modenese testaments usually left little if anything to the poor. Instead, after token bequests to servants and to the altar of the city's patron saint, the Modenese facing the idea of death almost inevitably dedicated a substantial part of his or her estate to pay for Masses. Reform-minded clerics denounced the faulty theology behind these Mass obligations. Reforming civil servants, lay and clerical, worked to reduce their number. Nevertheless Mass obligations remained the defining "pious work" of Modena throughout the eighteenth century.

If Modenese reform grew out of local pious tradition, it is important to note that the popular definitions of charity did not always coincide with those of the reformers.

When Laura Vigarani, a noblewoman from Reggio living in Modena for many years, made her will in January of 1766 she specified that her estate be sold and the proceeds used for "alms for the poor and the celebration of Masses, both for the benefit of my soul." Her heirs spent most of the money immediately, on alms and Masses to be said at the time, but set aside three bonds (censi) against the Comunità to pay for annual Masses in perpetuity. The bonds totaled £9,700 with an annual income of £485; the bishop set the cost of the Masses at one paolo (thirty bolognini, or one and a half lire modenese), with five bolognini set aside for the
sacristy, so that the inheritance paid for 277 Masses a
year, to be said in the church of Sant' Agata in Modena.

All of this information was duly entered in the day
book of the parish of Sant'A, Agata by the parish priest.
Battista Araldi, and each year he signed the book, certi­
fying that the Masses had indeed been said.\footnote{ASMO. Corporazione Soppresse 2026, Obbligo # VIII.}
The vigor with which the Bishop and the ecclesiastical authorities pursued
such matters can be seen in a guide issued by Bishop Cortese
in 1792 detailing how parish priests must report, in
December each year, on how their obligations for Masses have
been honored in the past year.\footnote{Archivio San Dominico, V-20.}

Signora Viggarani's bequest was one of literally
thousands of similar ones, unusual only in that she wanted
her estate divided between Masses and the poor. Far more
usually, testators were only interested in Masses. What is
more, despite the urging of reform-minded clergy, there
seems to have been little or no change in this tendency
throughout the century: Modenese testators at the end of
the 1790s were as likely to leave Mass obligations as were
testators of the 1690s.\footnote{See below. Figures 1 and 2 for a preliminary survey of
Mass bequests in eighteenth-century Modenese testaments.}

Mass obligations are particularly interesting in the
context of the Christian Enlightenment in Modena. On the
one hand they represent one of the points of agreement between the state and a reforming (and often anti-curial) lower clergy. At the same time, they are an expression of popular piety which neither the state nor the reformers could do much to change.

These Mass obligations (or obblighi di messa) were probably the most consistent element in pre-modern testaments in Catholic Europe. They have been very little studied, yet these were the fundamental pious work, the defining opera pia. These obligations, and the concerted attempts by state bodies and ecclesiastical reformers alike to reduce or eliminate them, offer a unique insight into eighteenth-century piety, and into the relationship of that piety to the reforms which characterized the century.

Almost without exception, a Modenese facing the idea of death hastened to ensure that as many Masses as possible were offered for the salvation of his or her soul. It is not unusual to find the whole of an estate sold for this purpose, and one can only wonder at the moral and social force of a last testament that would ensure that a group of disappointed friends and relations would oversee the funnelling of their own expectations into the coffers of a parish, a charity, or a regular order.

The issue can be stated simply enough. An obbligo di messa was an obligation laid upon an appropriate ecclesiastical entity, be it parish, convent, altar or order, to
offer a specified number or value of Masses for the intentions of a testator, in exchange for an agreed sum, usually the equivalent of a day's wages or one to one and a half lire modenese per Mass. The Masses could be either read or sung, as specified by the testator; sung Masses were a good deal more expensive. The numbers and frequency of the Masses varied enormously, depending on the prosperity, sentiments, or degree of theological sophistication of the testator -- from ten to thousands, from "as soon as possible after my death", to every Friday in Lent, or annually on the feast of a particular saint, or daily until the end of the world. It is less easy to define the implications and effects of this particular pious work, which were necessarily enormous. Mass obligations provided a sizeable proportion of the income of a wide range of ecclesiastical bodies and individual clerics. Competition for them was keen, and many otherwise unemployed priests supported themselves by subcontracting work, saying Masses which could not be handled by the full-time staff of an institution. As the century progressed and the regular houses in particular shrank to only a few members in each convent or monastery, the inmates were often physically unable to say the enormous numbers of Masses which provided much of their support. This was often the case with opere pie such as orphanages or small hospitals as well, and outside priests had to be hired
to say the Masses for a share of the one or two lire provided by the testament's property or bond investments.

Mass obligations often provided the major income of charities and parishes alike. With the state take-overs of the latter part of the century, however, these incomes became expenses, since the lay authorities were unable to have the Masses said without going outside their own staffs. In this period institutions such as the Giunta di Giurisdizione (on behalf of the parishes) and the Opera Pia Generale invested a great deal of energy in attempts to reduce the Mass obligations, and they increasingly justified their actions in purely financial terms.

A glance at Modenese testaments in the century before 1796 makes it easy to understand how Mass obligations accumulated. For this purpose, seventy-two testaments from the 1690s through the 1790s were selected at random from the notarial files in the State Archives of Modena. Thirty-six of the wills were made by men and thirty-six by women. Seven of the testators, or about 10%, were identified as noble, and 12, or about 16%, were either male or female religious. Although the sampling itself is far too small to be anything but suggestive, these figures, being purely fortuitous, suggest that it is relatively representative, as

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4ASMO, Archivio Notarile 4651 (Talari, Gio., 1717-1747); 5595 (Azzolini, 1787); 5168 (Mancini, 1755); 4422 and 6477 (Manini, 1684-1716); 4741 (Pisa, 1721-1723); 4608 (Romani, 1720-1729); 5272 (Rizzi, 1793-1794); 5123 (Alessandri, 1741-1764).
these percentages approximate the numbers of such persons in the general population. Since these wills rarely specified the overall value of an estate, it is difficult to assign an economic class to the testators. Certainly the meagerness of some of the bequests, particularly by some married women, suggest that in a number of cases the testator had few possessions of which to dispose. Nevertheless the very existence of a will suggests that the persons involved were members of settled society and of at least a respectable status.

A table showing the results of the survey is shown on Page 226 below.

The wills were examined for bequests other than the usual ones to family members and or trustees. These were of six types: bequests to the poor, and to servants; bequests for Masses; dowries (either for family members or for outsiders); and monies or objects left to the altar of the patron saint of the city, Saint Geminiano, and to the Church or a specific ecclesiastical body as such.

Fewer than twenty percent of the testators left anything at all to the poor under any guise. The majority of those who did left small amounts either to Muratori's Charitable Company or, in response to notarial prompting
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Servant</th>
<th>Mass</th>
<th>Dowries fam-oth.</th>
<th>S. Gem. Church</th>
<th>Tot.</th>
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<td>1690</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>to 1719</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1720s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1730s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740s</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1750s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760s</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1780s</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Clerics</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** The final column indicates the total number of testaments under consideration in each category (i.e., there are thirteen testaments from the 1690s, two from the period 1700 to 1719, etc.)
after 1777, to the Opera Pia Generale. Men were twice as likely as women to leave money to the poor.

Almost forty percent of testators left money or goods to servants, and again men were almost twice as likely as women to do this. Rather more surprising, few Modenese left any provision for dowries, and these few were usually for family members (thirty-two percent) against a mere fourteen percent for non-family members (most often servants). Men gave almost three times as many family dowries — understandably, since as heads of household they were responsible for making it possible for their female dependents to marry if at all possible. However, women gave slightly more of the rare dowry bequests to non-family members.

Most outstanding, however, is the glaring fact that a full ninety-one percent of Modenese directed that Masses be said for them after their deaths, and left monies, goods or property to ensure that this was done. The only beneficiary which in any way rivals this is the Fabbrica of Saint Geminiano, a body whose sole purpose was the care and improve-

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5ASMO, Giurisdizione Sovrana 158, order to notaries of 1777.
ment of the altar of the city's patron saint. The Fabbrica was remembered in sixty-two percent of the testaments.

Antonio Araldi's Will, 1694

A last will and testament which Antonio Araldi made in 1694 gives a picture of the young merchant's life and circumstances as well as offering an example of late seventeenth-century piety. On the 18th of October, the thirty-two-year-old Piedmontese businessman, confined to his bed but clear of mind, sent for the notary Giovanni Manini. His illness is not specified, but we know that a cousin, Lucrezia, died that same year in Modena at the age of twenty-two, already a widow by the recent death of her young husband. Although at least two of Antonio's children had been born in Modena, his wife Domenica had returned to their home parish of Vocogna — perhaps for fear of contagion? But if Domenica was absent, Araldi was not left alone. He was attended by the seven men who would witness his will: six of them citizens of Modena and the seventh Antonio Bonavia, a foreigner like himself (from Savoy), but for twenty years a merchant in the city of Modena.  

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6See Orianna Baracchi Giovanardi, "Il Duomo di Modena del '700" in Aspetti e Problemi del Settecento Modenese vol. II. "Arte e cultura nel Ducato estense" (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1982).

7Bonavia was almost certainly a family and business connection of the Claudio Bonavia who featured in Araldi's guild career. See Chapter I.
The first provisions of a seventeenth-century testament were dictated by custom and tell us little about the individual who made them. Araldi commended his soul to a merciful God, the Virgin, and his guardian angel, and expressed the pious wish that his soul might enjoy the eternal glory of heaven. He directed that his body be buried in the oratory of the Confraternity of Saint Joseph, which suggests that he may have been a member of that group. He did not specify the ceremonies but insisted that they be appropriate to his rank and condition. A number of pious bequests follow. He directs that 500 requiem Masses be celebrated within a year of his death. He leaves ten lire to the Fabbrica of San Geminiano, thus suggesting that he saw himself as belonging to the city of Modena at least provisionally. However, he was a man with one foot in each of two camps, and so he also left a bequest of a cambric and lace altar cloth to his home parish of Santa Catterina in Vocogna.

Araldi then turned to providing for his family. First, his "beloved and faithful consort," his wife Domenica, is to have the full and free usufruct of all of his property, real and moveable, including the shop at Modena, on the usual condition that she should live a chaste and honest life and that she rear all of the testator's children, both male and female, according to their rank.
We know for certain that Antonio and Domenica had married young: their daughter Catterina is described as being "about twelve years old" in 1694 — in other words she was born when her father was only twenty. Whether or not there had been precedents for this in the Araldi family, we do not know: such an early marriage would have been unusual at the time, and certainly there were to be no repetitions of the practice in the family during the eighteenth century.

Catterina (as well as any sisters who might be born in the future) was to have a dowry of one thousand milanese lire set aside for her when she either married or entered a convent. Until such time, her mother was to have the use of it.

Their son Giovanni Battista Tomaso (then aged about five) is named as his father's universal heir with the condition that should other male children be born the brothers would then share equally in the inheritance. This, as we have noted, was to be the pattern for Araldi inheritances, with property being held in fratellanza among the brothers of each generation.

Next we are introduced to two of Araldi's Milanese merchant friends. Pietro Antonio Bonduri, a merchant living in the city of Parma and Bonduri's twin brother Andrea, and

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*This was an appropriate and even a generous dowry for the daughter of a merchant. Modenese charity dowries in this period were traditionally set at one hundred lire, while noble dowries were normally fifteen-hundred lire or more.
Giovanni Antonio Febrari. Pietro Antonio, despite the fact that he lived neither in Vocogna nor in Modena, was named as the guardian of the testator's minor children, and was asked to assume control over Araldi's share of the business in Modena. If he were unable to assume any of these duties, his twin brother was asked to take his place. A second "great friend and confidant", Giovanni Antonio Febrari, was asked to administer Araldi's possessions in his own country (probably in Vocogna), along with one or other of the Bonduri twins.

Finally Araldi directed the administrators of his estate to remember that when and if his wealth increased the dowries to accompany Catterina and her putative sisters should also increase. The man making this will, then, was clearly a man with business interests and ties of friendship and obligation throughout Northern Italy, cutting across at least three states, Modena, Parma, and Milan. Further, as the dowry provisions indicate, he was a man on the way up, with ambitions and expectations for the future.

This specific will, made by a man who was not in fact Modenese, fits into the overall pattern of Modenese testamentary bequests. Antonio Araldi left money for Masses, for family dowries, and for the altar of Saint Geminiano, and made no provision whatever for the poor or for his servants.
The Logistics of Mass Obligations

The number of Masse obligations mandated by Modenese testaments cannot be estimated with any precision, since many bequests merely asked for "as many as possible", or left the amount to their heirs to decide, or specified that they be "perpetual". Even excluding these vaguely worded instructions and considering only those where a precise number or amount was specified, over 47,000 Mass obligations were created in the seventy-two testaments of the sample. Many of these represented a finite number of Masses, to be offered usually within a year of the testator's death, but many others were perpetual establishments often paid for by selling all or a specified part of the goods left behind in order to buy bonds, the income from which would be applied to Masses. (This meant that, though the interest was paid to the Church, the capital remained at work in the secular world, most commonly being invested in the Comunità.)

When we take into consideration the fact that these seventy-two testaments represent only the tiniest possible fraction of the Modenese who died in the parishes during this century, it becomes obvious that the Mass obligations must have been a staggeringly important factor in the economic, social and religious life of the city. At a conservative estimate, some 80,000 persons could be expected to have died in the parishes of Modena between 1690 and
If these people made wills similar to those we have considered, they would have left obligations for some 56,000,000 Masses -- 560,000 per year, 46,300 each month, or more than 1,500 each day. In fact these figures can probably be at least doubled, since we have not included perpetual obligations or obligations left to heirs to decide or based on property to be sold or otherwise not enumerated. It would have been physically impossible for the priests of Modena to say these Masses. We will see that a number of techniques existed for "reducing" these obligations, ranging from simple neglect to appeals to the Pope.

**The Theology of Mass Obligations**

All of this urgent insistence on Masses, often to the exclusion of any other form of bequest, suggests that the average Modenese was little touched by the religious skepticism of the century. Other explanations are of course possible: since everyone traditionally left such sums, anyone failing to do so would be breaking a social constraint, often a more difficult thing to do than the risking of damnation. On the other hand, even the most skeptical often experience doubts on their deathbeds, and at least

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9Based on annual population censuses made from the 1770s through the 1790s, over 800 persons died in the city parishes of Modena each year. These 800 of course represent only those persons who were settled enough to have appeared on the census reports prepared by the parish priests, and so may be assumed to include a high proportion of persons likely to have made wills.
some of these bequests must have represented a form of transcendental fire insurance, just in case. It is even conceivable that some testators could have seen these Mass bequests as legacies to support their parishes, orphanages, or pious institutions, and were thus civic as much as religious acts.

Nevertheless, the religious aspects of these bequests are surely their most outstanding characteristic. The question one must ask is, just what sort of religious feelings did these bequests represent? Were they orthodox? Or did they represent a form of popular piety that bore little relation to Tridentine Catholic teaching? What, in other words, was the theological pedigree of the practice?

Muratorì addressed the question in at least two of his works. *Della Regolata Divozione de' Cristiani* (On Well-regulated -- or moderate -- Christian Devotions), and *Carità Cristiana* (Christian Charity).10 In both of these works he argues that while the practice of praying and offering Masses for the dead is probably orthodox (he holds it to be an unclear point), it is very liable to abuse and misunderstanding, and the pious would be well advised to remember that alms and private prayers may also be offered for the benefit of the dead.

In Carità Cristiana, published in 1723 while the author was deeply involved in the creation of his Charitable Company (see Chapter III), Muratori avoided the possibly thorny theological implications of his stand. "I am not disapproving of the practice of procuring the benefit of Masses for oneself or others," he wrote. "I only suggest that the holy custom of offering Masses should not make us forget that it is also a holy custom to give alms to the poor."11 As he does throughout this book, Muratori stresses the example of Christ and the centrality of the poor to Christian life.

In Della Regolata Devozione, published three years before his death, Muratori took a much harder look at a number of what he considered to be dubious Christian practices. This book was published without benefit of imprimatur in Venice in 1747. Although its author and his Modenese friends in the Holy Office (most notably the Modenese Benedictine Cardinal Fortunato Tamburini) had tried to gain Papal endorsement, many in Rome were uneasy because the book denigrated excessive devotion to the saints and the Virgin Mary and was less than enthusiastic about certain traditional devotions, especially the numerous saints' days which dotted the Church calendar and interrupted work all over Italy.

Muratori taught that the first duty of the believer was to understand his faith and be able to distinguish real devotions from superficial or superstitious ones. As before, he granted the orthodoxy of the concept of offering prayers for the dead, but insisted that the doctrine of Purgatory, on which the concept was based, was unclear and should not be preached because it was likely to cause confusion among the faithful. Citing the advice of the Apostle Paul, he urged that Catholic Christians should avoid even the appearance of wrong-doing, and since paying for Masses gave scandal to non-Catholics, it should be avoided. Those who called for contributions for such purposes were, he charged bluntly, "merely playing on the imagination of the faithful to fill their own pockets."

As always, Muratori was concerned with the poor, and said that such Masses imposed an unfair burden on them, either enticing them to spend what they could not afford or forcing them to stand by and watch while the rich apparently gained the benefit of thousands of Masses from which the poor seemed to be excluded. The poor must be told clearly that "the Holy Church in every Mass offers part of the value of the sacrifice for all the souls of those who have died without mortal sin." In fact, he claimed, most Masses offered for the dead were useless. Either the soul in

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12Opere di Muratori, p. 58.
13Opere di Muratori, p. 960.
question was not capable of benefitting, being already damned, or else it had already gone on to its eternal reward. In either case the virtue of the Mass, like the virtue of every Mass, was freely available for any soul which stood to benefit from it.

Finally, in a perfectly orthodox though seemingly Jansenistic statement, Muratori reminded his reader that it is not only the priest who can offer the Mass, but anyone who worthily assists at the sacrifice can, with no help or payment, offer that Mass for the benefit of his or her dead.

Battista Araldi, writing half a century after his patron, stressed many of the same points but defended the practice on the grounds of almsgiving. The payment attached to the Mass, according to Araldi, was designed to support a priest for one day and as such it was and remained a worthy act of charity. (In Modena the traditional fee for a read Mass was about one lira Modenese, corresponding roughly to a basic daily wage for a laborer.) Araldi held it to be a pious act and one well within Church tradition to offer alms for the support of priests so that they may say Mass. But it was a superstitious misunderstanding to suppose that one could direct the benefit of such Masses: the Mass is always offered solely to the glory of God, and

the faithful all benefit from it to the extent to which they have faith and are in a state of grace.

Although Araldi defended the practice from charges of simony on the grounds that the money was not for the Mass but rather for the support of the priest, he made it clear that he did not oppose the current government policy of reducing these Mass obligations. He agreed that it was necessary to reduce the wealth which the Church had accumulated through these obligations, particularly in view of the fact that it would be impossible to satisfy the terms of all of the bequests. Echoing his friend and patron, he urged that the money be applied instead to maintain the churches, pay the salaries of the priests, support seminaries, maintain the hospices and dower young girls, to support students, and otherwise assist the poor.

Both of these distinguished Modenese theologians thus agreed that the practice of leaving Mass obligations was at best dubious and the pious would do better to leave their money and goods to assist the poor.

Modenese testaments, however, clearly show that this advice did not find a very ready hearing among the people. Popular religion included the deep belief in the semi-magical application of the virtues of the Mass, and no amount of theology could shake this. At the same time, the vested interests of parish, convent and hospice stood to gain far too much from the income which this belief brought
them, and were unlikely to do much actively to discourage
the purchase of Mass obligations. And indeed, if we look at
the testaments of the two theologians we find that both of
them left considerable Mass obligations. Muratori, in his
1744 testament, directed that 400 Masses be said for his
soul within seven days of his death, while 400 lire Modenese
were to be distributed to the poor of his former parish of
Santa Maria Pomposa in Modena. Within fifteen days of his
death, a further 200 lire Modenese were to be distributed to
the poor of his native town of Vignola. Battista Araldi,
who died half a century later in 1794, left £1000 each to
three separate parishes. Half of it was to be distributed
among the poor, and half was to be spent to pay for
Masses. It seems unlikely that either Muratori or Araldi
would have left these bequests for superstitious reasons or
would have been prevailed upon by the financial self-
interest of the benefitting institutions. We may perhaps
look to social pressure, or the sheer weight of tradition
for an explanation.

Whatever the motive it was nonetheless true that Mass
obligations made up a considerable portion of the income of
parishes and religious corporations. The account books of

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15 Testamento di Lodovico Antonio Muratori, as cited by
A. Sorbelli in Scritti Autobiografici (Lodovico Antonio
Muratori) (Vignola: 1940), pp. 208-212.

16 ASM0, Archivio Notarile 5371 (Cavachioli), 23 January
1792.
almost any priest or parish from the era make this amply evident. When Don Bramante Rosti died in 1757, leaving his estate to the Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine, a careful study was made of his income and expenditures. From these, we find that his monthly income from the saying of testamentary Masses normally ran between thirty and thirty-four lire, or about ten percent of his total income.\(^1\) (These monies were of course not transferable to his heirs, except in the unlikely event that the testator had specified that the Masses be said by Don Rosti or priests who were his heirs.)

As we have noted, a number of priests worked freelance, hiring themselves to parishes, monasteries or charities to satisfy the Mass obligations of these institutions. The records of the Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine give evidence of this: "Don Stefano Lampalochi seeks the job of celebrating the 190 Masses required for the Oratory"; "Dott. Don Pier Francesco Manetti wishes to be considered for the Masses to be celebrated in the memory of Sig. Don Gioseffo Canini"; "Don Geminiano Morandi wants work celebrating daily Masses".\(^2\)

A Modenese parish characteristically depended on Mass obligations for a considerable portion of its income. When,  

\(^1\)ASMO, ECA 178, "Libro di entrate e di spese di me D. Bradamante Rosti", 1748-1757.  
\(^2\)ASMO, ECA 177, documents #147, 146 and 145.
for example. Battista Araldi was forced to give up the parish of Sant'Agata in 1773, the accounts show that he was fulfilling obligations for almost 2,000 Masses a year, providing an income of about £200 a month. This was not, of course, an unusually large number of such bequests, and in fact is far fewer than could be expected if any sizeable proportion of bequests were actually fulfilled as directed by the testators. It is, however, a substantial number to be satisfied by one priest, representing about six Masses per day. The Masses at Sant'Agata, like those at other churches and oratories, were usually paid for by bonds invested with the city, though some were supported by the rental of real property. Most of these obligations passed to the new parish in 1773, when Sant'Agata was consolidated with San Domenico (the formal title of which remains to this day the parish of Sant'Agata in San Domenico), although they were continued by Araldi during his lifetime as part of the benefice (separate from the parish) to which he retained rights. Since the building which had housed Sant'Agata was ultimately deconsecrated and used as a bakery before being demolished, the monies for those Masses which could no longer be celebrated (that is, those specifically tied to the church or an altar within the church) were re-directed to the poor of the parish.

19ASM0, Corporazioni Soppresse 2026, Sant'Agata, Notizie 1706-1792.
Masses could be and often were tied to a specific church or even altar, a practice which caused a great deal of trouble when rulers began to suppress convents and monasteries and rearrange parishes in the later decades of the century. When Giovanni Braidi died in the seventeenth century leaving a portion of his estate to the Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine, he specified that among the duties of the heirs would be to ensure that three times a year a Mass would be offered to his memory in the church of the Augustinians, Sant' Agostino. By 1762, however, the Duke had taken over the Augustinian church as part of his Poor House, and moved the order to the nearby parish of Santa Maria Pomposa. In December 1762 the administrators of the orphanage met to attempt to untangle the skeins. Should the Mass be moved to the parish of Santa Maria Pomposa? Could it be so moved? This depended on whether the testator had meant "the church of Sant' Agostino" (which still existed, now the home of the Scallopian priests brought by the Duke to service the new Poor House and Hospital), or whether he meant only "the church of the Augustinians", that is, any church in which that order served. In the end the administrators of Santa Catterina, who had no desire to loose their legacy, decided to consult with the lawyers, the Augustinians, and the present occupants of the church in order to seek a resolution.
Reducing the Mass Obligations

The difficulties experienced by the Saint Catherine administrators were symptomatic of the confusion which would characterize the decades of the 1760s through the 1780s. The legal questions alone were staggering, especially given the traditional sanctity of the last testament, the provisions of which could only be broken with the greatest of difficulty. Nevertheless there was a constant and more or less effective program throughout the second half of the eighteenth century to reduce the number of Mass obligations, and the events of 1763-64 (when the Opera Pia Generale assumed the properties and the obligations of dozens of small and large independent charities) and of 1768-73 (when the parishes of Modena were reduced from fourteen to seven) resulted in two massive restructuring and reduction movements, in 1771 and 1787.

Battista Araldi was not the only churchman to agree that such restructuring and reduction was necessary. Of course, if the bequests had actually been fulfilled, it would have quickly become apparent that far too many obligations had been accumulated to be honored. Perhaps fortunately, "perpetual" or "until the end of time" generally meant somewhere in the vicinity of 200 years. Natural attrition had a great deal to do with this. As the properties or bonds which supported the Masses dwindled or lost value, many of the bequests died away. Others were simply
lost in the bookkeeping process, especially those antedating Trent, when parishes were legal fictions and record-keeping erratic at best. In the records of Masses owed by charities assumed into the Opera Pia Generale in 1764, few went back before the fifteenth century.

The reductions proposed in 1771 and 1787 fell into three categories: reduction of Masses owed by regular convents and monasteries; the restructuring and sometimes reduction of Masses held by parishes made necessary in the restructuring of the late 1760s; and finally the reduction of Masses owed by the charities which were consolidated to form the Opera Pia Generale.

When the Bureau of Sovereign Jurisdiction (Magistrato della Giurisdizione Sovrana) was set up in 1758, it was given a wide range of competencies over the religious establishments of the state. Among these, it was especially commissioned to reduce the "grandiose number of Masses ordered by testators", and to secure permission from Rome to commute these into other pious works "equally meritorious and helpful and at the same time useful to the public, such as hospitals and poor houses." All of these suppressions and reductions had to be cleared with Rome: there was no Concordat between Rome and Modena to clarify their respec-

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tive authority on such matters, but the rulers of Modena had no wish to create an unnecessary enemy in the compliant Pope. The members of the Magistrato (later reconstituted as the Giunta di Giurisdizione) were careful to advise their Duke not to relinquish his rights to reduce Masses, citing the example of other European princes.21

Among the first and easiest targets, in Modena as elsewhere in Europe, were the Regular houses. In October of 1768, for example, Secretary Bianchi received a report on the rural houses of five Regular orders scheduled for suppression.22 These included four Carmelite houses, three belonging to the Augustinians, four to the Minor Conventuals (Franciscans), four to the Servites, and one to the Scallopians. These sixteen convents (both male and female) together housed or employed sixty-six religious and thirty-two lay persons; none of the houses included more than eleven men or women, and two housed only three persons.

These were, Bianchi held, clearly uneconomic enterprises and would be far better closed and their properties, incomes and obligations united with those of the Opera Pia

21ASMO, G.S., "Documenti relativi alla erezione della Giunta di Giurisdizione Sovrana" 1772.

Generale. The combined incomes were estimated as £123,306.15.2, and the expenses which would have to continue to be paid after closure were set at £23,020.13.6. Among these expenses by far the largest single item was that for Mass obligations — £16,484 for Masses priced at £1.10 read and £8 sung.\(^{23}\) The property of these suppressed institutions, as well as the obligation for the Masses, was to be assumed by the consolidated Opera Pia Generale.

In 1771, Giambattista Wattenhoffer, archivist of the Opera Pia Generale, prepared a survey of the Mass obligations from various small convents and monasteries for which the consolidated body was liable.\(^{24}\) He noted that permission for reduction had graciously been granted in 1767 and 1768, and went on to list an additional total of 16,214 read and 242 sung Masses which for one reason or another should be discontinued. In his letter to the Pope, Wattenhoffer justified the reduction in terms of the good done by the Opera Pia Generale, and the financial burden imposed by the excessive Masses.

Wattenhoffer used a number of criteria in order to select the Masses to be eliminated. In some cases, the property supporting the bequest has declined to the point where it no longer brought enough income to justify the expense.

\(^{23}\)ASM0, Carteggio di Referendari #107, Correspondence of Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi.

\(^{24}\)Archivio della Curia di Modena, Opera Poveri di Cristo, "Relazione di Wattenhoffer sopre le Messe" 1771.
In others, the origins of the bequest had been lost. Age, in fact, was a major factor: in the case of the Cistercians of Nonantola, none of their bequests are older than 1648, "consequently they had no reductions." Bequests which were not tied to a particular church or altar seem to have been prime candidates for reapportioning.

In 1771, this reapportioning and reduction was primarily justified on the basis of service to the poor. "The Opera Pia Generale," Watterhoffer wrote, "sustains almost 1,300 persons -- all of the sick poor persons who come to the Hospital; the women in seclusion in the special Conservatory [i.e., unmarried mothers and prostitutes]; orphans without father or mother; foundlings; and 700 beggars, all of whom are educated in Christian doctrine, and enabled to earn their own bread by the crafts they are taught here."

Unfortunately, he went on, expenses exceeded income in these pious institutions, especially because of the recent disastrous flooding in the countryside, which brought many more poor people into the city and destroyed the livelihood of numerous peasant families. For this reason, the Presidents of the Opera Pia Generale were turning "to Your Holiness for the help which only you have the power to give." They ask the Pope, "as the universal father of the poor," to reduce the number of Masses and to allow them to move those remaining "to churches dependent on the Opera Pia Generale which need them, and are more convenient to the
"In other words, the Presidents wished to move the Masses and thus redistribute the income to a new group of churches, churches dependent on the Opera Pia Generale. However, these aspects of the change were played down in favor of a Muratorian rationale which stresses the good which the new institutions would do for the poor.

A 1764 balance sheet for the seven pious institutions consolidated into the Opera Pia Generale shows the new Opera liable for 7,995 Masses at a charge of £10,159.15.0. (It is interesting to note that the Charitable Company, though the fifth-largest of these bodies, has only a fraction of the Mass obligations — fifty-two per year, compared with the next-smallest number of 618 (the Orphan Girls of St. Geminiano), and the highest number of 2,963 (the Hospital).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Total Income</th>
<th>Masses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Hospital</td>
<td>£132,671.16.5</td>
<td>2,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospice</td>
<td>48,832.11.1</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desco dei Poveri</td>
<td>37,910.00.11</td>
<td>1,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphans (S. Geminiano)</td>
<td>8,650.16.0</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphans (S. Catterina)</td>
<td>15,294.09.1</td>
<td>1,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphans (Bernardini)</td>
<td>10,457.11.8</td>
<td>896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera della Carità</td>
<td>13,592.02.5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 The Great Hospital, the Hospice of the Poor, the Board for the Shamefaced Poor, the Orphan Girls of St Geminiano, and of St Catherine, the Bernardini shelter for Orphan Boys, and the Charitable Company. ASMO, ECA 1901.
Although Wattenhoffer at least formally deferred to the judgement of the Pope, it is clear that the state, not the Church, was in charge. By the 1780s, the attitude towards Mass obligations was hardening into one in which the justification for Masses had become almost purely utilitarian. The legal and theological aspects of the bequests were considered all but irrelevant.

Lodovico Ricci, writing in defense of his great plan to reshape all of the charitable institutions of the city, relied on reasons of state as justification enough: "In the face of a Sovereign order so in accord with Christian charity and civil economy," he wrote, "all private commands of testators must be silent. Their pious intentions will be fulfilled in the more widely useful end of a more opportune and profitable charity." This was strong language indeed, and indicated a profound change in the attitude towards the role of the state vis a vis the rights of subjects. (Ricci, we may note, moved with no difficulty at all from serving the last Estense Duke Ercole III to a post with the French-created Cispadane Republic.) It is a subject we will explore in some depth in Chapter X of this work.

According to Ricci, it was no longer relevant to consider legalistic quibbles with regard to these Masses. There was no need to worry over interpreting contracts or

26 Lodovico Ricci, Riforma degli istituti pii della Città di Modena, Part IV, pp. 103-104.
conventions, nor to examine income from properties. The only important fact was that the serious shortfall in the combined charities of £100,000 per year and the consequent need to find a more economical method of operation made it necessary to arrive at "a stable number of Masses which would satisfy all of the needs of piety and religion for the institutions, and at the same time achieve the consolidation and reduction necessary for so great an enterprise." What was required was "sufficient income to support the necessary decency of worship". In other words, Ricci wanted to use the money to support parish churches and clergy; beyond that, he argued that the money should be available to be used as the Duke, as head of the state, saw fit.

The working papers of the Comunità include a Promemoria dated at about the time Ricci was preparing and implementing his master plan for social welfare. In it, the city fathers formulated their own scheme, "to the end of caring for the interests of the poor, so much recommended not only by civic prudence but by our revered religion." The condition of the Opera Pia, they found, made it necessary to propose the reduction of "all those Masses which are not absolutely necessary either for the immediate service of the Opera Pia or for the parish churches of the city."

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27 ACM, Riforma delle Opere Pie, Promemoria of 13 August 1787.
The Conservators proposed that a survey be made and that four chaplains then be appointed to celebrate the required Masses in one of the churches associated with the Opera Pia Generale (that is, one of the parish churches, or the churches associated with institutions such as the Hospital). These specialists, who were to have no other work, were to be paid a generous allowance of £3 per Mass. An examination of the accounts for that year shows that a modified version of the scheme had indeed been carried out. Two Hospital canons were carried on the books to read 730 Masses at three lire each, for an annual total of £2,196. The remaining Masses, some 3,004 in all, were to be read at the Citadel, at the cemetery chapel of San Lazaro, and at a rural oratory at the more normal price of one and a half lire each, for a total expenditure of £5,601.

It comes as no surprise to note that by the end of the 1780s, the number of Masses for which the Opera Pia Generale was obliged had thus fallen from the 7,995 which burdened Wattenhoffer to fewer than half that number, or 3,734. Despite this, people continued to leave Mass obligations. The general public left them, the clerical reformers left them, and one suspects that further research would reveal that the civil servants most intent on reducing them left them as well. The situation would not begin to be resolved before the French Revolution arrived and cut the Gordian knot by the simple expedient of confiscating everything.
Chapter VI

Patrons and Friends: the Araldi at Court

In this chapter we will take a close look at the often hidden, but carefully woven and mended, network of patronage which supported all Modenese social life. We will examine this network in three widely different contexts: in the reforms directed at the university faculty of medicine, at the Holy Office, or Inquisition, and at the Corrections House, a penal institution for minor offenders. Our aim will be to show how efforts at reform and modernization were shaped by these networks of patronage and friendships.

The Third Chair

On 15 March 1741, thirty days after his death, memorial services were held for the famous doctor Francesco Torti, president of the Physicians’ Guild (Collegio dei Medici), founding professor at the university, renowned researcher into the causes and cures of periodic fevers, chief physician (protomedico) to the reigning Duke, and patron of the young doctor Gaetano Araldi. The ceremonies were to

^Description is taken from Archivio San Carlo, ms “Notizie sopra l'origine, stabilimento, e progresso della Congregazione della Beata Vergine, e San Carlo di Modena ... raccolte, esaminante e prodotte da un sacerdote della medesima.”

253
take place at the church of Sant' Agostino (later to become the church of the Poor House), and the late doctor's colleagues from the guild and the university were to assist at the services. The university lecturers departed from the great hall of the College of San Carlo (until 1772 the seat of the university) as the largest bell of the nearby cathedral tolled. They were preceded by four Swiss Guards, sent by the Duke in his role as protector of the university. As the bell continued to toll, they made their way two by two up the Via Emilia, in order of precedence: first the professors of scholastic dogmatic theology, then moral theology; then civil law, followed by canon law. Next came the holders of the three chairs in medicine, and the two lecturers in philosophy, and last the lecturers in mathematics and in Greek.

At Sant'Agostino they were met by one of the priests who normally welcomed the court and were led to their seats on the Epistle side of the main altar. This altar, draped in black for the occasion, stood in dramatic contrast to the gold and white baroque interior of the church, all clouds and putti and great swags of marble drapery, with monumental angels striding precariously atop corinthian pillars. The physicians, who as the less prestigious body had preceded the lecturers and taken their seats to the left of the altar, were already in place and a solemn pontifical high
Mass began, sung by the Bishop of Appolonia assisted by a choir.

The funeral oration was preached by the Superior of the Augustinians. Various poetic compositions were read, including an inscription by Lodovico Antonio Muratori which, carved in marble, was affixed to the sepulchre in a place of honor in the church. The inscription praised Torti as the leading physician of his day and the benefactor of his fellow citizens through his work on periodic fevers; the doctor was lauded as protomedico to His Serene Highness Duke Francesco III, and beloved benefactor (i.e., patron) to Jacopo Iatici and Gaetano Araldi.

The thirty-two year old third son of Carlo Giuseppe Araldi was indeed in exalted company at the funeral of his patron, and he was not forced to enjoy his triumph from the sidelines. Instead he took his rightful place among the lecturers along with his elder brother Battista, who had held the post of lecturer in philosophy since 1732.

There were thirteen lecturers in all, certainly an odd number for so medieval a body as a university where twelve, a number hallowed by scripture and tradition, would have been normal. Gaetano himself had made it thirteen three years earlier when, over the protests of the Physicians Guild, he had (with the powerful protection of Torti and the support of the Duke) assumed the newly-created Third Chair
of Medicine. Gaetano had attended the College of San Carlo (reconstituted as the University of Modena since 1684), and in 1729 at the age of twenty-one he had received his laurea (degree) in medicine. In 1737 he became the occasion for a three-way struggle between the Physicians' Guild (a body closely associated with the comunita and, like all guilds, coming under increased attack), the university (whose faculties, particularly that of medicine, were seeking independence from the Church and the guilds), and the Duke (who was seizing any opportunity to exert his authority over the both guilds and university).

Modena had a long and distinguished tradition in medicine, and when the university was re-created by Duke Francesco I in 1684 on the basis of the old College of San Carlo it was inevitable that medicine should take its place alongside theology and philosophy in the new institution. Two Chairs of medicine were created in the first establishment, for the two celebrated physicians of the city, Bernar­dino Ramazzini and Francesco Torti. There was, however, a Third Chair at San Carlo, which had been established by

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2The account of the controversy over the Third Chair is taken from documents at the Archivio San Carlo, notably Ristretto di lunga serie d'anni (manuscript, 1740) and Francesco Torti's Giustificazione, a manuscript pamphlet on the case which Torti wrote and circulated in 1740.

3This "trinity" in the University echoes the "trinity" which we have identified in social welfare, with theology paralleling piety, philosophy echoing the hierarchy of social relationships which we have identified with patronage, and medicine directly corresponding to public health.
testament in 1667 by a priest of the congregation of San Carlo, Cristoforo Borghi. Unlike the first two this was an honorary Chair, carrying no stipend, but with a number of perquisites attached to it ... among them the critical right to share in the monies paid by candidates for the laurea on the occasion of the degree being conferred. In 1735 this Third Chair had been held for twenty-nine years by Giovanni Francesco Bernardoni, a man who failed of perfection only in the regrettable oversight of being born not in Modena but in the provincial town of Vignola. Because he was not Modenese by birth, Bernardoni was not eligible for membership in the guild of physicians, a condition which seems to have been acceptable to the doctors in the early years of the century. On Bernardoni's death the priests of the congregation of San Carlo, feeling it entirely within their gift to dispose of the Chair, cast about for a successor. They settled on the young Gaetano Araldi, the pupil and protegee of the holder of the First Chair, Dr. Torti. The approval of the reigning Duke was sought and granted.

Soon afterwards the occasion arose to grant a degree to a certain Brighenti. The Superior of San Carlo notified the Prior of the guild, through the guild's Chancellor, of Araldi's appointment so that the new lecturer could be invited, as was customary, to the degree-conferring ceremonies which were hosted by the Physicians' Guild. The Prior, notifying neither the Superior of San Carlo nor the
other members of his own guild, told the Chancellor not to invite Araldi, and the ceremony took place without him.

When the occasion arose to confer a second medical degree, this time on a foreigner, the Superior realized that the Prior intended to continue in his refusal to invite Araldi. He therefore appealed to the Duke, who gave the express order that Araldi should be invited, and should participate in this and any other degree-conferring ceremonies on the same footing that Bernardoni had enjoyed before him. The Superior transmitted this order verbally to the Chancellor of the guild in the offices of the city government, in the hearing of several witnesses, and a compromise was reached: Araldi would be invited, but he would arrange to be out of town for the occasion.4

This, however, could not be the end of the story. In an attempt to circumvent the ducal order, the physicians petitioned the Duke in the name of the guild that the numbers of those participating in the degree-conferring ceremonies should be limited to the twelve members of the overseeing body of the guild, plus four university lecturers -- two from philosophy and two from medicine. This undermined the Duke's order, but the petition was made without referring to the order, or requesting clarification. The aim, of course, was permanently to exclude Araldi, who held

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the third Chair, and was not one of the Twelve. And in fact the ploy succeeded for a time, though it introduced a struggle which would re-fashion the guild from an independent body to a virtual arm of Ducal administration.

In 1739, a chirografo from the new Duke, Francesco III, informed the guild that henceforth the chief court physician (the protomedico ducale) was to be the head of the doctors of the guild as well as those of the court, and his authority was to supercede that of the Prior of the guild. The protomedico at this time was none other than Francesco Torti, the patron of Gaetano Araldi. Among Torti's first official actions was to propose a series of new rules, including rules governing the form by which the medical degree would in future be conferred. Although Torti died in 1741, the reforms continued and culminated in 1754 when the old guild was abolished by royal decree, "in order to institute another whose form and being will be in better agreement with Our intentions."

Appended to the May 1754 decree is a list of the new governing body of the guild. Most notable is the fact that among the ruling Twelve is the name of Gaetano Araldi, while fully half of the others are either in-laws, godparents, or

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close friends of the Araldi: men from the Ferrari, the Iatici, the Vandelli and the Cerretti families.6

The Araldi built careers in the university and at court on the basis of their ambition and their undeniable talent, but these careers were only made possible by patronage and friendship ties with the Duke and the royal family, and with important figures in their chosen fields. The inscription on the memorial plaque to Dr. Torti beautifully encapsulated some essential aspects of career-making in this period. Torti, who was indeed an able man, was represented at his funeral by what was in effect three generations of disciples: Iatici (or Jatici) was the immediate successor to the master, and assumed his role as protomedico. A quarter of a century later he would be followed in this position by Gaetano Araldi. And alongside and amplifying this succession in post and preferment lay the ties of family: a woman of Iatici's house would in 1750 marry Araldi's younger brother; and by 1790 that brother's nephew, Michele Araldi, would succeed Iatici and Araldi in the role of protomedico ducale.

As we noted in Chapter II, Battista Araldi built his Church career in the first half of the century under the patronage of the great Muratori. What we did not note at

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6The network of marriages and godparentage can be traced in the ASCM Vivi and Morti registers of births and deaths. These indicate formal Araldi connections with a number of Modenese families, including the Ferrari, Iatici, Vandelli, Consetti and Carandini. See Appendix 4.
that point, but may mention now, is the fact that in 1732 (the year in which Battista became lecturer in philosophy at San Carlo) the eldest brother of the Araldi family, Giovanni Antonio, was married to Diamante Bastardi. The bride was not only the daughter of a notable family of physicians, she was also the aunt of Muratori's nephew Francesco Soli, who would follow his uncle as rector of Santa Maria Pomposa and add the Muratori name to his own (as Francesco Soli-Muratori, he was his uncle's biographer -- assisted, is it said, by Battista Araldi).

The construction of this vital network of patrons, friends and relations by marriage is not the sort of activity which can be easily documented. Much of it was a matter of understanding rather than contract, of common assumptions, of the word spoken in passing or the meaningful glance. Keys to the network are hidden in notarial documents and business arrangements, or in common interests. But from time to time facts break through the surface and unexpected relationships among seemingly unrelated persons and events give indications of the vast body of invisible connections. The records of as unlikely a body as the Inquisition, for example, can yield an interesting harvest.

7BE, GB Araldi, Notizie Sacre e Profane, S.v. "Muratori"; and Gamma W, 4.6, Famiglie Araldi, which includes a slip of paper noting the connections between the families, "from the works on Muratori's philosophy which Araldi made in the name of his [Muratori's] nephew Soli".
Of all the bugbears of clerical obscurantism and terror, the Holy Office, or Inquisition, was without doubt the greatest. Anyone with pretensions as a reformer had to come to terms with this body. In the last half of the eighteenth century the dukes of Modena made determined efforts to include the Holy Office in the reforms which they were trying to implement in their state. Francesco III acted to curb the power of the Inquisition, primarily by giving its authority over such matters as clerical morals and censorship of publications to state-sponsored bodies such as the Giunta di Giurisdizione. He also put his own men into positions of influence whenever possible — as when he appointed Battista Araldi as consultant to the Inquisition. Finally, his successor Ercole III abolished the Holy Office altogether in 1785. But such things are never simple, and they are rarely what they seem to be.

At about five o'clock on a January evening in 1748, Battista Araldi and his brother Gaetano were among a small circle enjoying a conversazione in front of the fire at the home of one of Don Araldi's parishioners, the Marchese Alfonso Fontanelli. The account is taken from Battista Araldi's deposition before the Inquisition on 6 February 1748. ASMO, Inquisizione 227.
young talent was encouraged and wits were sharpened. His 3,000-volume library of works on history, theater and French literature was open to scholars and served as a magnet for Modenese intellectuals. A confirmed modernist, he and his friends disdained the Baroque Italian academic tradition. Only two years earlier, after a visit to France where he paid a friendly call on Voltaire, he himself had made the first Italian translations of a number of the controversial Frenchman's more respectable works, including Alzira, five of his tragedies on Ancient Roman themes, and the Henriade.\textsuperscript{9}

The talk turned to poetic compositions, and the men were happily engaged in reading and reciting their own works in progress when one of the guests, Dottore Renzi, turned to Don Araldi and asked if he had heard his (Renzi's) composition on the subject of the poet Vicini, whose current troubles with the Inquisition were the talk of the city. When Araldi admitted that he had not, the author required no urging to recite his sonnet for the assembly. "It had to do," Araldi later recalled, "with an apostrophe to Modena, calling on her to look after, or sympathize with, or aid her sons. And I recall hearing -- I believe it was in the last quartaine -- these words: 'fanaticism' and 'zeal'."

These were of course code words, heavily laden with anti-clerical and rationalist implications, and the more Araldi thought upon them, the more he was convinced that they went beyond the limit of the permissible. Vicini was, of course, a Mason. But Free Masonry had only been definitively condemned in Modena in 1740, and among the lodge members were some exalted names, including Crown Prince Ercole; his French mother; and the nephew of the future Bishop, Diofebe Cortese. Also, the Marchese Fontanelli, host of the gathering, and very possibly even Araldi's own brother Gaetano were Masons. Battista, however, modernist and poet though he was, reported the incident to the Inquisition.

On the surface this would seem to have been at the very least a serious breach of hospitality. But a number of facts suggest that this was not merely a case of an overly

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10See Giuseppe Orlandi's analysis of the Vicini case and others in Per la Storia della Massoneria nel Ducato di Modena dalle origini al 1755, (Modena: Aedes Muratoriano, 1981), pp. 74-78. Vicini (1710-1782) lost his position at the College of San Carlo over the incident, and was sentenced to ten years detention. An anonymous city chronicler, however, noted on 14 May 1750 that "il dottore poeta Vicini ha avuto la grazia della Inquisizione, et e andato a casa sua." [the learned poet Vicini has been pardoned by the Inquisition, and has gone to his own home] BE, gamma S 7.1. The damage to Vicini's name and income proved temporary, and in 1757 he was named "first poet" to the Duke, with a stipend of £50 a month.

11Charlotte Aglae, daughter of the Duc d'Orleans, was widely supposed to have joined what was called an "androgy nous lodge" on a visit to her home in Paris.
pious or self-serving cleric siding with the forces of obscurantism.

There is no sign that this deposition harmed anyone, neither Renzi, nor Vicini nor Fontanelli. (Araldi was careful to say that, although the Marchese too had begun to prepare a sonnet on the subject, his contained nothing objectionable.) Renzi was never charged, and the deposition stands alone with the notation "Observatur". While the Holy Office in Modena had not yet become the paper tiger it was soon to be, it was far from wielding the absolute power it had once held.

Vicini had long been a friend and admirer of Battista's brother Gaetano, a relationship that seems to have continued throughout the poet's Inquisition troubles. Nor was there any rift between the Araldi brothers, whose letters remain cordial and affectionate during this period.

Battista Araldi was far from being either a simple parish priest, tolerated at the conversazione because he was a neighbor, or a partisan of the Inquisition. He was at this time a major literary figure in his own right, the friend and heir apparent of the great Muratori. He, like

12One of Vicini's poems of the period is a fulsome paean of praise to Dr. Araldi for having treated the poet for a fever. It contains such as, "You have given me back to the pleasures of life, and if I breath the soft air it is all your gift," and "in all this the great Torti once more lives among us." [Tu al piacer de la mia vita me rendesti/ E questo, che respiro aer soave/ Tutto e il tuo dono; and onde in tutto il gran Torti a noi ravivi] BE. gamma G, 19 (Araldi).
Fontanelli, Vicini and his brother Gaetano, was a member of the "Academy of Dissonants", a light-hearted group whose talents were as likely to be turned to poking fun at epic poetry as to more elevated topics.\textsuperscript{13} He was himself a thorough-going modernist, so judged both by contemporaries and by historians.\textsuperscript{14} He was in addition a man who could disapprove and yet remain a friend. In his 1792 testament he refers to his nephew Antonio, like Vicini a poet and a radical, saying that the lad's bad behavior in his youth had shown no sign of improving with age -- and yet leaving this black sheep his interest in the family business, and his books on poetry and history.\textsuperscript{15}

Araldi's relationship with the Inquisition was multifaceted, and on more than one occasion he himself turns up

\textsuperscript{13}Among the more interesting publications to come out of this Academy is a verse epic in homage to pork (including selected recipes) by Tigrinto Bistonio (a.k.a. Don Giuseppe Ferrari). This work, published in 1761, was dedicated to Battista Araldi in memory of the many dinners he and the author had shared. Gli Eloqi del Porco, capitoli berneschi di Tigrinto Bistonio. (Modena: 1761; republished Modena: 1973).

\textsuperscript{14}Giuseppe Salvioli, in his classic analysis of the mid-century reforms "La legislazione di Francesco III" (op cit), p. 2 lists him among Francesco's "enlightened ministers avid for reform": Joseph Victor de la Boulaye, a French officer in the service of the Duke of Modena, includes Araldi in his 1796 history, calling him "un des plus savans et des plus moderes theologiens de l'Eglise" [one of the wisest and most moderate theologians of the Church]. Histoire de Modene, depuis sa fondation jusqu'aux tems presens. MS, 1796, private collection, p. 263.

\textsuperscript{15}ASMO, Archivio Notarile, # 5371, Testament of Giovanni Battista Araldi, 23 January 1792.
in denunciations of heterodox modern ideas, cited by the accused as holding the same opinions as himself.\(^1\)

As "one of the most learned clerics of the city," and theologian to the Duke, Araldi from time to time served as consultant to the Inquisition, as when in 1755 he was called upon to read and analyze a French manuscript on the subject of Free Masons. In this case, he did his work conscientiously, hardly concealing his disgust with the doctrines proposed in the text, which he found filled with "extraordinary and ridiculous expositions."\(^2\)

For the rest of the century the temporal power of the Church in Modena would be steadily eroded, as civil authority over Church matters increased. Ultimately the Inquisition lost its authority over censorship, and over discipline in ecclesiastical cases. Both powers passed to the Giunta di Giurisdizione -- and to Battista Araldi as one of the three directors of that body. The Holy Office continued to lose its powers piecemeal through the second

\(^1\)ASMO, Inq. 227 and 240, denunciations against Count Emilio Campi, and against Pelegrino Baraldi and the Marchese Fontanelli. In these cases Araldi's name is linked with men such as the poet Vicini, the protomedico Iatici, Pelegrino Loschi (the ducale librarian), and Araldi's own physician nephew Michele as disbelieving in witches and evil spirits, and doubting the authenticity of reported cases of possession.

\(^2\)ASMO, Inquisition 227. Doctrines such as "the human soul is a breath of life emanating from the Omnipotent, and thus cannot be stained by deeds of the body; the only true sin is suicide." See Orlandi, Storia della Massoneria, p. 112.
half of the century, and ultimately was entirely abolished in 1785.

It may be a mistake to interpret Araldi's relationship with the Inquisition on solely intellectual or political terms. He appears again in the archival documentation, in a case which was heard in January of 1772 when a young woman, Teresa Biondini, made a serious but far from unprecedented accusation against her parish priest, Don Giuseppe Bartoli of the parish of Santa Maria Pomposa. Don Bartoli, after hearing her confession for years, one day asked her to his room where they sat side by side ("on a bench" she specifies) and talked of this and that, and then "he asked me not to confess to him any more, and kissed me three or four times." Her new confessor was Don Battista Araldi, and when he heard what had happened, he urged her to go to the Inquisition. Although he himself was at this time a member of the Giunta di Giurisdizione which would soon assume authority over such cases, Araldi seems to have felt that Don Bartoli needed to be called to book by the Holy Office. He would not be condemned on the evidence of one young woman, but the fear of further accusations would perhaps inhibit any future inclination to misbehavior. It seems possible that, in this case and perhaps in the Vicini case as well, Battista Araldi acted as a man of principle who felt that certain behavior, be it seduction or disrespect for authority, was not to be tolerated.
The Inquisition cases suggest at least two things about Battista Araldi and his brother Gaetano. They were active members of the most advanced intellectual and political circles in the state, and on easy social terms with men like the Marchese Fontanelli, the poet Vicini, and an influential group of physicians, poets and natural philosophers. If amicizia in court circles was one necessary ingredient in career making, the Araldi did not confine their activities there, but broadened them to include the most forward looking elements of the society.

The cases reinforce another impression of the Araldi: they were perfect for the Duke's purposes. The family was new but its members were capable and ambitious. They had made their way up by means of commerce into the professions and the Church, but as the century progressed and the battle lines were drawn, they had unequivocally sided with the court. Battista, a respected theologian and author, was invaluable as the Duke's man first with regard to the Inquisition, and later in the Giunta di Giurisdizione. The affair of the Third Chair showed Gaetano's potential as a tool against the guild. And both brothers served as active partisans of the ducal cause in the university, which was rapidly being secularized, moving away from theology and towards the sciences and modern literature.
The Crown Princess

In 1741 we find the first clear indications that the Araldi brothers, firmly entrenched in the university and valued members of the Ducal party in his struggles against guild and comunità, began to move directly into court circles. In this year Gaetano was named personal physician to Maria Teresa Cybo Malespina, the fifteen-year-old wife of the Crown Prince Ercole. The relationship of this unhappy couple would set the tone for court politics for the next half century.

The Princess was the only surviving child of the late ruler of the neighboring duchy of Massa-Carrara and a duchess in her own right. Her marriage to the fourteen-year-old heir to the duchy of Modena was a well-planned dynastic move which brought the protection of the Este to her state and in exchange gave Modena a badly needed outlet to the sea. Their first child, Maria Beatrice Ricciarda, was born in 1750; three years later a son, Rinaldo, was born but died within a few months of his birth. By this time the succession in Modena was critical, as three of the reigning Duke's six children had died and a fourth would die within a year. Ercole Rinaldo was the only surviving son, and he was on such bad terms with his wife by 1753 that any further legitimate children seemed highly unlikely. The Araldi papers indicate a 1765 pregnancy for the Crown Princess, then aged 39. This was apparently the fruit of eight years
of pressure brought to bear on the Prince, but it ended in the bitter disappointment of a miscarriage, and any further attempts at reconciliation seemed pointless. This family situation created a profound split in the court, reminiscent of Hanoverian England, with the Duke and the Crown Princess on one side, and the Crown Prince and his supporters on the other.

In 1753 Duke Francisco, noting the recent disposition of Tuscany following the death of the last of the Medici, took matters into his own hands in order to pre-arrange as advantageous as possible a succession. He betrothed his three-year-old granddaughter Maria Beatrice to Leopold, second son of Maria Theresa and the Emperor Francis Stephen (later their fifth son, Ferdinand, was substituted and Leopold took a Spanish wife and the throne of Tuscany). It was agreed that, should there be no legitimate male heir to the Estense line, Maria Beatrice's Habsburg husband would assume the Este name, and his duchy would remain an independent state outside of the Empire. In the meantime,

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10 ASMO, Archivio per Materie 20, # 214. The pregnancy is noted in a letter from Ercole to his father, dated 9 January 1765, reporting the crushing disappointment of her miscarriage and noting that she was attended by the physicians Araldi and Marescotti. The attempted reconciliation between the royal couple is commented upon by the city chronicler Franchini, ASCM, Franchini Chronicle Vol I, February 1760, p. 555.

19 The ins and outs of this situation are discussed in some detail by L. Giacobazzi in Il Tramonto dell'Aquila Bianca (Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1969).
the child bridegroom would be governor of Lombardy with his
grandfather-in-law Francesco III acting in his place until
he reached his majority. The marriage was in fact celebrated
in 1771, when the bride reached 21.

We do not know for sure when Battista Araldi assumed
the position of confessor and almoner to the Crown Princess
Maria Teresa. By 1741 he was at least as eminent as his
younger brother, having preceded Gaetano as a university
lecturer and attaining the relatively exalted rank of parish
priest (through the special intervention of the Duke) in
1735. In 1751, the princess issued a chirografo in which
she conferred the degree of Doctor of the Two Laws on her
alms giver, along with the status of public notary. Whether it was Gaetano's position as her personal physician
which gave entry to his elder brother, or whether Battista,
with the probable support of Muratori, first entered court
life and brought his younger brother along, certainly within
ten years of her arrival in Modena the Araldi had become
important members of the young princess' entourage.

Like all members of the court, they were inevitably
involved in the bitter struggle between the reigning Duke
and his son and heir. On a 1753 visit to his states.

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20ASMO, Giurisdizione Soverana 266 contains a strongly-
worded letter from the courtier Cosimo Coccopani dated 7 May
1735, pressing Araldi's suit for the soon-to-be-vacant
parish seat of Sant'Agata in Modena.

21BE, gamma W 4, 6. "Chirografo of Maria Teresa,
Duchessa di Massa etc, 6 September 1751."
Francesco expressly forbade his son to appear before him, while at the same time nightly inviting the Crown Princess to dine with him and his sisters and daughters. According to the Abbate Giacobazzi, the Duke went further. He took to inviting Don Araldi, the Princess' almoner, to conferences concerning the Prince, so that Araldi might in turn use his influence with the Princess in favor of the Duke, and against her husband.²² (The issue was further complicated by the Prince's passionate and barely concealed affair with an opera singer, Chiara Marini, whom he married some forty years later after the death of his wife.)

Battista's work as almsgiver has left little or no record — perhaps obeying the injunction that the right hand should not know what the left hand is doing — but contributions by almsgivers of the royal family have been noted in the records of some opere pie. The Princess Amalia's

²²Leonine Vistarino Giacobazzi, Il Tramonto del Aquila Bianca, (op cit), p. 370, quotes the Abbate Giacobazzi: "Ammise alle numerose conferenze sopra le pendenze col Sig. Principe oltre al Segretario Capponi, al Marchese Frosini e al Conte Forretti, anche il Reverendo Araldo [sic], Rettore della Parrocchia di Sant'Agata ed elemosiniere della Principessa Ereditaria, che ben presto entro interamente nelle massime del Ser.mo Padrone non senza grave pregiudizio della Ser.ma Padrona e con la quali si udi ben presto insorte delle differenze nel Ser.mo Principe di lei marito." [Admitted to the many conferences concerning the suspension of the Prince, in addition to Secretary Capponi, Marchese Frosini and Count Forretti, was also Reverend Araldo [sic]. Rector of the Parish of Sant'Agata and almsgiver to the Crown Princess, who quickly entered into the deliberations of the Duke, not without grave prejudice from the Princess, and with which it was quickly heard about differences with the Crown Prince her husband.]
almoner, Don Manzini, regularly delivered £125 each month to the Poveri Mendicanti to be used as dower money for poor girls leaving that institution. In the same period the Opera Coltri [see Chapter VI] shows a monthly contribution from someone identified only as "the almsgiver of SAS" of one lire modenese for each Friday of the month, for bread to be distributed among the poor. This may well have been Araldi (SAS is the Italian equivalent of the English HRH and could be either masculine or feminine). Certainly Araldi's duties involved the distribution of alms among the poor of the city, through the opere pie and directly as the Princess' charity inclined.

In the same period we find Battista's brother Gaetano writing to influential court friends about the distribution of alms. In the course of a letter of 23 May 1753 to Battista at court, Gaetano warmly mentions their mutual friend, Don Ignazio (Abbate Ignazio Fivizzani, advisor to the Princesses Amalia and Elizabeth and a consistent partisan of the Araldi family) and directs his brother the almoner to tell Don Ignazio "that if he wishes me to give the usual alms in his name, he will have to send me the list of recipients and I will be happy to help him."

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23 BE, Selmi Index Epsilon 19.1.20, Campori 2896, Account books of the Poveri Mendicanti 1743-1761.

24 BE, Indice Selmi, Epsilon 24.2.2

25 BE, gamma W. 4,6, Araldi Family papers
The relationship between Gaetano Araldi and Don Ignazio is a good example of the network of patronage, friendship and mutual dependence which characterized this level of society. Gaetano's letters are full of affectionate references and little messages for his brother to convey to their mutual friend. He expresses concern for his health, sends his regards to the priest's "little hens" (the Princesses?), and refers to him as "the best friend I have in the world." This friendship culminated in a notarized document drawn up between the two old men in 1789. In it they speak of the "fifty years and more of sincere, gratifying and never interrupted friendship between us" and state that regardless of any outstanding bills or accounts, neither owes the other anything.26

It is unfortunate that we do not know more about the specific charitable works which Gaetano customarily performed in the name of his friend. However, from the hints in his own letters we can deduce something about the cases in which the physician interested himself. In May of 1754 he mentions the health of a gardener (ortolano) -- if he doesn't get better, other steps will have to be taken. In the letter where he speaks of the alms to be distributed for Don Ignazio, he refers to a wet-nurse (nutrice): her fevers continue, no doubt an unfortunate effect of her great fatigue and troubles. Five days later another letter

26BE, Gamma G 1,9
mentions "the poor Capuchin" who is no better. Although only a few of these letters have survived, mostly from the spring and summer holidays of the 1750s, many of them contain such casual references which indicate that, as a physician, Araldi was not only concerned with the Princess and the members of the court, but also with clients from far humbler walks of life.

Letters of an Almoner

These private charitable activities on the part of the Princess and her courtiers, as we have noted, left few traces. Another level of patronage however remains quite visible: patronage which involved the approval of the court at Milan (where Francesco III was acting as Viceroy to the Habsburgs). Most of these cases, as we might expect, involved jobs and pardons for needy clients, and most (though not all) concerned the upper levels of society, or the vergognosi.

As the Princess' almoner Battista Araldi seems to have served as a dispenser of patronage to all levels of society, a sort of social secretary in matters of conscience, with his duties as almoner overlapping with those of secretary and general advisor (since he was the Princess' confessor as well, this is understandable). A partial record of this activity is found in forty-four letters written by Don
Araldi between 1758 and 1765, directed to Francesco's court at Milan.27

It is in these letters and in the operation of an opera pia like the Correction House (Casa di Correzione) that we see most clearly the vital importance attached to the stability of the family corporation. At no level of settled society was this a matter of purely personal concern. A widowed Countess' unsuitable liaison or a former private soldier squandering his family's small patrimony were equally liable to attract the attention of the state. This was true not only because the stability of the institution of the family was seen as absolutely essential to the stability of the state, but also because the family was the fundamental building block of society, and the smallest autonomous unit with which it was possible to deal.

One of the earliest of the Araldi letters involves the resolution of a scandal in the Princess' states of Massa-Carrara, involving the widowed daughter-in-law of Count Toretti of Carrara, one of her ministers and an intimate friend of the Araldi. The young widow, it seems, was conducting a scandalous friendship with a priest named Carloni, to the shame and disgrace of the family. Carloni had been sent away, and Araldi wrote to Milan on the Princess' behalf, asking that the Duke prevent the man's

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27ASMO, Particolari 42.
returning to the state and resuming the affair.²⁸ [Letter of 20 August 1758]

Family arrangements were not confined to preventing scandal; more positive controls were also exerted. A letter of 29 July 1759 attempts to iron out the details of a desireable marriage between the son of the late Marchese Paolucci and the widow of Count Malagutti. This match required that a job be found for the young Paolucci, and this is the main purpose of the letter.

Many of the requests are vaguely worded, accompanying as they do documents which have since disappeared and merely stating that the Princess warmly supports the enclosed petition, or dealing with ongoing situations familiar to all participants (leading as in the letter of 12 October 1760 to Sherlock Holmesian references to "the Incident of the Carrara Peach, and the Affair of the Salt Warehouse"). Thus the letter of 3 February 1761 merely states that "the Princess is eager to hear the response to her request about Count Felice Gnoli's needs" (needs apparently not soon met, as another letter in March of 1762 again presses this point). Other applications for jobs are clearer, as the 28 March 1762 request that the concession for the taxes of Massa, now collected by the Farmers' General of Tuscany, should instead be given to the Cavaliere Montecuccoli.

²⁸Toretti, like Don Ignazio, appears frequently in Gaetano's letters. BE, gamma 6, 19.
A large number of the positions within the patronage of a ruler were Church jobs, and Araldi and the Princess devoted considerable attention to distributing these. In the 1760s, the Princess was very interested in having a bishop appointed in her state. Her candidate, Father Giuseppe Anceschi of Reggio, suffered under the handicap of being a Jesuit, and although he managed to disentangle himself from the doomed order in 1761 much of the decade was taken up in the effort to have him confirmed (see letters of 4 Oct 1760, 15 March 1761, etc.) On a less exalted plane, benefices were bestowed, special-occasion preachers were hired, and curates moved or confirmed (letters of 27 April 1760, 14 July 1762, 14 November 1762, 23 Jan 1765, etc.).

The military was another area where patronage could smooth the way to advancement at all levels. On 30 Sept 1760 a letter dealing primarily with diplomatic maneuvers included the recommendation that a Lieutenant Neri of the Dragoons be considered for the next vacancy for a Captaincy. And just as curates as well as bishops turned to the court for help, in March 1762 Gaetano Cepelli, a young Sergeant in the Duke's Sabbatini regiment, turned to the Princess in his efforts to gain promotion to the rank of alfiere (standard bearer) on the basis of his "quality and merits".

The Princess and her almoner received a steady stream of requests for jobs and appointments from commoners, clerics and nobles, but the most urgent requests concerned
distressed nobles, usually members of the lower nobility who formed the upper levels of the shamefaced poor.

In April 1764, the Princess directed her almoner to write from the summer palace at Rivalta regarding "the present wretched situation of Count Lt. Colonel Giannini", confiding it to the "merciful prudence" of the Duke. On 22 July 1764, a letter dominated by the imminent appointment of Gaetano Araldi as Consultant to the Sanità (see below), turns to the "critical circumstances" of two nobles, one the unfortunate Count Giannini, whose problems have grown even more acute. No course of action is specified, it is merely stated that "your excellency will do a thing most gratifying to her highness if you interest yourself in these cases". Giannini's troubles (never discussed in detail) were evidently not resolved by the end of the year, as yet another letter (at the end of September 1764) referred to his difficult situation.

February 1765 saw the Princess intervening on behalf of the Count and Countess Forni: the Count had been taken ill with a chest problem and there were grave fears for his life; the Countess thus found herself in difficulties, and both of them turned to the "most benevolent protection" of the Duke in Milan, through the good offices of the Princess and her almoner.
The Ferrari Dowries

Petitions for assistance — dowries, alms, the shelter of a child — are regularly marked by the promise that the recipients will pray for their benefactors. While this is clearly a common element of piety in Modenese charity, it is also a symptom of the personal, patron-client relationship created by poor relief which only very gradually changed with the institutionalization of the 1760s and 1780s. This is particularly noticeable in the records of the Comunita, in the distribution of alms to the Poveri Vergognosi and especially in the dowry funds.²⁹

Patronage is by its very nature difficult to pin down, as it grows out of a type of personal relationship not readily amenable to documentation. However, there are hints. The procedure in granting the Ferrari dowries, which were annually given by the comunita based on a bequest of Don Francesco Ferraro in 1716, is particularly interesting in this respect. As each girl applied, note was taken in the minutes of the Conservators' sessions, and one of the Presidents of the dowry fund (men who were rotated regularly from among the Conservators) was commissioned to investigate and report back to his colleagues. This in itself imposes a second level of personal, client-patron relationship on the charity which is already characterized by a client-patron

²⁹ASCm, Misc di Rangioneria 199, Desco dei Poveri, Sessioni e Ricapiti 1718-1761.
relationship between the donor and the recipients. Yet a third level emerges with the fact that among the documents required was a certificate of virtue and of poverty, almost always provided by the applicant's parish priest (another client-patron relationship, though a very specialized and institutionalized one). An example would be the 1763 fede which Antonia Gepani's parish priest offered to certify that she resided in the parish with her parents, and was a "sage young person of good reputation, and I have never heard anything against the honesty of this pure and modest girl who finds herself in a state of extreme wretchedness and well deserves to be helped by your boundless generosity."30

It is also interesting to note that applicants for the Ferrari dowries were very rarely refused, and even more rarely did more girls apply than could be accommodated by the number of dowries. If this does not suggest actual pre-arrangement, it certainly suggests a very personal situation in which both supplicants and benefactors were well aware of the situation and acted in concert to make the best use of the available funds.

There is no need to speculate about some cases, as in the case of Anna Franceschi, who was not born in Modena nor of Modenese parents, but who was made eligible for a Bisogni dowry by a ducal edict of 29 May 1767 31. Clearly, she had

30 ASCM, Prodotti, Jan. 1764
31 Curia di Modena, Opera Pia Bisogni, 1768.
asked for and was granted special consideration on a personal level. Most easily observed of all are the machinations which surrounded the Opera Pia Coltri, a charity run by the Theatines of Modena which fell into the hands of the Giunta di Giurisdizione between 1757 and 1762 (discussed below in Chapter VII).

The Correction House

Pious works, as we have noted, included institutions whose main purpose was to protect vital social institutions such as the family. Dowry-giving was one aspect of this. Another was the negative control exercised by a penal institutions such as the Casa di Correzione, or Correction House.

We have seen that it was common for patrons to intervene on behalf of their clients in order to make them eligible for assistance by public bodies. In 1760, however, Araldi and the Princess intervened in order to extricate a young man from a public body, in the case of the son of the late Doctor Cerretti.32

On 1 November 1760 Araldi wrote to the Duke's secretary in Milan "with regard to the disgrace, or punishment, of the son of Doctor Cerretti who is being held in the Correction

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32This case indicates that Araldi took the initiative in at least some instances, as there is every reason to assume that Cerretti was an Araldi connection, not a client of the princess at all.
House [the Casa di Correzione]: he fears that he is forgotten and abandoned by everyone." The secretary was asked to put in a good word for him, "for the good memory of his father, and the talents of the wretched son himself."

Two months later, at the end of December, the situation was still unresolved: "hopes for the liberation of the wretched Ceretti," Araldi wrote, "have not been fulfilled. I know that for the past two months his behavior has been exemplary. Before, he let himself be led astray by others, or by his own talent, into presenting certain compositions ... but those who instigated the trouble, or applauded it, have not been punished."

The "certain compositions" in question seem to have been a series of disrespectful verses directed at Felice Antonio Bianchi — Duke Francesco's leading minister and, perhaps not coincidentally, a bitter enemy of the Araldi. Like the young Mirabeau and the young St Juste, Ceretti, the spoiled and talented son of a prominent physician who had died in 1749, had landed himself in serious difficulties through a dubious literary effort.

He had been arrested in March of 1760 on an order secured by his mother, and taken to the Correction House, then a wing of the Hospital of the Sant'Unione in Modena.33

33The account of the case is taken from the letters of Araldi and of Bianchi, as well as from Francesco Solario's biography of Ceretti, Studio critico su Luigi Cerretti e le sue opere (Firenze: n.p., 1902) and from the play, La Casa di Correzione, which Ceretti wrote during his confinement.
His father, Pietro Cerretti, had been a colleague of Gaetano Araldi who received his medical degree three years before Araldi (in 1726) and served with him as one of the Twelve in the Physicians' Guild directing body in 1744. By November, eight months after his arrest, young Pietro was sufficiently chastened to attempt to mend his ways and, despite the difficulties, to appeal to friends and patrons for help. He may have appealed to his friend and contemporary, Antonio Araldi, then aged twenty-one and a fledgling poet whom his uncle Battista would describe in 1792 as having "lived a disorderly life and unfortunately only growing worse with the years." He may have appealed to the Marchese Fontanelli, a powerful noble and an intellectual, protector of a little circle of academicians who met in his renowned library, whose numbers included Cerretti and Antonio Araldi as well as the Araldi uncles and the Mason poet Vicini. Fontanelli had formerly been a member of the Compagnia della Carità (see above, Chapter II) at the same time as Battista Araldi. He lived in the parish of Sant' Agata quite near to the Araldi home, and it would have been

BE, Campori gamma H.5. 17.

ASCM, Lucchi IV, X, 5, "Notta de' Signori Medici di Modena."

ASMO, Archivio Notarile 5371 (Cavachioli), testament of 23 January 1792.
natural for him to intervene with his neighbor and parish priest on behalf of the promising young delinquent.\footnote{Luigi Balsamo, "Editoria e Biblioteche della Seconda Metà del Settecento negli Stati Estensi" in Reggio e i Territori Estensi dall'Antico Regime all'Età Napoleonica (Parma: Pratiche Editrice, 1979). See also ASMO, Catasto 301.}

Since he idolized his father (who had died when the son was eleven), young Cerretti may have turned to his father's friend and colleague Gaetano Araldi. Gaetano was the uncle of his friend Antonio and, as physician to the Princess, a direct route to the royal patronage Cerretti would need to extricate himself from a situation in which his mother seemed quite happy to leave him. An even more direct route would have been through Antonio's other uncle, Battista, the Princess' almoner whose task regularly included appeals for clemency to the throne.

Whether he followed any or all of these courses, the issue of clemency was complicated by forces against Cerretti's release. These forces very probably centered on Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi, the very man whose approval was necessary for any release, and a bitter enemy of Battista Araldi.

In retrospect Cerretti is not an appealing figure. As a boy he had concentrated on living above his income and his station. He ran through the family property at such a rate that in later years his mother would be left in real want, a situation he would frankly relish and take no steps to
relieve. (As we will note when we turn to a consideration of the other inmates of the Correction House, this sort of behavior alone would have been quite enough to have him confined, without any extraneous political considerations.) Contemporaries however record that he had charm, and more important, he seems to have had real talent. These attributes may have impressed the powerful Araldi brothers, but it seems more likely that they were attracted to his side by the ties of patronage (one need not love a client, it is a matter of mutual usefulness and obligation) and by the opportunity to oppose a rival and enemy in the person of the almost universally unpopular Bianchi (who was not only a ruthless reformer but was also a foreigner, from Genoa).

Bianchi’s correspondence on the matter tells little, but that little is in itself suggestive. There are two letters which refer to the affair. The first, dated 7 October 1760, deals with a request from Cerretti’s mother, as administrator of her late husband’s estates and guardian of the children. In it she notifies Secretary Bianchi of her intention to divide the estate as directed by her husband’s testament, and asks that her son Luigi, now held at the Casa di Correzione, be ordered to appoint a legal representative so that this can be done. The second, dated the third of May 1761, is a terse order authorizing the

37 ASM0, ECA 1023, Carteggio del Segretario e Ministro Felice Antonio Bianchi coi Presidenti della Casa di Correzione, 1755-1762.
podestà of Modena to release Cerretti and another young man, indicating that all of their expenses have been paid.

There are no conditions attached to Cerretti's release, unlike that of his friend Guldoni, who is ordered to remain in the city; to stay away from the house of his brother the Chancellor and if he should meet him in the street to greet him respectfully; to work for three hours morning and evening in the accounting house of the Hospital, following the instructions of the official there; and to live in the home of the Guardian of the Corrections House, observe the curfew, and above all to "keep himself far away from inns and any other place which sells wine, acquavit, or any other sort of liquor." Contravening any of these strict rules would mean a return under lock and key.

Cerretti's release was unconditional, but despite the intervention of his patrons it had taken a full six months to accomplish — time enough for him to compose a play entitled La Casa di Correzione (the Correction House). As literature this is a typical piece of eighteenth-century drawing-room fluff. Its interest lies primarily in the fact that it offers a rare if hardly objective insiders' view of this institution. The cast of characters includes an unjustly persecuted, hugely talented young fellow (Cerretti himself, under the princely name of Rinaldo); a loyal friend (his alcoholic fellow prisoner Guldoni, called Lelio); a love interest who disguises herself as a boy and joins her
lover in confinement (a wholly fictitious Rosalba); two half-mad clerics (based on actual inmates), included for comic relief and the requisite anti-clerical jokes; a cuckolded Guardian and his wife; an idiot President (patterned on Count Giovanni Codebo, and given the name of Fabio), and -- off-stage but an ever-menacing presence -- a wholly villainous and powerful cleric called Bianco (a perilously thin disguise for Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi).

La Casa di Correzione takes place in the atrio, or courtyard of the Correction House. The prisoners are regularly visited by one of the Presidents, and their condition carefully monitored, but no other contact with the outside world is permitted. The people detained are typical of an institution which was designed to confine troublesome persons not of the criminal classes: primarily unruly sons of respectable families, and rogue clerics. The suggestion that at least one of the priests is mad as well as persecuted is a reasonable one: the Casa was in fact used as an alternative to the insane asylum. The device whereby Rosalba manages to join her lover in prison is a forged order which she presents to the Guardian. It states simply that "the

---BE, Campori Y H.5.17, La Casa di Correzione: Comedia by Luigi Cerretti, a version of the play revised by the author more than twenty years after its composition, including a commentary in which Cerretti identifies the persons on whom some of his characters were patterned.
young man who arrives with this note is to be confined. This I order and wish. Bianco." Although this somewhat overstates the arbitrary nature of the administration, it is in fact quite similar to the orders which appear in Bianchi's files.

Bianchi himself is bitterly attacked, not so much as the cause of the protagonist's troubles (Rinaldo's mother bears most of that burden), but as a vicious and corrupt politician. This "low-born wolf," this "impudent and audacious priest," this "gorger on the wealth of the state" goes about in a "shining gilded coach accompanied by filthy, infamous girls." "O Modena," the author laments, "can you look on this and suffer it quietly?" (There is in fact no reason to assume that this is anything but personal pique on the author's part. Bianchi made a number of enemies, but his biographers are agreed on the disinterestedness of his controversial policies. 39)

The "grand tour" mentality of the day is satirized as a visiting dignitary is forced despite his protests to tour the sights of Modena: "That's fine behavior for a gentleman!" the President Fabio laments. "To have seen the Duomo, the Duke's palace and his great library, the Hospital, the

fortress, and this pious establishment, and to leave without observing the arsenal?"

The "pious establishment" which Cerretti used as his model was first established in 1755, as seen in the Provisional Plan for Regulations proposed on 22 May 1755. The new institution, designed to punish "persons who because of their condition or for other reasons it would be improper to punish in the common prison," was to be a part of the Sant' Unione and administered by two of its Presidents. The orders for confinement read very much like lettres de cachet, requiring only the signature of the Minister in charge (Bianchi), and lacking any justification or term of imprisonment. On several of the orders there is not even a name, merely instructions that "a certain Person" is to be confined on the order of His Serene Highness and (usually) "treated on the same footing as the others." There is no hint of due process in the Regulations. The Guardian is to accept persons consigned to him by the military or police, and follow the instructions given by the minister regarding treatment, food and punishment.

Conditions were deliberately harsh, but appropriate for members of the respectable classes. Inmates were to be confined to their rooms (which they were to clean them-

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40ASMO, ECA 1023, "Carteggio del Segretario e Ministro Felice Antonio Bianchi coi Presidenti della Casa di Correzione, 1755-1762".

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selves, no servants being allowed). Total silence was the rule, with inmates locked up at night. During the day they were to do work appropriate to their condition. Any profit gained by this work was to go towards the upkeep of the institution; in addition the inmates or their families were to pay twelve lire per month for their keep. Unruly young men were to be given twenty-five lashes on arrival, and a further twenty-five every two weeks. Visitors were strictly limited, and those few who were allowed were forbidden to bring extra food or wine to the inmates. The Presidents were to inspect at least weekly to be sure that the rules were being followed and that there was no undue ill treatment or favoritism, but they were expressly forbidden to accept petitions from their charges; nor were the Cappuchins who were in charge of the religious affairs at the Hospital to have any more contact with the detainees than that absolutely necessary for their spiritual care (which included daily Mass, regular prayer, weekly communion and a nightly rosary recitation, plus regular "moral discourses").

A special point was made that the inmates were to have no right or even opportunity to appeal for release, so that Araldi's intervention was as irregular as it was essential. Without his patrons' assistance, Cerretti was at the absolute mercy of his mother, and had she wished she could at least in theory have had him detained indefinitely.
There is nothing in the records to indicate length of stay or numbers of inmates in this period, but an inventory indicates that there were ten beds in the institution. The daily diet, in the fashion of such institutions, was carefully described and seems adequate if not perhaps what the young men were accustomed to eat:

- 3 oz. soup
- 14 oz. beef
- fruit
- salt and seasonings
- bread
- a jug of wine

In the evening there was broth and bread, with butter or lard to spread on the bread. On fast days, the diet was to consist of soup, pasta, egg, butter, cheese, bread, fruit and a jug of wine.

This institution, then, was similar to any number of semi-private prisons all over Europe to which unruly members of the respectable orders were confined to prevent their disgracing their families or their class. And in the way of such places, it was both arbitrary and lenient, harsh and privileged.

Little is heard of the Correction House in the reforms of the 1760s. Like the Hospital of which it was an appendage it became part of the Opera Pia Generale and was administered along with the other pious works that made up that body. There is a distinct hint, however, that the "old" Casa had an extremely bad reputation, in the reference to "the damage, the calamities and the injustices which even
after so long a time are the cause of opprobrium and scandal among the public". Although inmates continued to be accepted, in 1786 the servants of the new Duke Ercole III (1780-1796) presented him with a new plan which indicates a new role for the Correction House.

This plan suggests a very different rationale for the institution (though a few rooms are still to be set aside for persons of a superior order). It recognizes the need for a place in which "to punish small crimes, and to prevent their becoming big crimes". The aim is no longer to provide a convenient refuge for the problem children of the privileged, but rather to discourage vice and laziness by giving potential criminals a good scare at the very start of their careers, in the hope of making useful citizens of them "if not through virtue, then through fear".

It is interesting to note that even at this late date the first provision is for the spiritual well-being of the inmates, and only in the eighth paragraph of the plan does their physical health come into consideration, it being noted that "Christian charity demands that they be cared for if ill". Stress is laid on useful work (the delinquent.

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41ASMO, GS 159, in an August 1789 note rejecting the idea of confining a mental patient whose father had asked for him to be admitted since the asylums of Modena and Reggio were both full.

42ASMO, Doni 54, "Progetto di una Casa di Correzione" and G.S. 159, "Piano per una Casa di Correzione, October 1786."
like the poor, are to be made productive, if necessary despite themselves). As before, the prisoner or his family is expected to pay for the confinement, but now that the clientele is no longer exclusively of the upper orders, there are provisions made for inability to pay. Those who can are to pay two lire per day; as for the poor, they are seen as having a right to subsidy (point nine of the Doni document). Like the inmates of other charitable institutions, they were to be set to work in the fabric trade, since spinning was held to be easily learned by all classes of person, and could be taught by one old man from the Poor House.43 Persons of a superior class were to be set to work copying letters and doing accounting.

The plan draws a distinction between poverty and crime. The Correction House was to share quarters with the Poor House (no longer with the Hospital), but inmates were to be kept separate, so that the well-born delinquents did not "corrupt and harm" the honest poor by their wicked example.

Finally, provisions were outlined for confining clerics and women. Women, of course, were to be housed separately. As for clerics, the main consideration was that they should not be forced to do manual labor (the authors cannot

43Because of the distressed state of the Modenese fabric industry there was never any shortage of poverty-stricken spinners and weavers in the Poor House. Why it seemed profitable to train yet more unemployable spinners is a mystery perhaps only to be explained only by the unquenchable optimism of economic planners.
restrain an ironic aside on the changed concept of Christianity which sees her ministers as too dignified to work with their hands). As a result clerics (or their superiors) are to pay more for their keep, since the Opera will not gain any benefit from their labor.

The new attitude towards charity breathes through this set of rules. The purpose of the aid is practical, and efficiency and rationality are important as never before. Recipients of assistance, even unwilling recipients, are to work and help pay their own way. They are to wear uniforms. Food, too, is not nearly so generously provided. For the first eight days an inmate is to have nothing but water and sixteen ounces of bread a day. For the next month, this is to be supplemented with four ounces of soup, as served in the Poor House. Four ounces of beef and fruit can be earned by good behavior and labor, but on no account is anyone to have wine at any time.

Some case histories, 1780-1795, show the sort of inmates and cases with which the House of Correction was now expected to deal.

In June 1780, Pellegrino Orlandi, an employee in the Duke's kitchen, asked that his thirteen-year-old son Giuseppe be confined for a time to cure him of his habits of frequenting bad company and stealing. Giuseppe was one of five children, and did not respond "to chastisement or to reprimands". His father stated his willingness to pay any
expenses involved, and pleaded with the Duke to do something about this unruly son. The order was promptly given. We do not know when young Giuseppe was released, but records for the 1790s indicate that an average stay was six months to a year.4

The Orlandi seem to have had trouble with their sons: in 1787 another son, Luigi, was released from the Casa because of a venereal disease which in the surgeon's opinion could not be treated in confinement.

29 October 1788 saw the arrest and incarceration of Don Giuseppe Frignani, a priest and a member of the Mensa Comune of the Cathedral, on the request of his Bishop who found himself unable to control the priest's scandalous conduct. Frignani had a long record of consorting with "a woman who lived a bad life": in 1772 he had been locked up for forty days for the offense, but had continued stubbornly to see her until she left the city in 1785. His Bishop's relief was brief, however, as two years later the errant cleric took up with a woman who had left her husband. Frignani had been sent on retreat, but had not repented, and now a child had been born (and sent to the Foundling Home), and the Bishop wanted the priest put away. He was released again in December.

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44ASMO, ECA 1023, Log book of the Casa di Correzione 1788 to 1796.
VOLUME II

THE PIOUS CITY:
SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE CHRISTIAN ENLIGHTENMENT
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MODENA

A dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
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Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Department of History

by
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Luigi Fassi of Carpi was detained for fourteen months, at his wife's request. He had spent his entire patrimony, a farm worth £1200, and was now living off his wife's dowry. Two of the couple's five daughters were in care, and the other three lived with their mother, eking out an existence by day labor. Fassi had been locked up at his wife's request, since he was maltreating his family as well as failing to provide for them. The Duke intended to order him into the army, but the man was now fifty years of age and unfit for military service (though he had served two hitches before, and could read and write "sufficiently"). The cost of keeping him was adding up, the family could not pay, and finally it was decided to send him to the Governor of his home state of Carpi.

Another wife who turned to the Casa in the hopes of controlling her husband was Barbara Turchetti of Correggio, who had gone to her father, Dottore Turchetti, for help. Her father had turned to the Governor, who agreed that the husband, Giovanni Pagnanini, was a "dissipator of his family's substance" and an immoral and violent man who mistreated his wife. A few months later his wife asked for his release, lamenting that she was burdened with children and debts which she could not manage without him, and expressing the forlorn hope that the experience had improved his character.
Battered husbands, too, could turn to the Casa for help. In 1787 the wife of the Captain in charge of the Porta Castello (who, one might assume, could take care of himself) asked that his wife Cristina be confined. In response to the suggestion of one of the Presidents of the Casa that he should take her back, he wrote a long letter explaining that he had it on good authority that she was planning to kill him and his daughter-in-law as well. Dictating the letter from his bed, he told how she had leapt on his back, bit his hand and, catching him by the queue, took his sword and stabbed him in the left leg. The Captain expressed his willingness to give up the £70 he received each month from the investment of her dowry, but did not feel he should be forced to pay for her keep out of his wages.

In January of 1789 Giambattista Panhanj, a clerical student who had been expelled from the Benedictines as incorrigible, was arrested on the request of his stepfather, the Baron von Kottunlenky. In March, the Baron asked for his release, as he had made arrangements to enrol him in the army as a cadet.

Paolo Cavezzi's father committed his son in April 1790, charging that the young man was addicted to wine and when drunk was subject to fits of fantasy during which he would roam about the house armed with rifle and a sword, terrifying the tenants and the neighbors. After two months the
father requested and was granted Paolo's release, after paying the costs of forty-five lire.

The Casa was asked to fulfill some rather peculiar functions, as a last resort for families who for one reason or other could not deal with troublesome members. Usually these were young people, but not always. In 1788 the widowed Modenese daughter of an elderly Swiss veteran asked that her father be taken away because he was troublesome and mistreated not only his daughter but her three children as well. The cost of keeping the old man was assumed by the Opera Pia since as a veteran of the Duke's forces he was eligible for assistance, but in March of 1789 he was moved to the hospital "for motives of compassion and the help which humanity and religion demanded", and he died there.

The line between wickedness and madness was often a difficult one to define, as in the case of Prospero Cepelli of Correggio. Prospero, it appears, had taken a dislike to the governor of that province, and frequently attacked him. His mother and brother agreed that the young man should be controlled, but insisted that they could not afford to pay for his keep in the madhouse. The governor suggested that the state should make up the difference, saying that it would be worth it to confine such a "troublesome and dangerous individual". In reply to the family's insistence that the boy was insane rather than criminal, the governor maintained that his behavior was "only partly due to
delusions" and was mainly the result of "the wickedness of his soul." In the end, Prospero was confined to the House of Correction in Modena, with his family paying "what is necessary and convenient."

Charity and Public Service

The overlapping between charity, shoring up the essential institutions of the state, and public health are particularly evident in these last cases, where the Hospital and the insane asylum were expected to act as auxiliaries in solving the problems of those in public care. The highly successful career of Gaetano Araldi can be seen as operating across a spectrum of public service that included charity, education, service to the royal family and to the city, all within the confines of medicine and public health.

By mid-century Gaetano Araldi's career was so successful that, if we are to believe his protests, it was well on the way to becoming a burden. In the letters between the brothers in the spring of 1754, we find him exerting all the influence he can muster in a fruitless attempt to avoid further public service. At issue was Duke Francesco's wish that Gaetano, whose appointment to a university lectureship had caused such conflict with the Physicians' Guild, should accept a position as one of the twelve directors of the newly constituted guild. Despite the poetic justice of such
an appointment, the suggestion brought nothing but conster­
nation to the honoree, who saw in it the hand of enemies.

"Just as I don't expect to be an object of ridicule," he wrote angrily to his brother, "I don't intend to allow anyone to waste my time. I know the duty of a subject, I know the obligation to obey ... but to obey the laws, not the caprices of those who want to twist the intentions of the sovereign." He urged Battista to use his influence to avoid the catastrophe, and meanwhile Gaetano would send a copy of the petition he intended to present to the Duke to his good friend Don Ignazio as "a friend and a man of ability and discretion is such affairs." Don Ignazio, an intimate of the Princesses Amalia and Elizabeth, would copy the petition and urge the Princesses to use their good offices with their brother the Duke.

The petition itself is a delicate piece of diplomacy, seeking to thank the ruler for the preferment and at the same time to slip out from under the burden. Gaetano pleads to be exempted from the onerous task of serving on the new

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43"Siccome non penso di far ridere veruno, cosi ne pure soffriro che alcuno del mondo azzardi le mie conveninze. So il dovere di Suddito, so l'obbligo di ubbidire, ma alle Leggi, non gia ai capricci di chi volesse torcere il senso delle Leggi medisime provvidente promulgate dal Sovrano ..." BE, Gamma G. 9.1 Campori #761, Miscellanea Medica.

46These same Princesses, Elizabeth and Amalia, are found writing urgent letters to their brother on behalf of Battista Araldi a decade later (see Chapter VI).
guild board on the grounds of his already heavy duties, all of which, he stresses, are of benefit to the state.

First, he is the Crown Princess' ordinary physician, which involves seeing her every morning and often in the evening as well. Second, he has been public lecturer in medicine at San Carlo for eighteen years now — and, he adds modestly, not without some public acclaim. His duties as lecturer and as a teacher require daily attention. Third, his private medical practice means that he is on call at all hours to visit the sick in the city, and this is a serious drain on his "strength and spirit". Finally every evening he holds a "sort of academy" in his home on medical matters, to keep the doctors of Modena up to date on the latest books and methods from abroad, an enterprise which, he stresses, also serves the public good. In sum, he pleads to be excused from any further duties with the new guild, since he cannot attend the meetings without his other duties suffering.

The only result of this heart-felt plea appears to have been a ducal order directing that he should confine himself to serving the Princess and to his private practice, suspending the other calls on his time until further notice, and accepting the guild post.

From this point, Gaetano's career would take an increasingly public aspect. In 1765, he would become the Duke's representative on the important city body which
oversaw the health of the city and the state, the Sanità. And in the intervening decade, Francesco III would assume a more and more active role in public health, first in opening the new Hospital (1758), and then in creating the Opera Pia Generale (1764), a body in which both of the Araldi brothers and the next generation of Araldi as well would find outlets for their piety and their career building.

The highly personal form of social welfare and career building which we have examined in this chapter was of course typical of a small, relatively stable social group such as that exemplified by the Modenese in the eighteenth century. After the 1760s there would be an increasing move towards constructing new institutions designed to take over the welfare system, relations with the Church, and the administration of the Duchy in general. The purpose behind all of this was straightforward enough: Francesco and his heir were, like their brother monarchs, moving to pull all of the strings of their society into their own hands, in the interest of economy, efficiency, and royal power. However, these new institutions would be manned by the same persons who had served their predecessors, and they would tend to follow the same patterns of family, friends and clientage.
CHAPTER VII

Jurisdictionalism and Friendship

We have seen that patronage and amicizia, and behavior typical of these relationships, characterized the way that individual members of the court looked at social welfare, whether it was poor relief, family control, or finding a job for a client. This tendency was also amply evident in the affair of the Third Chair, where issues of great moment were worked out in terms of faction and patronage. What had been characteristic of personal and guild relationships from time out of mind was systematically institutionalized in Modena after the peace of Aquisgrana.

If the court was testing the ground in the 1730s and 1740s, after 1748 Francesco and his civil servants began to construct the institutions which would serve as tools to implement the great reforms of the later century. In order to do this Francesco would move into areas traditionally controlled by the Church, and thereby change the boundaries between Church and state, so that what began as economic and administrative issues would end in transforming the state and its structure.¹

In terms of social welfare (and at root all of the reforms in Modena in these years were in some way related to social welfare), the major institutions were the Giunta di Giurisdizione and the Opera Pia Generale. The purpose and effect of both of these bodies was to take over the works and the patronage that had been held by the Church.\(^2\)

As we have noted in the letters of Battista Araldi in his role as royal almsgiver, many of the jobs and favors which a patron had at his or her disposal were Church-related. It is therefore predictable that most of the reforms after mid-century were attempts by the state to move in and take over patronage networks which had previously centered on ecclesiastical bodies.

The Magistrato or Giunta di Giurisdizione (the Magistracy or Board of Jurisdictions) was a body set up to oversee Church-state relations. It was similar to institutions set up in the Habsburg domains for the same purpose. Until 1758, Church-state relations in Modena had been directed by an ecclesiastical congregazione. Their duties included seeing that royal rights were maintained in conflicts with the curia or with the bishops, hearing

\(^2\)The Giunta di Giurisdizione (Board of Jurisdictions) had a complex administrative history, discussed below. It passed through several incarnations, beginning as the Magistrato di Giurisdizione (Magistracy of Jurisdictions). The institution will hereinafter be referred to as the Giunta. The Opera Pia Generale, or Universal Charities, was the amalgamation of the charities of the state into one umbrella body in 1764.
appeals ab abusu, granting licenses to foreign clerics, and overseeing the confraternities and the opere pia in the state. In December 1757 Francesco replaced this congregazione with a predominantly lay body, the Magistracy (later the Giunta) of Jurisdictions. This was, not coincidentally, at about the same time that he was opening the Great Hospital and firming up plans to consolidate all of the opere pia under one — civil — administrative body.

The Giunta passed through several incarnations, as members were replaced and competencies changed slightly. The essential purpose, however, remained the same: to remove the independence of ecclesiastical bodies and put civil servants (whether lay or clerical) in charge of decisions once made by independent churchmen, and at the same time to bring churchmen into the civil service. When we look at the day to day operations of the Giunta we will note that this was not confined to appointing a Don Araldi or an Abbate Giacobazzi to the upper levels of the bureaucracy. It also involved making the parish priests into state employees, and using them as record-keepers, watchdogs, and part of the feeder system whereby potential recipients were funnelled into the appropriate social welfare institutions.

The original Magistracy was set up by ducal order at the end of December 1757, with the express aim of regulating "all matters economic, political, and judicial, in order to promote that harmony which must always exist between the
The leading figures in this body were the Abbate Giacobazzi and Bondigli, who represented the clerical party, and Salvatore Venturini, a partisan of royal authority who could be depended upon to put the Duke's interests above all other considerations. In June of 1767 the Magistracy was set to one side and a Dicastro (Ministry) was created and given jurisdiction over monasteries, opere pie, etc., under the direction of Francesco's controversial chief minister, Felice Antonio Bianchi. In 1774 the body would be recreated in the form of a Giunta di Giurisdizione. Between 1759 and 1761, the Magistrato, among a number of other projects, was involved in a complex and revealing set of maneuvers concerning the fate of the Opera Pia Coltri, and the Theatine order to which it belonged.

The Opera Pia Coltri

The Theatines, and their Opera, were prime targets for jurisdictionalism. The Opera Pia Coltri, dedicated to Masses and the upkeep of the church of San Vincenzo with only occasional aims, fitted neither the Muratorian nor the Enlightened concept of a useful charity. The Theatines themselves were wealthy and few in numbers; above all, they

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3ASMO, Tesi di Laurea #26: Paolo Castignoli, "Il Magistrato della Giurisdizione Sovrana nel Ducato di Modena (1757-1796)", an unpublished thesis written for the Law Faculty, University of Modena (Prof. L. Spinelli), 1979.

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were regular clerics and thus by Enlightened definition neither rational nor socially useful. Better still, they were weak. Salvatore Venturini, analyzing the situation for the Duke in 1761, commented that "the friars find themselves without appoggi" — in other words, their patron-client network was not strong enough to protect them.  

The Theatine Opera Pia Coltri was a typical seventeenth-century testamentary bequest, left by a prosperous Modenese citizen whose main interests had been the Mass, the upkeep of his parish church, and the poor, more or less in that order. It had been established by the last will and testament of Nicodemo Coltri, who in 1644 expressed his wish that his property should be used to benefit the souls in purgatory, and for the "decoration and needs of the

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4The word appoggi graphically conveys the concept behind patronage, since it may be translated backers, or persons to lean upon, or even persons who lean upon or depend upon them. In this particular letter Venturini was referring to the Carmelites, whose position, he implies, was much the same as that of the Theatines. The Theatines were, in fact, in decline. There appear to have been only four priests in the monastery in 1759, and in 1782 they were suppressed, at a time when five of the ten regular property-holding orders were expelled from Modena. This expulsion reduced the number of property-owning regular clerics in the city by a third, from ninety-three to sixty-one (the number of chierici fell from nine to four, and the number of lay retainers from thirty-nine to twenty-seven). These were tiny congregations, with thirty-two men spread among five orders, or an average of about six each (there were only four Theatines). The property of the suppressed congregations, with a few exceptions, passed to the Opera Pia Generale.
church. Coltri had left the administration of this Opera to the Theatine order, who were at that time in the process of building a new church to replace one which had been demolished in 1617 (the new church, the present San Vincenzo, was completed in 1660).

Following the usual procedure with bequests of this sort, the Theatines had invested the money in land and in bonds, and had apportioned the income to pay for the variety of uses specified or implied by the testament. The Opera Pia Coltri was thus a self-perpetuating fund for supporting the Theatines and for financing Masses for Coltri and the souls in purgatory ... apparently precisely what the testator had had in mind.

By 1746, the capital of the Opera was worth over £30,000, and investing this brought an income of £7,535.

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In Catholic doctrine, purgatory (so called from the concept of purging or cleansing) is the state or place in which persons who are saved but not perfected go to be cleansed of sin and the remains of sin. Theologically, prayer for this group is a sounder proposition than either Masses for oneself or for specific dead persons.


BE. Epsilon 22.3.12 and Epsilon 22.3.13. These are untitled but internal evidence proves them to be the records of the Opera Pia Coltri for the period 1724-1752, and the accounts of the Theatines for a parallel period of 1724-1753. A similar, and also untitled, ledger catalogued as Epsilon 24.2.2 has proved to be the Theatine accounts for 1758-1764. With regard to these ledgers, it should be pointed out that the files of the Giurisdizione Sovrana contain a general accusation that the Theatines kept no books, along with a statement by the rector of the Theatines.
These investments consisted of a property in the suburban area of San Lazaro (rented out for £2,606 per annum), a house (rented for £917, a sum which suggests a respectable structure), a farm called La Colombarina (rented for the relatively small sum of £700), and a number of bonds with a total annual income of £3,312 (eighty percent of this coming from bonds held against the Comunità, and the rest from small private bonds).

The same ledger shows that expenses for 1746 balanced the income. Of the £7,535, a little over half (£4,045) was spent on general expenses which appear to fall well within the broad category of church expenses as specified by the Coltri testament. These include anniversary Masses for the benefactor, money for clearly ecclesiastical items like wax and oil, improvements on church-owned property (a bridge cost over £700), and an entry for salaries which perhaps not coincidentally exactly equals the annual wage drawn by the treasurer of the Opera -- £490.

This Opera proceeded along the usual lines for a century, more or less carefully managed and fulfilling everyone's expectations of what a good opera pia should be. It provided income and employment for churchmen and for a variety of auxiliary employees, and it provided the psychic

that Secretary Venturini had taken all of the order's records and brought them to his own house. This combination of events suggests that these books might be less than completely trustworthy.
satisfaction of knowing that the souls in purgatory (among whom the cautious testator assumed he would likely be) were benefitting. On the theory that few are either bad enough to be damned outright, or sanctified enough to enter heaven directly, it was generally assumed that most Christians would spend some time in purgatory. This time in purgatory could be shortened by grace, which the living could provide for the dead by offering prayers on their behalf. It was therefore to everyone's benefit that formal procedures be instituted to offer these prayers, from which the great majority of Christian souls would sooner or later benefit.

With the creation of a ministry to oversee issues of jurisdiction between Church and state, it was inevitable that an order such as the Theatines, and an opera like the Coltri one, would come under attack.

In addition to their weakness and their wealth, the Theatines had attracted Este notice by their location. Their church, San Vincenzo, was near the ducal palace, on the broad avenue leading to the Via Emilia. Also, San Vincenzo was the prospective location of the Este mausoleum -- Francesco III would be buried there, as would his son and a number of the Austro-Estensi who assumed the throne after the revolutionary period. It is not surprising then that the Duke, dedicated as he was to renewing the appearance of his city, should be offended by what he considered the ugly,
old-fashioned and countrified facade of the Theatine church.⁶

Some eighteen months after the institution of the Giunta, San Vincenzo, the Opera Coltri, and the order to which they both belonged began to appear in the correspondence of Francesco's Intendente Salvatore Venturini, ducal trouble-shooter extraordinary and the most outspoken partisan of royal prerogative on the committee. On 25 July 1759, Venturini wrote to the Duke in Milan that plans for the facade were proceeding according to plan, hastened by the "new rector" (a noble of the Boccabadati family). Two of the Theatine monks were being moved to other houses belonging to the order, presumably to reduce expenses, leaving four men and an income of £50,000.⁹ This facade project, Venturini enthused, would be of enormous benefit, both for the maggior ornamento of the city, and for the relief of the people who would be employed in the work.

Ten days later, Venturini elaborated on the plan. He had, it seems, managed to have himself appointed one of the Presidents of the Opera Pia Coltri along with three Theatines and the merchant Niccodemo Bastardi (an in-law of

⁶"...un vile lavoraccio di campagna", ASMO, G.S. 1, doc. #63, letter of 30 December 1761.

⁹Renewing the facade would in fact be an enormously expensive project, since what the Duke wanted was a marble-faced reproduction of the famous facade of the Theatine basilica of Sant' Andrea della Valle in Rome, known to opera lovers as the set of Act I of Puccini's Tosca.
Battista and Gaetano Araldi). This coup had been accomplished with the help of Father Tori, Prior of the Theatines, in the frank hope of gaining the Duke's protection for his order, a protection which Venturini urged his master to extend to them. They had, he said, been grossly negligent, confounding the accounts of the Opera with their own (apparently they had come to look upon Coltri as an integral part of their living expenses), but the new regime would quickly put an end to that. They would, Venturini promised, proceed as though Niccodemo Coltri had died yesterday. To that end, the monks were given certain instructions: they were to elect a new chief administrator for the Opera (from between the only two laymen on the body, Venturini and his ally, Bastardi); they were to cooperate fully with the project of the facade; and they were to appoint a new notary — Lodovico Ricci, "an able and unfortunate man." The appointment of Ricci as notary for the Opera is as clear an indication as one could wish that Venturini, and through him, the Duke, was taking control of the patronage attached to the Coltri Opera. This would become even more apparent four months later, when a more direct carving-up of the Opera funds would be proposed, in the form of generous dowries.

In exchange for their full cooperation, Venturini reported that he had promised the Theatines that he would not "look backward or demand an accounting for past dis-
orders" — in other words, he would not inquire too closely into the uses to which the testamentary money had previously been put. In future, however, the money was to be under the control of the Presidents, who would dispense it to the Theatines for projects which met the approval of the Giunta.

The new Presidents had met for the first time on the previous day ("quite calmly," Venturini reported), and among their first acts was to call in the Master Builder Lucenti and direct him to copy the plan of the facade to be sent to the architect in Florence, and to write to Verona for estimates on the necessary marble. The "desperate affair" of the facade, Venturini informed his master, would be completed within the year. (Alas for his optimism, the work would not in fact be completed for another twelve years.)

The affair of the facade was at the center of the ducal interest in San Vincenzo, and a great deal of correspondence travelled between the Duke in Milan and his intendente during the summer, and into the autumn and winter. On 19 August Venturini reported that the Theatines had agreed to borrow money at interest for the project. By October, the Giunta was examining the Coltri funds with a view to using them exclusively to finance the facade since it was becoming obvious that even with the greatest possible thrift the order could not pay for an "appropriately magnificent" facade by themselves. With Venturini's help, they borrowed
£20,000 in Bologna by floating a censo. This, together with £10,000 from the Opera Pia Coltri, was to provide starting funds; the marble was duly ordered from Verona, and construction was delayed only to await ducal approval of the plans, presently being touched up by the architect in Florence.

By the end of October 1759 Venturini and the rector, Boccabadati, had become the best of friends and the Intendente reported to his Duke that he was certain the failings of the monks had been due "less to malice than to indolence," an indolence they were now eager to make up by showing their wholehearted devotion to the Duke and his projects.

By December, however, Venturini had introduced another idea for using the Coltri funds and had, by his "diligence and careful handling" succeeded in gaining the approval of the other Presidents. The Duke, whose new Great Hospital had just been opened (see Chapter VIII), had apparently wanted to know if the Coltri money could be diverted to that end. Venturini, having studied the original testament, came to the conclusion that it could not be so used. He had, however, a brilliant idea, the brilliance of which can readily be recognized when we look at the Coltri as a microcosm not only of the struggle for Church funds and properties but for Church patronage as well: according to Venturini's new plan, the Opera Pia Coltri was to be used to
finance four dowries a year. And not simply dowries, but dowries of near-noble proportions, one thousand lire each. This would not only be in accord with the wishes of the testator, it would also help four poor citizens (always remembering that the term "poor" is relative) and "bring into the public purse goods which had been considered property of the Regular clergy."

A month later, Venturini announced that he had reached an agreement with Boccadadati with regard to the Masses which Coltri had requested for the souls in purgatory. Each year on the feast of the Immaculate Conception there was to be a Mass for the souls in purgatory, attended in full ceremony by the Presidents of the Opera Coltri and the four women to whom the dowries were to be granted.

Two of the dowry recipients were to be chosen by the Duke, and two by the Presidents. This would preserve at least the appearance of some patronage for the Theatines though in fact the Presidents were clearly dominated by the Duke's men. Five dowries had already been assigned -- two to the daughters of military officers, one to "one of the Salvatica girls", one to a girl whose name had not yet been provided (a choice of the Theatines, no doubt), and one to the daughter of Lodovico Ricci. Ricci was, of course, that "able and unfortunate man" who had been given the job of notary to the Opera. He was also a courtier, and the father of the Lodovico Ricci who twenty years later would revolu-
tionize the welfare system of Modena as chief minister of the last Estense Duke, Ercole III.

Although we know nothing about Salvatica or his daughters, it is highly probable that both of the military officers were Este dependents and clients of Venturini and his party. Both were junior officers, holding the rank of Captain, and at least one, Captain Cappellina, appears to have been in serious financial difficulties. The 1763 records of the Comunità show that a Captain della Cappelina appealed to the city government to give him control of part of his wife's dowry which had been invested in city bonds, in order to pay the £1500 he owed to Lieutenant Antonio Cervelli for the dowry of his (the Captain's) daughter Marianna.10 In the 1780s a man named Silvio della Cappellina served with Battista Araldi as one of the Presidents of the Opera Pia Generale, and we find his signature, along with Araldi's, on a document approving the sale of Opera Pia property -- to Gaetano Araldi.11

10 ASCM, Prodotti 1763, letter of 25 November 1763, document #458. The dowry appears to have been long overdue for payment, and the Lieutenant, on the point of departing for his new posting in the provinces, had already married the girl and needed to be paid. If the contract had been made in expectation that Marianna would receive a thousand lire dowry from the Opera Pia Coltri, the failure of those dowries to materialize -- as indeed they did fail -- would have put della Cappelina in an awkward position vis a vis his son-in-law.

11 ASCM, Riforma delle Opere Pie, 1786-87. Silvio della Cappelina was later carried on the payroll as head of the Ritiro, that portion of the newly-divided Opera Pia Generale which dealt with women and orphans of the civil class.
Venturini, a young man noted for his enthusiasm, did not confine himself to the first year's hypothetical dowries, but proposed to assign "forty or fifty of these dowries." He would be able to do this, he observed, because he had got the Presidents to agree that the husbands and children of the prospective recipients would be able to claim the money should the recipients die before their turns came! This was indeed a bold stroke, and one of which Venturini was justifiably proud. This way, he pointed out, "Your Highness will be able to assign forty or fifty thousand lire to worthy subjects" -- a considerable amount of patronage, even in the hands of a duke.

The course of true love did not, unfortunately, run smooth. Although the Giunta proceeded with other business, much of the following two years was taken up by attempts to get the design of the facade approved, and with manoeuvering on the part of the members of the Giunta, each of whom had his own party to satisfy. As for the Theatines, their sole hope seems to have been to retain at least the appearance of control over their property and to avoid outright suppression.

In May of 1761, after three hours of "lively discussion," the Giunta ruled that the Opera Coltri was indeed a

Battista Araldi was the "spiritual director to the bedridden" of this Opera. See also Chapter II, above, for a discussion of Araldi family property as it related to the Opera Pia Generale.
lay opera pia. This definition was a critical one, since it was only the lay opere pie which came under the direct jurisdiction of the Giunta. Ecclesiastical opere remained at least in part under the jurisdiction of the bishop. It is not altogether surprising therefore that the Giunta should decide that, despite the fact that the aim of the opera was designed by its founder to be "spiritual, pious, and ecclesiastical," the opera was nonetheless a lay one. All opere pie have spiritual aims, Venturini wrote frankly, and to consider them ecclesiastical for that reason would be to show disloyalty to the Duke for "a scruple of over-delicate conscience." The Magistrato, and later the Giunta, avoided defining what precisely made an opera lay rather than ecclesiastical, but the number of lay opere would include confraternities and oratories as well as hospices, orphanages, poor houses and monti for flour, for money, and for grain. The ruling on the lay nature of Coltri meant that it was "dependent on the secular authority with regard to the rules dealing with the Board of Directors, the administration of goods, and the carrying out of the testators' desires." 

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12Araldi defined Ecclesiastical opere pie as only those which have been set up by Church authorities. All others were lay opere pie, no matter how spiritual their purpose. BE, Gio:Batta Araldi, "Notizie Sacre e Profane", Vol. II, s.v. Opere Pie.  

13ASM0, G.S. 1, letter of 31 May 1761.
Six months later, the axe fell. Venturini, who had for six weeks or so been complaining to his master about the machinations of his enemies, returned from a meeting of the Coltri Presidents to find the stunning news that, by order of the Duke, all dowries were to be suspended. His enemies, Venturini lamented, "exalted and triumphed" as the news spread from house to house, becoming public property in a matter of hours. The suspension was all the more deplorable because two dowries had just that morning been assigned: one to a girl who was that very day to have been married to a one of the Duke's footmen (a wedding which had to be hastily cancelled), and the other to a protegee of the powerful Marchese Corona-Rangoni. But despite his Intendente's obvious distress Francesco stuck to his resolve, and the Coltri dowries were never distributed (though law cases over promised dowries dragged out until the end of his reign). In this case at least, the direct application of patronage was outweighed by Francesco's desire to rebuild his city at the expense of the Theatines. The strength of the patronage element can nonetheless be seen in the tenacity and enthusiasm with which the dowry proposition was accepted. If Venturini's political enemies managed to outmaneuver him in this episode, it was the loss of a battle, not a war.

Venturini, though frustrated in his attempts to channel the Coltri money into super-dowries, obediently turned his
attention to ensuring that the Opera Pia Coltri be used to pay for the much-desired new facade. This matter was of continuing interest to the city chroniclers. In October 1761 Franchini commented on "the long-standing contest between the Duke, who wants the Theatines to re-face their Church in marble, and the Theatines, who don't want to spend the money."14 And five years later, with the facade project under way but far from completed, an anonymous chronicler noted that "the Theatines have sold all of their silver plate to pay debts they have incurred for their facade."15

The Opera Pia Coltri operated on at least three separate levels of patronage-clientage. The first was that envisaged and set in motion by the donor himself. This involved a complex set of relationships among the donor, the Theatines, and the souls in purgatory, and cast God himself as the ultimate patron. Coltri and the Theatines were acting as patrons of the souls. Although the relationship was somewhat complicated by the fact that both the donor and the priests expected one day to join their number, basically the earthly patrons provided prayers and sacrifices on their behalf of the dead which the souls, being dead, could no longer provide for themselves. Like all such relationships, it was at least potentially mutually beneficial. Although

14BE, Cronaca Franchini volume I, p. 564.

15BE, Anonimo, Cronaca di Modena, gamma S.7.2, 15 September 1766.
the souls could not add to their own store of grace (a task which must be accomplished during life), they could confidently be expected to intercede with the Supreme Patron on behalf of their benefactors.

With regard to the material goods in the testament, the Theatines were both clients (receiving the benefit of the goods, perhaps rather in excess of the intentions of Coltri) and patrons. A 1761 accounting of the uses to which the money was being put showed that it had variously been used to provide medicine for poor invalids, to pay workmen to build a pulpit and a confessional, to buy soap, to provide meals for clerical students, to provide coal for the sacristy fire, to pay for gifts to visiting preachers, to pay musicians, to buy oil and wax, and so on. In all of these expenditures, the Theatines were either dispensing gifts or making purchases, and because of the very nature of Old Regime society almost any such transactions involved some degree of patronage.

The Coltri Opera provided the Theatines with a tool for securing clients on a rather higher level as well in that it allowed them to appoint the holders of more or less remunerative jobs associated with the Opera: the job of Treasurer, which paid the not inconsiderable salary of £490 per year, and the posts as Presidents which though unpaid allowed their holders to construct and shape sub-networks of patron-
age of their own. This aspect of the Coltri Opera is particularly interesting for this study, since the Araldi were deeply involved here.

From 1738 until 1754, the Treasurer of the Opera Pia Coltri was a first-generation Modenese merchant, Carlo Giuseppe Araldi, the brother of Antonio and father of Battista and Gaetano Araldi. In the war years of the 1730s, when his two sons were first attaining striking success in their chosen careers, we find the father associated with the then-wealthy and influential Theatine order. The fact that Carlo Giuseppe gave his second son (born in 1708) the name Gaetano suggests that the tie between the Theatines and the Araldi may have gone back to the early years of the century. Gaetano is not a family name; rather, it is the name of the Theatine founding saint, Gaetano di Tiene. If the name does in fact indicate a connection with the order, it dated to the time when the Araldi were attempting to establish themselves in the city and would thus have been most anxious to fit themselves into the client-patron network.

The Araldi-Theatine connection does not end here. Among those on the payroll of the Opera Pia Coltri in the 1730s and 1740s were Don Antonio Pavarotti, a benefactor of Muratori's Charitable Company and a member of the governing board of that charity along with Battista Araldi, and Giovanni Battista Fantini, a physician and a colleague of Gaetano. When we turn to the Presidents of the Opera in the
following decade, we find the name of Nicodemo Bastardi. Nicocemo's sister was married to Giovanni Antonio Araldi, the brother of Battista and Gaetano. In 1737 Nicodemo Bastardi stood godfather to his nephew Antonio, the first-born son and second child of Giovanni Antonio.

Perhaps most important of all was the Araldi connection with the Abbot Boccabadati, the "new rector" referred to in Venturini's 1759 letter. The Boccabadati were a venerable Modenese noble house which boasted among its members a thirteenth-century Franciscan candidate for sainthood (the Blessed Gherardo), a revered seventeenth-century jurist, a mathematician and man of letters (Gian Battista Boccabadati) and would produce an eighteenth-century physician and surgeon, a nineteenth-century bishop of Carpi (Gherardo Araldi, whose mother was a Boccabadati and who was reared by that family), and two opera stars (Luigia, who died in 1850 and her daughter, Virginia, who died in 1922). The Boccabadati were obviously not without allies, and among those allies was the family of the Treasurer of the Opera Pia Coltri, Carlo Giuseppe Araldi. Almost a century later, Battista Araldi's grandnephew and godson Carlino Araldi would marry a woman of the Boccabadati family, the first and perhaps the only noble alliance of the Araldi. The fruit of this marriage would be Gherardo Araldi, Bishop of Carpi.

In yet a third level of patronage, we have seen the state moving in to assume the control of the Opera and its
social network. This patronage, however, was slightly different in character from that which preceded it. The transcendent level, with the legalism of do et dus, disappeared almost entirely. Expenditures were justified in purely Enlightened and Muratorian terms of usefulness and social responsibility as when Venturini, mentioning Coltri for the first time, stressed the social welfare benefits of the facade project, which would not only contribute to the beautification of the city (to the benefit of all), but would also help the people who would find employment in the work. The dowries, too, were urged with the justification that they would benefit "poor citizens".

At the same time the patronage aspects, though they certainly did not disappear, were becoming less personal and more institutional, and this too would characterize the changes in social welfare towards the end of the century.

The Suppression of Sant'Agata

In the 1750s and 1760s, Battista Araldi was an influential courtier, and as we have seen he and his family were connected by ties of patronage as well as blood to the Opera Pia Coltri. But he remained at the same time a parish priest, the rector of Sant'Agata; in fact this was the highest title he would ever hold, and one of which he was
extremely proud.\textsuperscript{17} He was also the President of the Council of Parish Priests, an office he held from the late 1740s until 1773.\textsuperscript{18}

Sant'Agata was a small church in one of the smallest of the Modenese parishes, with a cemetery so crowded that a heavy rain regularly washed up bones.\textsuperscript{19} It had, however, a distinguished pedigree, having been built within the walls of the old Roman city of Mutina on the ruins of a temple of Diana, with a written history going back to the twelfth century. The church had never had more than three altars, and by the time Battista became rector in 1735 it was in a serious state of disrepair. This was probably because his predecessor but one, a certain Don Bellei, had in 1701 been

\textsuperscript{17} ASMO, Archivio per Materie, Letterati 2. A letter of 16 May 1773 from Ignazio Fivizani to Milan suggested that Don Araldi be given a title to replace the one of rector which he was losing. The reply assured Fivizzani that "once a rector, always a rector", and that Araldi would keep the title which meant so much to him.

\textsuperscript{18} ASMO, Archivio per Materie, Letterati 2, chirografo of 3 August 1772 identifying Battista Araldi as head of the Parish Priests and naming him ducal theologian and Consigliere in matters of faith and canon law. See also BE, Anonimo, Cronaca di Modena for mentions of Araldi acting as head of the parish priests in processions and ceremonies. For a description of this Council of Parish Priests, see Mons. Cav. F. Manzini, Lodovico Muratori ed il clero di Modena (Firenze: n.p., 1930).

\textsuperscript{19} ASCM, Prodotti of the Comunità, letter of 2 June 1769. The information in the following paragraphs is from Soli, Le Chiese di Modena, Vol. I, pp. 3-14, "Sant'Agata."
condemned to ten years imprisonment by the Inquisition, on charges of Molinism, or quietism.\textsuperscript{20}

Araldi began his tenure as parish priest energetically, launching a major rebuilding program while at the same time instituting Christian Doctrine classes and accumulating Mass obligations which would help to support his church.\textsuperscript{21} Among the noble patrons whom Araldi attracted to Sant'Agata were the Marchese Rangoni and his family, who erected a baptistery chapel there in 1745 and Araldi's neighbor and sometime co-defendant before the Inquisition, the Marchese Fontanelli, who in 1771 donated a costly processional cross.\textsuperscript{22}

Although Araldi's court duties obviously required a great deal of his time, the baptismal and death records of his parish indicate that he was active as a parish priest.\textsuperscript{23} His signature began to appear in the burial registry soon

\textsuperscript{20}Orlandi, in his article "L'Accademia di San Carlo (1707-1716)," suggests that the condemnation of Bellei and his seven co-defendants was more for "moral offenses" than for heresy. Giuseppe Orlandi, "L'Accademia di San Carlo (1707-1716)," in Spicigilium historicum, XXIII (1975): 40-75.

\textsuperscript{21}ASCM, Partiti comunali, 20 March 1736, in which Araldi, worried about the deplorable condition of the buildings, proposes to rebuild the church almost from the ground up. For correspondence regarding Mass obligations at Sant'Agata, see ASMO, G.S. 266, letter of 4 July 1736 re: daily Mass for Laura Zarlatti which was to be moved from the church of the Voto to Sant'Agata.

\textsuperscript{22}BE, Cronaca, gamma S.7,1, p. 159.

\textsuperscript{23}Archives of the parish of Sant'Agata in San Domenico, file XVIII 105, 110.
after his appointment in July of 1735, two months after the
death of the former parish priest, Don Pellegrino Righi.
Four years later the bulk of the entries were being signed
by a curate, Don Giuseppi Antonio Muratori. In his
thirty-six years as an active parish priest, Araldi had five
curates, one of whom served for only a month. While these
curates signed most of the burial registers, we find in the
Baptismal records that Araldi personally baptized most of
the children born in his parish from 1736 until 1773.

The register shows, for example, that in the early
evening of 24 December 1753, Araldi was called to the home
of a parishioner, the physician Giuseppe Chiapelli, where
twins had been born. One, a boy, was baptized by the
midwife and died before Don Araldi arrived. The other child
he baptized Angiola Antonia, with a brother of her father
and a sister of her mother as godparents. She died six days
later. It was a small and ordinary Christmas eve tragedy,
but the presence of Don Araldi (who was at this time acting
as secretary, confessor and almsgiver to the Crown Princess)
indicates that this political priest took his role as pastor
with some seriousness.

Muratori appears also to have been the curate of the
former parish priest. It seems probably that he was related
to the great Lodovico Antonio Muratori (died 1750), and
could also have been related to Araldi, whose aunt was the
mother of L.A. Muratori's nephew, Francesco Soli.
In his encyclopaedic dictionary Araldi defined a parish priest as "a prelate of the second order and heir of the seventy-two disciples," commissioned to run a parish and provided with the benefice of the same, along with the parish church, his dwelling and an income to support him decently and appropriately. He receives this benefice, Araldi added pointedly, "in perpetuo". For Battista Araldi, "perpetually" was to end in 1773 with the suppression of his parish as part of the general movement of the 1760s to reduce the number of parishes in the city of Modena, first from fourteen to seven, and then to five.

The files of the Giurisdizione Sovrana contain a number of letters dated 1771 and 1772 which suggest that Araldi did not give up his parish without a struggle.

Home, 18 September 1771:

I desire nothing more than to continue to serve my parish. The church is small, but not so small that it will not serve my small number of parishioners. For the rest, I am at the disposition of my Lord the Duke, but it is distasteful, indeed almost impossible, for me to have to cease being a parish priest.

Home, 28 September 1771:

You know that I am threatened, and to tell the truth I am on the point of being thrown out of my church, and out of my parish, which I have unworthily served for thirty-six years now. I deserve this unexpected and most bitter blow. I have taught, and now I must learn, resignation.

Home, later the same day:


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If I may be allowed to add to what I wrote earlier, I ask only that nothing that is mine be taken away from me. The parochial benefice is mine, the parish is mine, jurisdiction over the parish and the right to exercise it is mine. The parish church itself is mine, but I am content to give that up. I am content so long as I remain a parish priest, so long as I can exercise my parochial functions; so long as I have my people whom I serve I am indifferent, more than indifferent, as to the church, whether it is San Domenico, whether it is San Giuseppe, whether it is Sant'Agata or any other. I trust in Divine Protection that wherever I am I shall be able to fulfil my offices and duties as a parish priest.

Plead with the Duke for me, either directly of through Sig. Bagnesi [the Duke's Secretary, Ippolito Bagnesi, who in fact wrote eloquent letters to the Duke on Don Araldi's behalf] or through others, to ask for only this mercy, and that is: that I should be left in peace in these my final days; that I should not be molested in the legitimate enjoyment of what I have had for thirty-six and more years; that I should be left to work for the glory of God and the spiritual advantage of my neighbor according to my vocation, to which I have more than once sacrificed opportunities for worldly goods and glory.

I hope to be heard. If not, then I will suffer all, and you will not hear my voice on this matter again while I live.

The documents of Sant'Agata (now consolidated with the parish of San Domenico) contain the following Memoria, written in 1790 by Giovanni Vezzosi and signed in 1791 (three years before his death at age 90) by Battista Araldi, recounting the events of the suppression of his parish.26

In about the year 1760 the Secretary of State of His Royal Highness Francesco III of Modena Don

26ASMO, Corporazione Soppresse 2026, Sant'Agata.
Felice Bianchi, a Genoese (he was later Archpriest of Carpi and Bishop in partibus) whether for zeal or for vanity, or for whatever other principle or passion, set himself to thinking, suggesting, insinuating, persuading, and executing the overthrow of the seventeen parishes of Modena, and the ruin of all the opere pie of the Serene States. ...

We come now to the movement of the Parish of Sant'Agata to the Oratory of San Giuseppe and the moving of the Confraternity of San Giuseppe to the church of Sant'Agata, which occurred on the 14th of August 1768 ...

On 13 April 1772 the rector of Sant'Agata [ie, Don Araldi], by order of the Ducal Ministry, left the Oratory of San Giuseppe, or the new parish church, and went to establish himself in the church of San Domenico, to which he was assigned by the Vicar General Canon Ignazio Ponziani, where he was to use as his parish church the altar of Saint Pio.

Finally, by sovereign order, on 16 May 1773 Rector Giambattista Araldi surrendered his parish into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff Pius VI in favor of the Domenicans of Modena ... Thus the surrendered parish was united with and moved to the Ducal parish of San Domenico, established in the said church of San Domenico.

Battista Araldi lost the battle which had raged for five years, and surrendered his parish. But however sincere his distress, and however sincere his attempts to achieve resignation, it would have been out of character for him to surrender his parish without recompense. He kept the title of parish priest, the benefice, and the administration of the church property for his lifetime; only after his death would the property belonging to the parish of Sant'Agata pass to the new parish church of San Domenico. In addition,
he was put on the ducal payroll with a pension of £1500 per year in compensation for the loss of his parish.  

But these immediate material benefits would not have been adequate compensation for a man who felt that he had lost the work to which his vocation called him. When his brother Gaetano had come into conflict with the guild, he had ended as a director of that guild; Battista could hardly accept less. Shortly after he agreed to give up the church which had been given to him as a substitute for Sant' Agata, the following ducal chirografo was issued:

Regarding as we do with particular warmth (animo) the person of Dott. Gio:Battista Araldi, President of the Parish Priests and Rector of the parish of Sant' Agata of this our city, not less for the public proofs which he has given of his talents and wisdom than for those qualities which he has shown for so many years in the care of souls by his religiosity, his direction, and his catechizing, we wish therefore to give him a sign of the regard we have for him because of the zeal which he has always displayed in our service; we therefore declare with letters patent that he is our Theologian, with all the honors and prerogatives which accompany his rank and nearness to us.

Given in Modena, 3 august 1772 (26)

27ASM0, Bolletino dei Salariati, Ruolo dei Salariati 1772 et seq.

26ASM0, Archivio per Materie: Letterati, Araldi. "Riguardando Noi con particolare animo La Persona del Dott. Gio:Batta Araldi, Presidente de' Parrochi e Rettore della Parrocchia di S. Agata di questa Nra. Città, non meno per le pubbliche prove, che ha date de' suoi talenti, e sapere, che per quelle ond'egli reguar.te per e destinat.o per tanti anni, e si distingue nella cura delle anime colla suo religiosia, direzione, e catechesimi, vogliamo perciò dargli un contrassegno delle stesse riflessioni e delle vedute che abiamo sopra di lui per lo zelo, che ha pure dimostrato per il n.ro servigio, con prescegliero, e dichiararlo come facciamo ora colle prn.ti Lettere Pat.i, Nostro attuale Teologo con tutti gli
Araldi and the Giunta

Two months later the Duke restructured the Giunta di Giurisdizione appointing three ministers "to look after Our sovereign rights". These were named as "a Minister of State as President, Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi; a Legal Minister, Counsellor of Justice Chiodini; and a Theological Minister, Dottore Giambattista Araldi, Our theologian." All three were to have an equal vote on all issues, and in the absence of any one (even the President), the other two were competent to carry on business.  

The main business of the Giunta was and would remain to advance sovereign control over non-religious ecclesiastical matters. Araldi apparently never considered this to be inherently contradictory to his loyalties as a priest. He devoted a lengthy article in his Notizie Sacre e Profane to the issue of secular versus ecclesiastical power, stressing the separate but complementary authority of each.

"Sovereign, or Political power oversteps the borders of temporal jurisdiction when it attempts in any way to judge in matters of faith, just as the Prelate goes beyond his powers if he dares to interfere in any way with worldly issues. The Ecclesiastical power has no right to try or to

onori, e prerogative competenti al Grado suo ..."  

29See Castignoli, Appendix.
judge, as this power belongs to the Sovereign whose task it is to defend the life, honor and temporal goods of all."30

There is, of course, a great deal of retrospective wisdom in this 1788 work, which no doubt expresses opinions which developed over the course of Araldi's long career, and especially during his more than ten years as a guiding member of the Giunta. In any case, Araldi was never reluctant to defend his political or theological views, even when he was quite along in holding them. The anonymous chronicler of the city's ecclesiastical issues in the 1750s and 1760s records an episode in February of 1760 in which the Bishop called a meeting of thirteen theologians in order to debate and refute a fine point regarding Lenten fasting which Don Araldi had preached. The Bishop and his thirteen decided against Araldi, and a Pastoral letter was issued, but Don Araldi was not deterred. As the chronicler reports, "Notwithstanding this, Sig. Araldi was not pleased to accept the decision." and he went over his Bishop's head, writing for support to the Modenese Cardinal Tamburini in Rome.31

30BE, Araldi, Notizie Sacre e Profane. pp. 1210 - 1221, s.v. "Podestà".

31B.E., gamma 7.2 "Cronaca di Modena dal 1759 in avanti," Anonima. Entry for 26 February 1760. Tamburini, a Benedictine cardinal from Modena, was a long-time friend and defender of Muratori and seems to have assumed this post with regard to Araldi as well. He died in Rome in 1761. It would be interesting to trace any connection between him and Pietro Tamburini, the theological architect of the Jansenist Synod of Pistoia of 1786 and the friend and colleague of the famous Jansenist Cardinal Scipione de Ricci of Tuscany.
By the summer of 1773, Felice Antonio Bianchi had reached the end of his controversial political career. His place on the Giunta remained vacant for the best part of eight months, during which Araldi and Chiodini continued to meet and carry on the business of the body. They regularly sent advice to the Duke, and issued at least one important decree, strictly limiting clerical privilege; clerics could be called before secular courts unless they met stringent requirements for actively participating in clerical life.

Finally, in March of 1774 Bianchi was replaced by Count Monsignore F.G. Marchisio, a member of a house which had long been friendly to the Araldi. As early as 1753, Gaetano was sending his brother greetings from the Marchese Marchisio, "who greets you, and recommends that you go on a diet." That the Marchese had reason to note Don Araldi's eating habits was further suggested a few years later, when Don Giuseppe Ferrari dedicated his mock epic L'Eloqio del Porco (In Praise of Pork) to Battista Araldi, recalling in his introduction how Araldi had made the remark which inspired the poem while they were dining together in the Casa Marchisio.

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32 ASMO, Cancelleria Ducale, Decreti e Chirografi, Chirografo of 9 March 1774.

33 B.E., gamma G 1,9. Letter of Gaetano Araldi, 16 June 1753: "Marchisio qui presente vi saluta, e vi si raccomanda f. si digiuna..."
The Araldi-Marchisio connection extended to business affairs as well as social and intellectual ones. When in 1775 the Araldi brothers had the occasion to divide the property which they had until then held in common, the contract specified that this was also to include "the properties and monies formerly held by the late Count G.B. Marchisio."34

The Giunta was reconstituted from time to time, as new members were added or old ones removed, and the details of their area of competence were expanded or changed. Araldi, however, remained a member of the Giunta until he was given the title of Counsellor and moved to the board of Presidents of the Opere Pie Generale on the accession of the new Duke in 1780.

In 1773 Don Araldi was appointed to a sub-committee of the Giunta whose ironic overtones could hardly have escaped him: the committee was deputized to carry out the inventorying and confiscation of the goods of the suppressed Jesuits. Among their duties was that of confiscating the silver in all Jesuit institutions, leaving only that essential for the simplest of masses; and providing lay persons with £150 and priests with £300 for clothing, and leaving them their clerical dress.35

34ASM0, Archivio Notarile 5371 (Cavachioli), division of property of 26 June 1775.

35ASM0, Cancelleria Ducale, Dicreti e Chirografi 13: Decree of 13 September 1773.
The Giunta had control of the regular and secular clergy of the state, control over the distribution of benefices and patronage, appointing of preachers, veto powers over the Bishops' rights of visitation in their dioceses, authority over censorship, and the right to oversee the cultivation of Church lands. A brief attempt was made to move the control of the opere pie (under the Opera Pia Generale) to another agency of the ducal government (the Ministry of Buon Governo, or Good Government), but this was given up in summer of 1774 and the opere pie were returned to the control of the Giunta. 36

In 1762, it was decreed that everyone wanting to enter the religious life, or wear the tonsure and clerical dress, needed permission from the Magistrato, certifying that he had brothers to carry on the family name and property, and was not trying to evade lay jurisdiction. Steps were taken to tap into Church funds as a source of income, as when all ecclesiastical opere pie were required to contribute towards the Opera Pia Generale. In 1766, the Magistrato ruled that clerical persons and property were liable to be audited by the tax-collecting body, the Ferma Generale. Even more important was the edict of 11 June 1768, which ruled that all goods acquired by the Church since 1620 were to be

36ASMO, Decreti e chirografi, busta 13, decree of 16 July 1774 transferred "the superintendency over the lay opere pie and the direction of the Albergo and the Hospital of the sick in Modena from the Ministry of Buon Governo to the Giunta di Giurisdizione and its Presidents."
subject to taxation at the same rate as lay-owned property. The same year also saw new censorship laws which took this power away from the Church and put it into the hands of a branch of the Giunta, while at the same time Church control over the press and the schools was dismantled. Along with these jurisdictional and tax regulations, there was a concerted move, culminating in the Estense Code, to destroy ecclesiastical feudalism by first curbing mortmain and preventing its extension, and then by positive steps to put the mortmain lands into the hands of renters and leaseholders.

After the promulgation of the Estense Code in 1771, the government's assault on clerical authority accelerated, and there were loud complaints from Rome about the violation of Canon rights. In 1772 the right of exequatur over ecclesiastical "cards of authority" (licenses) was given to the Giunta and at the same time civil jurisdiction over the clergy was extended. The chirografo of 3 October 1773 (issued by Araldi and Chiodini acting alone after the departure of Bianchi) removed the right of appeal to an ecclesiastical court by minor clerics not attached to a parish or a school. Confessors were instructed not to "meddle" with the confraternities, hospitals or opere pie, or to visit parishes other than their own without a license from the Giunta.
In a purely Muratorian move, the number of feast days was reduced and their celebration limited, "so that the poor people and peasants should be able to provide, with regular labor, for the maintenance of their families." By 1775, a committee of the Giunta was administering Church property in great detail — supervising building, planting, and seeing to it that the land was "well administered" in order to increase production to the maximum and "make up for past abuses".

One Modenese scholar was able to prepare a listing of seventeen separate consequences of the Giunta's activities which had come into effect before the body was dissolved with the arrival of the French in 1796.

1. The Inquisition tribunal was abolished.
2. Ducal beneplacit was required for the election of bishops.
3. Secular judges were to rule in cases between secular and religious bodies.
4. The right of appeal to the Duke was established in all civil and criminal cases involving clerics of any sort.
5. The right of similar appeal to the ducal Consulta, or the Supreme Council of Justice, was established.

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37 Muratori, Della Pubblica Felicità, Chapter VI. See also the edicts of 30 April and 9 May 1774, cited by Poni, p. 143.

38 ASMO, Cancelleria Ducale, Giunta Suprema di Giurisdizione Sovrana (1775-1777), Promemoria of 9 October 1775.

39 Castignoli.
6. Secular judges were to sit in trials at the curia.
7. Ducal beneplacit was required for appeals to Rome.
8. The right of asylum, or sanctuary, was severely restricted.
9. Feast days were drastically reduced, and sacred functions in general came under ducal regulation.
10. The Duke gained control over most ecclesiastical properties.
11. State influence in the election of canons grew.
12. Bulls from Rome, or edicts of the bishops required ducal approval before they could be published.
13. The state could rule on the validity of testaments leaving property to the Church, or paying for Masses.
14. The Pope and the bishops lost the right of approval over any contracts involving clerical goods or property.
15. The regular clergy (what remained of it) was brought under the control of the bishops.
16. Ducal approval was required for the appointment of any superior of the regular clergy.
17. The bishops and the state shared in the income from all benefices; none went to Rome.

These are all classic developments in the eighteenth-century drive by virtually every ruler in Catholic Europe to reduce the temporal authority of the Church and to take over as much as possible of its property. This, however, was only part of the work of the Giunta. Assuming the right to
make decisions formerly made by ecclesiastical bodies inev­
tably drew the servants of the state — whether enthusiastic
laymen like Venturini, or pious but ambitious clerics like
Araldi — into areas where they took over the adminis­
tration, and the patronage, once attached to these bodies.

Even more profound implications lay in the fact that
the Giunta assumed control, and quite detailed
administration of, opere pie such as confraternities,
hospitals and shelters for the poor. The creation of the
Opera Pia Generale in 1764 exactly paralleled the
development of the Giunta di Giurisdizione, because the
Giunta operated the confiscatory and regulatory policies
which made it possible to finance and operate the combined
charitable institutions. These policies meant that agencies
of government were taking over virtually all of the chari­
table institutions of the state. It is important to note
that these policies were set in motion and carried out by
two clerics of unquestioned piety and loyalty to the Church,
Bianchi and Araldi.

All of this was absolutely central to the process of
reform. As Poni has pointed out, these developments changed
the boundaries between Church and state and thereby trans­
formed the state and its structure. The entire process, as
we have seen, was carried out within the traditional net­
works of patronage and friendship which were institution­
alized in the Magistrato and Giunta di Giurisdizione.
CHAPTER VIII
THE GREAT HOSPITAL

We have seen how the Modenese approach to social welfare problems was conditioned by Post-Trent Catholicism and by the traditional structures of patronage and personal ties in administration and social relationships. With the Hospital and its allied bodies (institutions for the care of the poor and of orphans), we turn to a characteristic application of these twin motives and examine the way in which public health and the regulation of and care for the weakest members of society were carried out in the context of eighteenth-century reform.

The dual motivation behind Modenese reform is evident in the care of foundlings and bastard children, where Christian charity and the good of society overlapped and became all but identical within the context of the state's paternal care. It is particularly to note the way in which state care was expressed in highly personal terms, so that the institution itself became a patron, dowering the children and sponsoring them in their careers. The fact that the anticipated careers were humble ones, and the niches these children were expected to fill were those of artisan, domestic servant or agricultural laborer should not blind us to the importance of this patronage: humble or not, the difference between having a place within settled society and
not having one was the difference between life and death. These were persons who in other times and without inter¬
vention would almost certainly fall below settled society into the ranks of the sottoposti. The patronage which raised them from this was as valuable as any other expres¬
sion of the system, and of even more critical concern to the clients involved.

The Piazza Sant'Agostino

In the last years of his life, Francesco III's loyal subjects commissioned an equestrian statue honoring him as helper of the poor, patron of letters, re-builder of his city, and restorer of commerce. The inauguration of the statue was marked by horse races, the freeing of prisoners, and the illumination of the ghetto, while allegorical statues were displayed and a great masked ball was given at the Rangone theater, to which any decently-dressed maskers (maschere pulite) were admitted free of charge.¹

Modena is not a city of statues, and the site chosen for this one is revealing.² It was not placed in the square of the ducal palace (the 1841 revolutionary martyr Ciro Menotti now claims that site), nor in the main square.

¹BE, Cronaca Franchini Vol. II p. 4, I January 1774.

²The statues in Modena tend to be Italian rather than Modenese, commemorating either Risorgimento heroes or war dead. In addition there are a few nineteenth-century retro¬spective representations of cultural heroes such as Tassoni and Muratori.
dominated by the Cathedral, the city offices, and the halls of commerce (La Bonissima holds court there). Instead, it was erected in the Piazza Sant'Agostino, just within the east gate of the city at the old monastery and church of the Augustinians, between the twin eighteenth-century facades of the Great Hospital and the Poor House. This was entirely appropriate, as this square more than any other place in Modena is emblematic of Francesco's reforms. Under Francesco the magnificent baroque church of the Augustinians, already transformed by the Este, had become the church of the Poor House, manned by a new order, the Scalopi fathers, brought to the city for that express purpose by the Duke. The building had begun as the Augustinian monastery and had later become the arsenal, a remnant of Modena's attempt to function as a European power. In 1764 it was transformed into a Poor House; and across the square rose the Hospital, the first, the most grandiose, and the most lasting of Francesco's social welfare projects.

La Bonissima, the good woman, is a crude early medieval figure of mysterious origin. The little statue, which seems to represent an ordinary woman rather than a saint or ruler, has become a communal totem and good luck charm.

This statue was destroyed in 1796 by an over-enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution which arrived in Modena in that year.

So enduring that it is still, in expanded form, the city hospital, though supplemented by a rest home, a number of clinics and a new hospital outside the city. The continuity is underlined by the fact that the pharmacy still serves the public from precisely the same corner as it did.
At the end of the century Lodovico Ricci, the reforming chief minister of Francesco's son Ercole III, produced a plan for the reform of the opere pie of Modena. In it, he included a brief history of charity under Francesco. Ricci wrote that the wars of the first half of the century had driven many country people into the city and created the need for an enlarged and more efficient system of charity. In 1753, with peace, Francesco began work on a hospital which many still (in 1786) considered to be one of the finest in Italy. It was financed by monies from suppressed confraternities, craft guilds, the bankers' guild, and the Monte di Pieta, as well as the goods of twenty-eight regular houses suppressed because their numbers did not meet the requirements established by the Council of Trent. The Comunità paid a substantial amount. In addition, Pope Benedict XIV assigned incomes from vacant benefices, so that from the start the Hospital had an income of not less than 1,200 zecchini (36,000 lire Modenese). Francesco personally involved himself in the Hospital and the Poor House, serving at table and giving medicine to the sick on ceremonial occasions. He dowered fifty country girls each year, and raised the pay of parish priests and chaplains so that the poor did not have to pay for baptisms and funerals. He built the new cemetery. In all, Francesco's charities were so extensive that the Opera Pia Generale ended by being

when the Hospital opened in 1759.
worth one-sixth of the value of all the land in the district of Modena.

The Opening of the Hospital

The ceremonies marking the opening the Great Hospital were held on 30 November 1758. The morning was taken up by religious services in the nearby church of San Pietro Martire, conducted by the Bishops of Modena and of Reggio, attended by the hospitaliers' confraternity and the new Board of Governors. This Board was made up of twelve men from the Comunità plus nine others: the President of the Parish Priests (Don Battista Araldi), the head of the Charitable Company, the senior physician of the Hospital, the senior member of the Notaries' Guild, and representatives of the Hospitaliers, of the Confraternity of the Stigmata, of the Merchants' Guild, the Silk Guild and the Builders' Guild.6

A heavy and uninterrupted rain prevented the planned procession, but after Vespers the Bishop entered the atrium of the new Hospital, surrounded by a great crowd of people held back by a double line of guards and soldiers. There he was met by the Board and by the confraternity members, and

6ASMO, ECA 154, "Prospetto dell'amministrazione della Pia Opera del Grande Spedale degli Infermi". It is interesting to note that of these nine positions, four were at one time or another held by members of the Araldi family: the President of the Parish Priests, the head of the Charitable Company, the senior physician of the Hospital, and the head of the Merchants' Guild.
19. THE GREAT HOSPITAL: FLOORPLAN

1. Atrium
2. Chemist's Room
3. Drug Dispensary
4. Female Ward
5. Male Ward
6. Altars
7. Female Contageous Ward
8. Male Contageous Ward
9. Female Surgical Ward
10. Male Surgical Ward
11. Surgeries
12. Great Courtyard
13. Minor Courtyards
14. Kitchen
by four young boys dressed as angels and carrying lighted torches. The Bishop, dressed in his most splendid vestments, recited the appropriate prayers. A procession was then made throughout the entire Hospital, and each room was blessed and sprinkled with holy water. They then retired to the church again for a solemn Te Deum attended by the Duke's sisters and daughters (the Duke himself, despite his stated desire to attend, had been detained in Milan), and the ceremonies ended with Benediction. The first patients, six men and seven women, were immediately transferred to the new wards, and two weeks later the first mortality occurred when a patient, a widow, died.

The opening ceremonies, like any such events, were heavy with religious and civil symbolism. If taken literally this was an expression of an overlordship by the Church which no longer existed, if it ever had. This was, of course, a profoundly conservative culture even in the midst of reform, and the Christian motives and justifications of medical care of the poor made it imperative that the opening be celebrated with all the trappings of religion and civic dignity. In the same way, the Duke serving at table and personally distributing medications to the sick—which Francesco from time to time did—were a deliberate repetition of Christ's washing of the feet of the disciples.

at the Last Supper, and thus a reinforcement of the Duke's role as the Good Prince.

The people represented on the Hospital Board were as symbolic as any of the ritual actions performed by the Bishop and his acolytes. And just as the ritual represented a reality which, though stubborn, was in many ways being superceded, the Board members were both a bow towards an older social reality, and a notice that this older reality was still a factor to be considered. Board members came from five separate constituencies, each in theory independent but in fact subservient to the ducal regime. First were the twelve "patrician subjects," that is, representatives of the Comunità; but by this time it is clear that the Comunità was dutifully rubber-stamping instructions from the ducal administration. The representative of the parish priests was included; but this was Don Araldi, a ducal partisan. The independent charities had a representative; but we have seen how these steadily become less independent and would soon be swallowed up openly. There were representatives from the confraternities; but like the charities, these were soon to become dependents of a government bureau. And finally the guilds were represented; and the experience of the Physicians' Guild was typical of these). Clearly, what is happening here is that the traditional power structures are still important enough so that the form and symbolism of their authority must be scrupulously observed, while the
unstated personal relationships among the people who express the old structures reflect the growing reality of central state control.

It took Francesco the better part of a decade after the peace of Aquisgrana to implement his ambitious projects with regard to the Church and the opere pie, but it is important to note that he began with the Great Hospital (construction began in 1753, and it was completed just in time for an outbreak of pectoral fever in 1758).® A statement from Francesco on 13 June 1759 indicates his intention to build an Albergo opposite the Hospital. Clearly these two complementary institutions were from the beginning intended to serve as the foundation of his plan to assume control and administration of the social welfare system in Modena.® A decade after work on the Hospital began, the overall plan would be accomplished when the Augustinian friary and the arsenal directly across the piazza were transformed into a Poor House (Albergo dei Poveri) in 1764 — the point at which the Opera Pia Generale came into existence.

This Hospital was the direct heir of the Hospital of the Sant' Unione (see Chapter III). It was intended to serve the same purposes as that institution but to be


®ASMO, G.S. 158.
larger, replacing all of the small hospitals still sponsored by guilds and religious institutions and taking in a number of related services, and above all to be more magnificent. It is important to note that the Sant'Unione had never been exclusively or even primarily a religious institution but had always been financed by a combination of Church and city money, plus private donations. It was administered by a Board of Governors heavily weighted in favor of the urban patricians and the city government, with the participation of the Church, the guilds and the patronage of the royal family. Because Modena, like other university cities in Northern Italy, had a tradition as a medical center, medical care had long been in the hands of lay physicians and nurses.

Construction of the Hospital was enormously expensive, costing well over a million lire (£1,036,938). The great bulk of the cost (over seventy-five percent) was borne by the city, with £712,471 from the Comunità as such, and a further £80,000 from the Abbondanza, a city office. Of the rest of the cost, the Bishop and various religious bodies paid about fifteen percent, or £152,152 (much of this the income from vacant benefices made available by special dispensation from Pope Benedict XIV), while the Duke and the royal family gave about one and a half percent, or £15,777. The rest was made up from alms, from various semi-private organizations such as the Charitable Company, and from
testamentary bequests. The Modenese, as we have noted in earlier chapters, did not donate to charity, they invested in it.

The structure itself is spacious, with the clean elegance typical of eighteenth-century public architecture, and the design reflects a recurring obsession with ventilation. The shape of the rooms is determined by three courtyards which among them account for about half of the Hospital's area. Between these courtyards the wards are arranged in a modified triangle, bilaterally symmetrical with women to the left and men to the right. The longer sides of the triangle were the ordinary wards, while the base was divided into two parts, the male and female injury wards. Two small surgeries opened off of these. Finally, extending beyond the triangle towards the back were the contagious wards. At the point on either side of the building where the three wards met was an altar, so that patients in all of the wards would be able to attend Mass without leaving their beds. In 1761 a second wing was

10Among many such is a report by three of the Hospital physicians, including Michele Araldi. In it they refute the charge that the wards were damp, but once again request that windows be created between the women's ward and the courtyard "so that they will be able to enjoy pure air which, please God, will prove healthful." ASMO, ECA 1103, statement of 4 May 1778.

11From a map of the Hospital 1753-1761 reproduced by Gatti, L'ospedale di Modena.
built, duplicating the first one, for the use of the Military Hospital.

Hospital Administration

As Rombaldi has pointed out, Francesco changed the entire administrative structure of his state through his attempts to "provide a bed for the sick and a shelter for the poor." As Rombaldi has pointed out, Francesco changed the entire administrative structure of his state through his attempts to "provide a bed for the sick and a shelter for the poor."\(^{12}\) Nowhere is this more evident than in the administration of the Great Hospital.

In May of 1754 a polizza was issued in the Duke's name, over the signature of the Abbate Giacobazzi, a long-time courtier and member of a powerful family. The Giacobazzi included provincial governors and jurists as well as courtiers; a few years later the Abbate would become one of the original members of the Magistrato (and later, the Giunta) di Giurisdizione.\(^{13}\) In the May 1754 polizza Francesco (through Giacobazzi) sketched out the duties of Hospital physicians, and the role which the Physicians' Guild was to take in the running of his new Great Hospital.

"Noting that the cooperation and assistance of the Physicians of Modena is essential to the good regulation of the Hospital which we are now erecting in the city, we hereby declare: "The senior physician of the guild shall be the Permanent Physician of the Hospital, and similarly with the senior Surgeon (after

\(^{12}\)Odoardo Rombaldi, "Un Ministro di Francesco III", pp. 102-103.

\(^{13}\)ASMO, ECA 1201, Polizza of 1 May 1754.
Bernardino Vandelli, who will hold the position first).

"The Physicians Guild as a whole is charged with overseeing the effectiveness and quality of care at the Hospital, and with personally visiting the sick there as often as possible.

It was perfectly in accord with tradition that the Duke should have placed the Physicians' Guild in charge of medical care in his new Hospital. What must be noted, however, is that in May of 1754 Francesco was in the process of a total restructuring of the guild, as we have already seen in Chapters IV and V. Gaetano Araldi's desperate letter and his Memoriale to the Duke in which he tried to evade the post of head of the Physicians' Guild, were also dated May 1754. In this context, Gaetano's reluctance becomes a bit more credible. He was in his late forties at this time, and at the height of his career, and understandably preferred private practice and the academic life. And in fact, though he accepted the guild post, we do not find Gaetano closely involved with the Hospital. This did prevent the Araldi from ensuring that they had strong ties with this major new institution: nephew Michele was a Hospital doctor in the early years of his career, and the first Head Physician was an Araldi connection, Bernardino Vandelli. The Vandelli were connected with the Araldi through godparentage, and through the Jatici marriages.14

14For the career of Michele Araldi and for a list of the godparents and in-laws of the Araldi, see Appendix 2.
Since the great bulk of the expense of the Hospital had been borne by the Comunità, one might expect that the Comunità would have a say in its administration. A 1759 document outlines the chain of command and indicates that on one level at least this was indeed the case.\(^{15}\) However, by the late 1750s the Comunità was clearly dominated by the Duke and his civil servants.\(^{16}\) The new Hospital was to be "under the direction of the Council of the Comunità — but directly answerable to the Duke and providing him with detailed annual statements". [My emphasis] The Board of Directors was to consist of twelve "patrician subjects" plus the two sub-priors of the city and nine others. These were all to be "under the direction of the Intendente of the Ministry of Buon Governo. [My emphasis] The Board of Directors was to divide itself into three departments, for the Sick, the Casa di Dio, and the Economia. A three-man daily or weekly governing body was to be made up of one member from each of these departments.

The physicians were to have no part in the administration, so that the overseeing body and those who carried out

\(^{15}\)ASMO, ECA 154, "Prospetto dell'amministrazione della Pia Opera del Grande Spedale degli Infermi ristretto in varie Promemorie".

\(^{16}\)The "rubber stamp" role of the Comunità was to become even more apparent when the Opera Pia Generale was created in 1764. At this time, the Conservatori met in response to a direct order from Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi in order to select their nominees for the Board of Directors. ASCM. Atti della Comunità, 9 April 1764.
the work were kept separate. The Araldi, however, (and no doubt many others) crossed that line by the traditional family expedient of dividing the work among brothers. Thus by 1774 Battista would be a member of the three-man Giunta which controlled the Hospital and the Poor House, while his brother Gaetano helped control the guild and their nephew Michele served as a Hospital physician. The Araldi would have been involved in the governing of the Hospital from the beginning, as Battista Araldi was head of the Parish Priests from around 1747 until he lost his parish (and joined the Giunta) in 1773. And though his father missed being co-opted onto the original Board by dying four years before the Hospital opened, he had been Massaro of the Merchants' Guild and as such automatically one of those men of the city who governed such things (see the Araldi involvement in the Monte della Farina in Chapter II).

**Functions of the Hospital**

Even more than a modern hospital, the Great Hospital of Modena served, and was expected to serve, a number of functions. It was the primary center for military health care, including care for soldiers' families. It offered acute care and diagnosis for the insane. It was an adjunct to the University, as a teaching hospital, and young doctors competed to be taken on as interns to complete their training. It served such traditional public health functions as
attempting to control venereal disease, planning and carrying out inoculation programs, and quarantining victims of contagious diseases. In conjunction with the Sanità (the city health board) the hospital carried out autopsies and provided the services of forensic medicine to the law enforcement agencies, as well as caring for prisoners too ill for the services of the prison clinic. A major part of the Hospital was devoted to maternity cases and the care of new born infants, either foundlings or the offspring of the unmarried mothers confined there. The pharmacy associated with the Hospital served not only the Hospital doctors and their patients but also stocked and tested experimental and innovative medications, and served as a source of pharmaceuticals for the physicians of the city at large.

An inventory of surgical instruments made in December 1772 by Michele Araldi gives some idea of the sort of work done at the Hospital. Araldi listed a set of irons for use in amputations; two boxes for trepanning and brain surgery; a box of instruments for removing bladder stones: five knives for the lancing of boils; tools for performing autopsies; one set of tools for pulling teeth and -- curiously -- another for cleaning teeth.

An analysis of Hospital admissions and deaths for 1773 indicates that while the greatest number of admissions were

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ASMO, ECA 1092, Prodotti of the Hospital, June to December 1772.
for fevers of one sort or another or for dysentery (respec-
tively eighty-nine and ninety, or twenty percent of all
admissions), the great bulk of deaths were attributed to
senile decay, or chronic illness (forty and twenty, or over
forty-five percent of deaths), while only six fever patients
and one dysentery patient died. There were 153 surgery
cases that year, seventeen (or eleven percent) of which
resulted in death. Other illnesses which commonly resulted
in hospitalization were pneumonia, dropsy, apoplexy and dog
bites (rabies was not common, but it was a constant concern
of the board of health). Hospital deaths do not include
infants in the Casa di Dio, who were considered separately
and whose birth and death rates will be analyzed below.

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18ASMO, ECA 1040, "Rapporto del Numero degli Infermi, e
delle varie Malattie accadute nel civico Spedale di Modena
l'anno 1773"— reports by two interns, Bernardino Rossi and
Giovanni Velani. These two reports differ in detail. Rossi
shows 862 admissions and 132 deaths (a fifteen percent
mortality rate), while Velani lists 850 admissions and 143
deaths (sixteen and eight tenths percent mortality), both
remarkably low for the period and the clientele.

19ASCM, Lucchi, Sanità includes detailed reports of
potential rabies outbreaks in the provinces, and the
collection of ducal proclamations (ASMO, Gridario) contains
frequent orders that dogs without owners should be killed,
an indication of periodic rabies scares in the city.

20Ricci, writing in the 1780s, would charge that the
mortality figures did not include the chronically ill or the
very old, but Ricci was setting out to prove that the
hospital was less than necessary and it was to his advantage
to make the death figures seem as bad as possible. In fact,
the 1773 statistics clearly do include invalids and those
subject to "senile decay".
The Military Hospital

Although the Great Hospital was originally conceived as a civilian institution, the Military Hospital was added to the administrative structure as early as July 1759, within six months of its opening, and by August of 1762, after the construction of the new wing, the invalid soldiers were moved into the new buildings. More than 22,000 soldiers were hospitalized between 1765 and 1771, as we have noted. A 16 August 1761 order from the Ministry of War indicates that the Hospital was paid twenty bolognini per day for these men, but the Hospital was to bear the expense of food and medicine.

A particularly important set of statistics analyses the numbers of men and women cared for in the Civic Hospital, the number of days of care involved, and the death rates for the years 1765 through 1771, and then does the same for the Military Hospital. From this, it appears that a major function of the Hospital, at least numerically, was the care of soldiers. In the seven-year period, a total of 9,773 civilians (1,369 per year) were cared for in a total of 319,779 patient days (45,682 per year) for an average stay of just under thirty-three days. Of these patients 1,700

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22 ASMO, ECA 1039.

23 ASMO, ECA 1201.
(about 243 per year, or seventeen percent) died. In the same period, 22,049 soldiers (3,150 per year) passed through the Military Hospital in a total of 268,721 patient days (38,388 per year) for an average stay of just over twelve days). Their mortality rate of two and three tenths percent (526 deaths, or seventy-five per year). Thus considerably more soldiers than civilians were hospitalized, probably because they were away from home and had no families to care for them. However, the fact that they stayed in hospital for shorter periods, and had a much lower death rate seems to indicate that their illnesses were less acute. Even if the civilian death rate is adjusted by removing those who died of the diseases of old age, it remains significantly higher than that for the Military Hospital.

Most of these soldiers were hospitalized for short periods only, but the Hospital (and the associated Poor House) was also available for elderly and chronically ill soldiers. One of the more interesting of these cases occurred in 1769, and appears in a list of superannuated soldiers who, with their wives and minor children, were to be moved into the Poor House.24 Some of these men were ill or injured, and so were sent to the Hospital. Among them was a non-commissioned officer who had been shot ["stroppio di fucile"], a certain Corporal Giuseppe Ghibellini, described

24 ASMO, ECA 1086, Prodotti of the Hospital, July to December 1769.
as a neophyte, or convert from Judaism, born in Jerusalem. Ghibellini, sixty-six years old, had a pregnant wife who was sent to the Casa di Dio to give birth, and a two-year-old daughter named Domenica Maria who was first sent to the Esposti (the shelter for abandoned or orphaned children who were placed with nurses, usually in the countryside). A note indicates that the child was later moved to the Casa di Dio to be with her mother.

Care for military dependents appears to have been a common feature of the Hospital and its allied institutions. An order of 16 August 1773 ruled that soldiers' wives who fell ill and were unable to nurse their infants were to be allowed to send their children to wet-nurses paid by the Opera Pia Generale. Two years later a polizza of 26 August 1775, established that "in the past as today, these women [soldiers' wives] have always been admitted to this Hospital ...".

Forensic Medicine

Hospital doctors were regularly asked to make reports to the executive or police officials, or to the Criminal Courts. The following examples are taken from documents collected between 1764 and 1772.

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25 ASMO, ECA 1040.
26 ASMO, ECA 1201.
In 1764 a man described as a pilgrim died "with a severe contusion and depression of the right frontal bone of the skull, and other signs of having been struck". The file contains a number of other requests for inquests, although the actual documentation has apparently been removed and placed in the relevant court records.

Doctors were also asked to examine and report on the health of prisoners, as when Gioseffe Ramazzini examined a priest held in the Bishop's custody and certified him as being very ill, so that he should be moved to the Great Hospital. The care of prisoners was not normally a part of the Hospital's duties, as an infirmary for this purpose had been set up in the Civic Palace near the prisons. However, when this proved inadequate, the Hospital was expected to provide care. A ducal polizza of 23 September 1773 stated that the care of poor prisoners was an important part of the Christian charity to be administered by the Opera Pia Generale and directing that eight bolognini per day per prisoner should be set aside for this purpose. This was not an inconsiderable amount, particularly when one considers that the Hospital pharmacy was required to make up

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27ASMO, ECA 1039, report of 7 November 1764. A poor man passing through the city might describe himself as a pilgrim in order to take advantage of the small amount of charity still available for such persons.

28ASMO. ECA 1040.

29ASMO, ECA 1201, Registry of the Superintendent Deputation 1772-1773.
prescriptions for prisoners on the same basis as for sick citizens being cared for in their own homes. More than £1,092 was spent this way between September 1772 and May 1773.

Hospital doctors were sometimes asked to verify pregnancy in cases of rape brought before the courts, as in the case of a servant (Liberata Minghioli) whose employer was under investigation. They were also asked to testify in cases where female prisoners claimed that they were pregnant.

Persons brought to the Hospital with unexplained injuries had to be reported to the police, and the Hospital doctors were required to cooperate with the investigating officers. In other cases, police asked that the Hospital take charge of the victims of crime, even when these were not citizens, as in the case of Arcangelo del Fiume who was found at an inn, shot in the arm.

The Insane

Although the Hospital of the Sant'Unione had not originally cared for the insane, by the beginning of the eighteenth century they were taking in mental patients. When in 1751 the Sant' Unione accepted a bequest which specified care of the insane (the Balugoli inheritance) the Hospital began regularly to accept such persons, first from the city and within a few years, at the order of the Bishop.
365

paZZI from the country as well. This policy continued under the new Great Hospital. There was never, however, any attempt to keep mental patients for long periods. Temporary aberrations or insanity resulting from a determinable physical cause were cared for at the Hospital but if the patient seemed to be permanently unbalanced he or she was sent to the hospital of San Lazaro in the city of Reggio.

In a July 1772 case of mental illness, the parish priest of Campogalliano (a village some eight kilometers from Modena) wrote to the Hospital to inform them that Giovanni Manzieri, the son of one of his parishioners, had "lost his senses" and could no longer be cared for at home. The priest asked that he be admitted to the Hospital. The Opera Pia Generale, however, ruled that the young man should be sent directly to Reggio.

Hospital Dependents

The Hospital had cost well over a million lire to build and its annual budget represented an enormous proportion of the overall expense of running the state. It was easily the single most expensive of the social services: the expenditures for 1764 show £131,832 spent on the Hospital. repre-

30 Gatti, L'Ospedale di Modena, op cit, pp. 92-93.
31 ASMO, ECA 1040.
32 ASMO, ECA 1040, Prodotti of July through December 1772.
senting fifty-eight percent of a total charity budget of £226,950 for seven institutions.\textsuperscript{33} (The nearest rival was the Hospice for the Poor with £44,544, but even when most of the smaller institutions were merged into the Poor House in that year, the Hospital continued to represent the greatest single expense.

In May of 1773 the Hospital had 552 dependents, the largest single group being the 370 foundlings under Hospital care who were put out to nurse or fostered in the countryside. Thirteen of these children housed in the Hospital.\textsuperscript{34} The sick in residential care included fifty men and forty-three women from the city and the provinces, as well as fifty-four inmates from the Poor House (counted as part of that institution, not with the Hospital), for a total of 147 patients during the month.

Besides the foundlings and the sick, the Hospital was responsible for the insane (three men and fourteen women), the chronically ill (two men and four women), and twenty-one unmarried mothers held at the Casa di Dio while waiting to give birth or nursing their newborn infants.

The other thirty-two persons were employees. The medical staff consisted of six physicians, two interns and a surgeon, assisted by seventeen nurses (all male, and many of

\textsuperscript{33}ECA 1902, Stati Attivi e Passivi delle Opere Pie, 1764.

\textsuperscript{34}For a more detailed examination of the foundlings, see below.
them medical students), an inspector, and two women assistants — the *guardiana* (see below) and a midwife. The service staff was minimal: one cook and two servants.

**Physicians' Duties**

The Hospital physicians were paid £1000 per year, including what they were paid by the Comunità. This was not a particularly impressive salary (though it did not include a considerable value in perquisites) but it was thought of as part-time work, as the physicians were members of the University faculty and most maintained private practices.

As part of their Hospital duties, the physicians were required to visit the sick in the wards at least twice a day, and in case of need they were directed to spend "as much time as necessary" with each patient. The inspector's report of 1774 indicates that this was indeed done. Doctors were not to delegate these duties except in the case of illness, absence from the city, or other urgent reason, and in this case the second-senior physician or surgeon was to take their place. The Hospital physicians and surgeons were to have complete care of any poor patients, but they were to be assisted by an Astante, or intern, who would live at the institution. This intern was to be selected from among the best students of the University medical school. After a four

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35ASMO, ECA 1201, Registers of the Deputazione Soprain tendente 1772-1773, Polizza of 1 May 1754.
year term at the Hospital, the intern was to graduate from the University with all of his graduation fees paid by the Hospital. Graduation fees were a sizeable portion of the expense of training, as well as a considerable portion of the income of professors as noted in the affair of the Third Chair.

The Inspector

An inspector was appointed in order to ensure that these and other Hospital regulations were observed. Documents of this office indicate that investigations were routinely carried out if any instances of laxness or failure to observe routine were observed. The inspector made weekly reports on the status of the Hospital and its patients.

He also investigated any charge of improper conduct or failures on the part of the Hospital staff, including the physicians, to observe the rules. So on 20 July 1774 Chief Inspector Gabrielli reported to the Board of Governors of

36Reports of the inspector are scattered throughout the ECA files dedicated to the Prodotti of the Hospital (a Dr. Gabrielli held this post for much of the first two decades of the Hospital's history).

37Thus the week 6 to 12 January 1774 began with ninety-nine patients, forty-six male and fifty-three female. During the week nine men were discharged and eleven were admitted for a net gain of two, while one woman was discharged and thirteen were admitted, for a net gain of twelve. None died.
the Opera Pia Generale on the charge that the Hospital phy-
sicians had not been making their rounds in the prescribed
manner. The brief report gives an insight into the work
schedule of these men, and the type of care which was
actually (rather than theoretically) available at the
Hospital.

Gabrielli reported that the Hospital doctors were
conscientiously seeing each sick person twice a day, in the
morning and in the evening. The only exception was the
physician in charge of the women who, on those days when he
was obliged to call on the Princess Elizabeth, made his
Hospital rounds in the mornings only. However, he arranged
with the intern to see that the evening rounds were made by
one Dr. Albori, a member of the guild who often worked at
the Hospital. On the one or two occasions when Dr. Albori
had been unable to work, the intern himself made the rounds.

The inspector's work was supplemented by inspections
from Visitors of the guild. Their July 1778 call resulted
in two complaints: two patients whom the inspector believed
to be suffering from tuberculosis were found on the ordinary
ward; and in general there was a serious lack of ventila-
tion. (July in Modena is often hot and humid, and any lack
of ventilation would have been immediately noticeable.) The
physicians replied promptly, on 1 August. They denied that

38ECA 1202, letter of 20 July 1774.
39ASMO. ECA 1096, notification of 20 August 1774.
the two patients in question had been suffering from tuberculosis, which in any case they maintained was not an extremely contagious disease. As for the lack of ventilation, it was due to a design flaw in the building, and one which the doctors had repeatedly asked be corrected by cutting windows or doors.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{Medical Students}

By the time the Hospital opened, Francesco had succeeded in reworking the Physicians' Guild until it was more or less an adjunct of the medical faculty of the University. From the beginning, therefore, the formal ties between the Hospital and the guild ensured that the Hospital would be an important element of medical education in Modena. This was generally assumed, and from time to time it was frankly stated, as when the Board of the Opera Pia Generale ruled in 1774 that:

\begin{quote}
Since according to the regulations of the University the Hospital physician must teach students completing their medical studies, and since experience at the bedside of sick persons is the most necessary of all studies: we therefore feel that the University treasury should contribute fifty zecchini per year towards the cost of teaching students "practical philosophy" by means of those cases which daily occur in a hospital.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{40} ASMO, ECA 1104, Prodotti of July through December 1778.

\textsuperscript{41} ASMO, ECA 1040,
In that same year the Medical Guild outlined a program of study for Hospital interns. They were to make anatomical observations, dissect cadavers, and learn the histories of the more notable diseases; the Chief Physician was to give them a simple and clear plan for their daily work. In the evening, they were to accompany the Hospital physicians on their rounds and be ready to answer questions on the patients' conditions and diseases, though for the first two years they were to attempt nothing without the direction of the senior physicians. One of the interns was to help each day with the distribution of food to the patients.

At least some of the seven men described as "infermieri" (nurses) were medical students as well. In May of 1778, the Board, while approving the pay of £100 for a substitute surgeon, urged that the Hospital surgeons should take care to have the praticanti operate under their supervision, so that they would be able to supplement the efforts of the surgeons when necessary. And in June 1778, Giuseppe, son of the late Gian Paolo Lemucci, applied for a post among the "infermieri praticanti" so as to gain the

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42ASMO, ECA 1201

43Margin notes on the plan indicate that the Chief Physician at this time was "Araldi", probably Michele rather than Gaetano.
experience necessary to follow his father in the profession of surgeon.44

In addition to these Hospital positions, it was evidently common for physicians to bring medical students with them on their rounds. In January 1775 the Board of Directors investigated a dispute between a physician and the Hospital servants, arising out of an incident which took place on Dr. Paolo Cuzzoni's morning rounds.45 Finding one of his patients with a dry tongue, he expounded loudly and at some length on the servants' failure to take proper care of their charges. This was all the more disturbing to the servants as it took place "publicly, and in the presence of several students who were attending the rounds." The Board delegated some of their own number to question the servants and the patients "one by one". They concluded that the man's tongue was dry because he had been fasting for Communion, having been given permission to do so since his illness was not dangerous.

The Guardiana and the Midwife

The Guardiana was in charge of the women and infants in the Casa di Dio (see chapter VIII). She had to be a woman of good reputation, unencumbered by either husband or children since she was expected to live with her charges.

44 ASMO, ECA 1103, Prodotti January through June, 1778.
45 ASMO, ECA 1097, Prodotti January through June 1775.
In September 1772 the job fell vacant. There were eight applicants for the post but only Maria Sacchi Cavazzuti was deemed qualified, and only her application was forwarded to the Board of Governors.46

Cavazzuti was a forty-year-old woman living in the Modenese parish of San Giorgio, though she had been born in the provincial city of Reggio. She had worked as a ladies' maid in two noble houses, for the Frosini and the Rangoni, but had left her last post in order to marry a baker named Paolo Cavazzuti. This had proved an unfortunate choice, as Cavazzuti left her soon after their marriage and had not been seen or heard from for a decade. Maria formally stated in her application that even if he proved to be still alive, and returned to Modena, she would never live with him again "under any circumstances or for any motive". One week later, the governing body of the Opera Pia Generale approved her appointment, along with that of a servant for the Casa di Dio.

The job of Guardiana was quite a good one. Although the salary amounted to only £288 per year or £24 a month, the pay in kind consisted of bread, wine and soup to the value of £1117.16.3 per year, and two bundles of wood a day in the 115 winter days, to a value of £40.5. In all, the post was worth £1461.7.17 a year, well above the average laborer's income.

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46ECA 1092, three documents dated 19 September 1772.
There was apparently only one midwife at the Casa di Dio, and her job consisted mainly in assisting the physician in charge of the women. In the fall of 1773, a woman who had been abandoned by her husband was given this post. Although her salary was only ten lire a month she would have been eligible for the valuable perquisites attached to a Hospital post, and the job itself was considered a form of charitable patronage.

Parish Priests as Functionaries of the Hospital

As we observed in the previous chapter, parish priests were routinely used as a part of the civic government, serving as a referral service to the various institutions. All dowry funds without exception required that the candidate provide fede from her parish priest attesting to her respectable life, and the fact that both she and her parents had been baptized in Modena. In fact, almost any form of public assistance required a certification from the applicant's parish priest.

The parish priest of San Giorgio in Modena went so far as to have forms printed up, stating that the parishioner named therein (a space was left blank) was/were poor and gravely ill, and qualified for admission to the Great Hospital. In the case of Giovanni and Teresa Pezzi, so referred on 21 May, 1775 the Hospital Intern has added a note to the effect that the couple had a six month old baby.
who required a wet-nurse as the mother was in no condition to care for him.  

Jobs, too, required a character reference, as in October 1773 when the Board of the Opera Pia Generale met to consider the plea of Don Francesco Boselli, a parish priest of Modena, on behalf of his parishioner Ferdinanda Manzini. The woman was living in "deplorable wretchedness", pregnant and abandoned by her husband with two small boys, aged ten years, and seventeen months. Antonio Manzini, a servant who had been out of work for three years, had used up all of their few belongings and sold their furniture before disappearing from the city. On the recommendation of the priest and two powerful patrons, Francesco Abbati and G.A. Malagoli. Sra. Manzini was given a job as midwife at the Casa di Dio. Her infant son was taken in as a foundling, with the recommendation that the mother be given the opportunity to earn enough so that the child could be reunited with her as quickly as possible.  

Parish priests acted as auxiliary civil servants, with the local clergy used to extend the arm of the civil 

47ECA 1098, Prodotti January through June 1775.  

48As we will see when we turn to the Albergo, a large percentage of the children accepted at the Poor House were later claimed by one or the other parent. The Albergo at Modena, like similar shelters in other parts of Italy, thus often acted as a temporary relief agencies for poor families, taking in small children at times when their parents could not care for them to enable the parents to get back on their feet.
administration by reinforcing rules in areas where the Church had traditionally had jurisdiction. Thus in July 1772, the bishop sent a circular letter to all of the parishes of the diocese instructing the parish priests to "be extremely careful to keep attentive watch over the wet-nurses of foundlings to ensure that they are complying with all of the rules" and to cooperate with the lay magistrates, being very careful about the monthly certificates which they gave to the wet-nurses so that they could collect their monthly wages.49 (This was apparently in response to complaints that the parish clergy were not taking sufficient care in these matters.)

Parish priests also provided recommendations for country people applying to foster a child from the Esposti or the Poor House, and once the child was placed in their care, the parish priest had to certify each month that it was being well cared for.50 So in June 1772 an ecclesiastical authority wrote from the provincial town of Nonantola:

Excellency -- I am so much in accord with the sentiment that your instructions as contained in your revered letter should be precisely executed regarding the jealous custody of the poor innocent little bastards and foundlings that I have sent copies to two parish priests, of Castelvetro and of San Dalmazio, and I have included expressions which I hope make clear my duties in this affair.

50BE, Selmi Index of Opera Pia records, Epsilon 24.3.G

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which involves Christian charity as much as the good of society. I flatter myself that these zealous parish priests will fulfil their duties, as I will mine."

THE "POOR INNOCENT LITTLE BASTARDS"

"Greatly valuing the diligent custody and preservation ("conservazione") of bastard children born or brought to this Hospital, His Royal Highness commands that the Presidenti employ all possible care and that they observe and ensure that others observe all of the provisions in force in this Pious Place..."§1

Whether because, as an enlightened ruler, the Duke of Modena was bound to try to increase his state's population, or because as a Good Prince, he was bound to act as a father to his subjects or because, as a Christian, he was expected to follow the example of Christ with the children and not that of Herod --- whatever the reason, the last two Estense dukes took a profound interest in the care and wellbeing of the most helpless of their subjects, the illegitimate infants.

In the year of the establishment of the Great Hospital, and long before it opened, Francesco III laid out a series of rules. A physician was to be appointed with special care for the bastardini; he was to visit every day and check on the condition of the babies, and make sure that they were

§1ASMO, ECA 1034, "Circa le Balie", Polizza issued from the office of the Intendente Generale, Modena, 20 July 1753 outlining rules for wet-nurses.
getting enough milk and were kept clean. Mothers, unless they were sick or their milk tainted, were to nurse their own infants. Just to be on the safe side the Presidenti were instructed to buy two goats whose milk could be used to supplement that of the mothers. Women who presented themselves as wet-nurses were to bring a certificate from their parish priest as to the fate of their own children, and they were to be examined by a physician to be sure their milk was healthful and adequate before being allowed to take a child to the countryside. Great care was to be taken that nurses did not cheat the infants. The guardiana was to be held responsible for such occurrences, and for the health and cleanliness of the mothers as well as of the infants in her care.

Illegitimate pregnancy was a condition surrounded by so many possibilities of crime, from rape to abortion to infanticide, that the state had traditionally taken an intrusive attitude towards it and continued to do so. Unmarried pregnant girls were liable to arrest unless they reported themselves to the Casa di Dio where they might be issued with a document for the police: "Despite the fact that [name], living in the following parish in this city, is illegitimately pregnant, she has arranged matters with the Casa di Dio and will come here of her own volition when her
time comes."52 If the girl could prove that she and the child would be cared for, she might be allowed to remain at home; otherwise, at her eighth month, she was to be confined until the child was born. If she feared retribution from her family and asked for shelter, she might be taken in as early as the fifth month (in other words, as soon as her pregnancy could no longer be concealed). If the child lived she was to nurse it through its first few weeks; otherwise she was to assume the care of another infant.

The greatest possible discretion was to be used in picking up girls who had failed to turn themselves in. The police were instructed to call "at the darkest hour of the night" so as not to expose her to public opprobrium. Citing Muratori, the directive explained that this was to be done "so as not to make public a fact so prejudicial to her honesty and good name, the protection of which every person, no matter who, has the right to expect from the laws of Christian charity."

During their confinement the mothers were to work at "feminine crafts", and all of their earnings were to go to pay for their keep. Finally, they would be released, and the child put out to nurse as a ward of the state.

As soon as possible after birth, the children were sent out to nurse, usually in the countryside. There were two

52ASMO, GS 158, "Degli Statuti e Regolamenti del Grande Spedale degl' Infermi di Modena ed Opere Annesse."
reasons for this. First, the country was rightly considered to be more healthful than the city. And in any case the main hope for these children was that they should become agricultural laborers and join the always-insufficient numbers of those on the land. A little book preserved in the Estense library shows the fate of almost 400 such children between 1733 and 1741. Of these about one name in five is followed by the terse notation, "mori" — died. In not a few cases it is noted that they were returned to their mothers. But in most, there is simply a series of notations: annually each child received a pair of shoes; in April, June and October they were issued with fabric from which clothing was to be made. Virtually none of the children who died had been issued with shoes or fabric, which suggests that once a child was placed its chances of survival increased dramatically.\(^5^3\)

July 1772 saw the beginning of a major program to bring down the horrifying death rates among the foundlings.\(^5^4\) A study accompanying the recommendations examines the death rates of foundling children born in 1769, 1770 and 1771 and finds that by 20 June 1772, sixty-five percent of the children born in 1769 have died, sixty-two percent of those born

\(^{53}\)BE. Epsilon 22.2.12, Campori 3123.

\(^{54}\)ASMO. ECA 1092 Prodotti of the Deputation. Docs # 7 and 9, 3 July 1772. Though a death rate of over eighty percent was indeed horrifying to the ducal administrators of Modena, in fact it was more or less normal for urban areas of the period.
in 1770, and sixty-four percent of those born in 1771. At least three quarters of these death occurred in the first year of life. But the ten-year studies were even more horrifying: of the children born in 1760, fifty-six percent died in their first year, and although the percentage of deaths per year decreased thereafter it remained high enough so that by their tenth year only twelve of the seventy-two children remained alive -- eighty-three percent of them had died. The children born in 1761 fared even worse, with only twelve percent of them remaining alive a decade later.

The survey clearly indicated that the most dangerous period for the children was the first year after birth. The authors suggested that this "massacre of innocents" (the Biblical overtones were deliberate) could not be stopped without keeping in mind certain conditions. First, most of these children were not nursed by their own mothers, and therefore lacked that which "could only come from the heart of a mother." Second, many were the children of prostitutes, who often suffered from venereal disease. Third, if the mothers were "honest persons" (ie. respectable) they often tried to hide their condition with tight clothing and other means harmful to their unborn children.

Many were children from the countryside who suffered long and arduous journeys, usually without their mothers, to

..."che sola puo apprestare ai Fanciulli quei premurosi servigi, che partono dal di lei cuore."
come to Modena. Often they were abandoned on the street, where they suffered from the cold before being taken in. And finally, unmarried mothers were too often "tormented by criminal proceedings and by indiscreet magistrates."

The recommendation of the committee was that some of these problems could be solved while others could at least be mitigated by a careful application of the rules already in force. Finally, it was noted that many of these children died of smallpox: might it not, the authors cautiously suggested, be a good idea to inoculate them? As we will see, Michele Araldi and his colleagues were to accept this suggestion with enthusiasm.

An order from Bagnesi and the Supervisory Deputation of the Opera Pia Generale, undated (the Deputation served only from 1772 to 1775) attempted to deal with some of the problems brought forward by the July 1772 report. Under no circumstances were infants to be sent from the provinces to Modena without being accompanied by a woman who could care for them and nurse them during the journey. At the same time, greater care was to be taken in selecting women to take the children at balia. Not only were they to have certification from their local magistrates, but their parish priests too were to provide them with certificates that they
were able to take good care of the children, protecting them, feeding them and rearing them.\textsuperscript{56}

The 3 July 1772 report was followed by a flurry of activity. An extensive policy statement was issued, concerning the medical care of the infants, and the women in the Casa di Dio.\textsuperscript{57}

"The Guardiana is to keep a close watch for women with skin infections, and is to send them on to the ward set aside for this. At the first sign of illness, in the women or in the infants, the Guardiana is to inform the physician in charge, and is to give him details when the women give birth.

"No woman presenting herself to take children to nurse is to be given an infant until she is examined by the Hospital physician. The Inspector is to keep a careful register of these, and no woman not so registered is to be given a child. Above all, it is forbidden that the Guardiana should take presents from women seeking children to nurse. [This suggests both a fear of corruption among employees, and a keen competition for these infants.]

"The Guardiana is to take special care that the women who give birth do not maliciously lose their milk: it is

\textsuperscript{56}\textsc{Asmo, Eca 1034}. \textsc{Eca} 1097 contains another order from the same body dated 27 May 1775 to the effect that wet-nurses were not to be paid their monthly stipends without a certificate from their parish priest.

\textsuperscript{57}\textsc{Asmo, Eca 1093}, undated but among documents generated between January and June 1773.
too important that they nurse their own children, or others. For the same reason, the Guardiana is to carefully check each morning and evening that the infants are in fact being nursed.

"The Guardiana is to be careful that the mothers and nurses do not sell their food or trade it for food which is not nourishing.

"Women confined to the Casa di Dio are not to work for outsiders or for themselves, but only as directed for the benefit of the Opera.

"The Guardiana is never under any circumstances to leave her charges and go out of the Casa di Dio, and the door is to be firmly closed after the evening Ave Maria."

Apparently these and other measures did have some effect on the mortality rate among the children, though it remained high. However, a study made between 1786 and 1787 which studied 2,110 children born between 1768 and 1777 found that sixty percent died before the age of the, while forty percent survived.58

The Great Vaccination Scheme

The mixture of piety and public duty which characterized Modenese attitudes to social welfare, plus the appalling mortality rates and the recommendations of July 1772, led to the proposal of a major public health experi-

58 ASCM, Riforma 1786-1787.
ment. This experiment, fortunately or unfortunately, collapsed when three of the men sponsoring it either died or resigned. But even though it was never completed the experiment tells a great deal about Enlightened Modenese social welfare reform.

In mid-August 1772 the newly-reformed Physicians' Guild informed a Deputation of the Opera Pia Generale of their approval of a plan to introduce a program of vaccination, because "all of Europe agrees on this use and practice".59 Bagnesi, the official in charge of the Deputation, directed the guild to cooperate with the Hospital physicians and surgeons in preparing an appropriate place and time for the project in order to "save the multitude of these babies."60

There had been something of a "vaccination euphoria" in Modena in 1756 and 1757, but an epidemic in 1761 had cast doubts on the procedure, and a 1778 epidemic all but put an end to it. Even before this disaster, there had been an articulate group of physicians who opposed the practice. Among them, oddly enough, was Dr. Gioseffe Ramazzini, who in 1772 would be one of the three physicians entrusted with the great foundling vaccination project. In 1767, five years earlier, Dr. Ramazzini had published a pamphlet entitled "A Study of the uselessness of inoculation against smallpox" in

59ASMO, ECA 1092, 22 August 1772, Doc #5.

60ASMO, ECA 1092, Doc.# 30, 11 September 1772.
which he attacked the "public craze for vaccinations." Objections to vaccination tended to be based on three major criticisms: 1) the possibility of transmitting the disease from the patient to a well person; 2) the danger that the inoculation itself might prove fatal; 3) the possibility of starting an epidemic.

In the spring of 1773, the project began to get underway when the Deputation commissioned a study of the potential cost, a cost they estimated at £2,360 for forty children. This was to cover the cost of renting a place in the country where the children could be isolated; the wages of a medical student (infermiere chirurgo) to stay with them; wages of a man to find and prepare food; £25 each for four women nurses; food and furnishings for forty children; and seven lire a day to pay the physician and the surgeon, for their daily visits.\(^{63}\)


\(^{63}\)ASMO, ECA 1093, "Piano di Spesa a cui si crede fossa ascondere all'incirca la cura del innoculazione per 40 Bastardini."

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By 7 May, three Hospital physicians had been delegated to complete the plan: Enrico Bressi, Gioseffe Ramazzini, and Michele Araldi. In their initial report, they recommended that the best time for the inoculation would be the spring. A house would have to be found, far enough from the city to be isolated, but close enough for daily visits (the experience of other cities had shown this to be necessary to avoid infection). The children, they specified, should be healthy and between the ages of three and ten.

The following day, the outline plan was approved by the Deputation in the persons of Geminiano Ponticelli and G.A. Malagoli. These added the proviso that the country people who had fostered the children should be paid during the absence of their charges in order to encourage them to take the children back once they had been inoculated.

Two weeks later, Araldi and his colleagues replied to a proposal that a place be found within the Hospital confines for the experiment. (The proposal seems to have met with some opposition, as the physicians refer to the "eccitamenti" — excitements, or commotions — which the proposed plan has created among the physicians.) Araldi and the others agreed that no appropriate place was available for such an important operation: the venereal disease ward was full and there was no likelihood of its being free before

64ASMO, ECA 1093, 22 May 1773. A copy of this plan is also found among the Araldi papers at the Biblioteca Estense.
July at the earliest. This was a most inappropriate time for vaccinations. In addition the place would have required a drastic cleaning before these rooms could be used for children, and in any case there would soon be new venereal patients requiring attention.

The physicians then turned their attention to the Military Hospital, but they unanimously agreed that this would not serve either. The space was too limited for the patients and their attendants, and would be far too uncomfortable for them in the hottest season of the year. The children were judged to need some airy, spacious place. They should not be confined to their beds, but should be allowed to walk about even in bad weather, and in good weather they should have some place outside in the fresh air for their childish games. The Military Hospital was particularly unsuitable for this, as it tended to be crowded and hot, and the children would be in danger of contracting some disease from the inmates there.

The physicians closed by assuring the Deputation of their desire to offer all the assistance possible in this worthy project, which would serve not only to save these "tender children" but would also help to bring about the day when vaccination would be practiced among the people.

The search for a site was to prove a major impediment to the project, and with very good reason. When a similar
project was attempted in 1779 several cases failed and an epidemic resulted.\textsuperscript{65}

It was more than a month before a potential solution to the problem of a site arose. At that time, Ponticelli reported the possibility of using a suburban property belonging to a certain Sra. Grazia Fano. The house was most desireable. It was in good condition and consisted of four upstairs room around a loggia, and five downstairs rooms. The building was surrounded by a good wall. The house was unused, even in the summer, and was the most appropriate place the agent (one Delloca) could find.

The only difficulty was the fact that Signora Fano was Jewish. She had no desire whatever to see her property used as a smallpox ward. Her motive, she said, was based upon "certain Jewish privileges or rites" which had to be observed. "Since it is not in my authority or power to remove these Jewish scruples from the head of a Hebrew," Ponticelli lamented, it seemed unlikely that the house would become available.\textsuperscript{66}

The attempt to persuade Sra. Fano, and the search for another property, continued, but the handwriting was on the

\textsuperscript{65} Nanini, Marco Cesare, \textit{La Storia del Vaiolo} (Modena: n.p., 1963), pp. 87-91 ("Vajolo ... a Modena").

\textsuperscript{66} ASMO, ECA 1053, Prodotti of January through July 1773 letter of 12 June 1773. The Jewish community in Modena was a prosperous one which enjoyed the good will and protection of the Este dukes, and Signora Fano's appeal to "certain Jewish privileges" was one which the doctors could not easily override.
wall. On the third of July, Dr. Ramazzini died and the spirit appears to have gone out of the project. That August, Ponticelli resigned with no explanation offered other than "the burden of other public duties". Any hope of reviving the moribund vaccination project faded with the death of the second of the three physicians, Dr. Enrico Bressi in 1774.

Hospital as Patron

A book of regulations from 1777 stated the aims and responsibilities of the institution towards the children who came under its charge. They were, of course, to be named and baptized, fed and cared for. Beyond this, attempts were to be made to "overcome their unfortunate origins with good education" so that they would be able to live by honest work.

Not all of the children in the Hospital were bastards or foundlings. The very young children of destitute parents were taken in, and pregnant women admitted to the Albergo (see Chapter VII) were sent to the Casa di Dio to give birth. But whether legitimately born or not, all of these children were to enjoy all the privileges of citizenship.

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68ASMO, ECA 1199, 21 August 1774.
69ASMO. G.S. 158, "Casa di Dio" and "Esposti in Campagna".

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Once they passed infancy they were to begin their education. Special stress was of course placed on their religious training. In addition to this the girls were taught to read and write, spin, cook and do lace work and the boys were taught some craft or trade (in theory at least they were to allowed to choose the field that interested them). All of the young people except for those fostered in the country lived at the Casa di Dio. Even those apprenticed or sent to school in the city lived in the institution and were under the control and discipline of the Guardiana or Guardiano of the Casa.

When children were sent to homes in the country, the adults there were responsible for their education. Although one suspects that this education consisted primarily of the practical application of rudimentary lessons in farm work, the local parish priest was called upon to certify was that the children were in fact being educated. Since, despite attempts to set up a network of public schools, parish priests were generally in charge of whatever elementary schools were to be found in the countryside, this certification should have been easy enough to make.

Foundlings, whether in the city or fostered in the country, remained the responsibility of the Hospital until they reached adulthood, and in a curious way the state seems to have assumed direct parental responsibility for them in a way that did not apply to the children who came into the
Albergo de' Poveri. Although ideally boys were able to leave the home at eighteen and earn their own livings, children "of good character" could be kept on in the employ of the Hospital. Girls were expected to be ready to leave at twenty-five. Attempts were made to find them jobs or husbands, but those who went out were allowed to return to the safety of the Casa di Dio if they should lose their jobs or their homes. On venturing out into the world, each was to receive a set of winter clothing, a set of summer clothing, two sets of woollen undergarments, a hat, a pair of new shoes in addition to their old pair, and ten lire.

Marriages were common among the foundling children and in fact among the young people associated with the Hospital in general: orphans and foundlings, the children of paupers, servants, male and female nurses all lived in close proximity, and the marriage records of the Hospital show that nature tended to take its course there as elsewhere.70 Foundling girls who married were eligible to claim a number of privately endowed dowries, but those who "married decently" were also to receive a £50 dowry from the Casa di Dio, which would be increased by £25 if they married young men who were also foundlings.

Some five years after the establishment of the Opera Pia Generale the children of the Casa di Dio were moved to the Albergo along with the other orphans from the Beggars' 

70Gatti, Ospedale di Modena, op cit, p. 86.
Shelter and the more prestigious asylums of San Bernardino, San Geminiano and Santa Catterina. And it is to the larger question of the Albergo that we must now turn.
CHAPTER IX

THE ALBERGO DE' POVERI

The Modenese, like the French, attempted to solve the problem of poverty by enclosing the hard-core of the worthy poor in an Albergo or Poorhouse. However, from the beginning the Albergo of the Poor in Modena functioned both as a temporary shelter for children in times of crisis, and as an institutional patron for those who could find no other.

Thus the Albergo of the Poor, while it was intended to be consonant with the latest enlightened theory, adapted itself to the older pieties of community, faith and family.

The Patron of Last Resort

In the spring of 1770 a poor woman from the provincial town of Formiggine, a widow reduced to working as a servant for no payment but food, appealed to her patron of last resort -- not for herself, but for her young son, Giuseppe Valendrini.1 As she reported in her petition, she had tried every way she knew to find some honest professore, some man

who would take Giuseppe on, a man upon whom he could lean (appoggiarlo) who would teach him a craft and rear him in a Christian manner. But the thirteen-year-old was not a promising specimen. Ragged, dim-eyed, and with no skills, he lived by begging in the streets and churches, and lacked any education, moral or literate. It was obvious to his mother that Giuseppe's only chance of survival was to find a patron, and if the private world failed to provide one, then the state would have to step in. With the help of her parish priest she appealed to the Presidents of the Albergo of the Poor in Modena.

Giuseppe was admitted to the Albergo in response to his mother's plea and remained there for four years. When he left he was seventeen years old, and if the careful plans of his patrons were carried out he left with a haircut, two suits of clothing, a new pair of shoes, ten lire in his pocket, and a trade. Equally essential, he knew his prayers and something of the basic doctrines of his faith, and understood and appreciated the mysteries of soap and water and regular if frugal meals. He would, in brief, have been provided with the minimum means of fulfilling his side of the patron-client relationship implicit in his condition, to become a self-supporting member of the respectable world.  

2Kathryn Norberg in her study of the Hospital at Grenoble (which served many of the same purposes as the Albergo of the Poor in Modena) notes that by the late eighteenth century were turning to professional petition writers and to their parish priests rather than to the more
If Giuseppe, like many boys in his situation, married a
girl from the Albergo they would have taken with them a
dowry of household goods and bed linen, and seventy-five
lire --- fifty lire which would have been her dowry in any
case. and twenty-five lire because she married a boy from
the Albergo.

History rarely keeps track of people like Giuseppe
Valendrini and we have no idea if he lived or died, made his
way as an artisan or fell victim to crime, disease and
despair. His chances were certainly not good. But they had
improved a thousand-fold from the time when he had been a
thirteen year old beggar boy with no one to lean upon.

A Different Sort of Patron

In a society where advancement and indeed survival
depends on the network of supporters which an individual can
construct around himself, a poor child without family or
friends is isolated and completely helpless. This is an
intolerable situation, and not simply on personal grounds:
such people are weak, and in large numbers they constitute a
weakness in the state itself. Poor relief in such a society
must take the form of the state stepping in to provide the
patronage these people need to move into productive roles.

usual aristocratic patrons for help in gaining admission to
the Hospital. She does not, however, go so far as to see
the Hospital and its administrators as an alternative form
of patronage. Kathryn Norberg, Rich and Poor in Grenoble,
And indeed if we look at the records and policy statements of the Opere Pie this seems to be what is happening. It is clearly stated in the Giuseppe Valendrini case where a mother sought someone for her son to lean upon, but it is the unstated hypothesis in almost every case.

The philosophy behind this was most clearly stated by Muratorì when he urged that the poor, and most especially the children of the poor, should be taken out of the environment which perpetuates poverty and trained to be self-sufficient and useful members of society. In his Charitable Company Muratorì envisaged this role as being filled by a group of pious laypersons rather than by the state, but the need to raise the poor by pulling them into the patronage system was the fundamental imperative.

The Plan of 1767 laid out the policy of the Albergo in detail. According to this Plan, the institution had been created to help and relieve the beggars and the truly needy of the state (and especially those who come from parts of the state where the Opera Pia Generale held property). The money of the Opera Pia was to be used to benefit the sick, the foundlings and the shamefaced poor, as well as for dowries and other charitable causes. Preference for admission to the Albergo was to be given to crippled or invalid old people, unable to earn their livelihood by their own

3ASMO, G.S. 158, "Piano di regolamenti per le Opere Pie", book II.
work. Along with these came the abandoned children, and children without relatives to care for them. By the time they left the Albergo, both boys and girls were to have been taught such arts and crafts as would enable them to earn their daily bread in the exercise of the profession to which they had applied themselves while under the care of the state.

The state by thus assuming the role of patron of last resort was acting to limit the scope of private patronage. The Presidents of the Opera Pia Generale, acting for the institutional patron, were expected to take a direct hand in identifying the truly needy. The three clerical presidenti were especially commissioned to keep in touch not only with the parish priests, but also with "other trustworthy persons" in order to identify and locate the poor. They were then personally to visit the homes of these poor people, examining their living conditions, their families, and their persons, in order to establish their numbers and conditions. The stated reason for this is most interesting: it is, the Duke has decided, "a duty of conscience, of honor, and of public interest" that every sort of favoritism and private inclination be removed from the process of selecting those who will be eligible for the Albergo. This repeated and reinforced the policy statement made in 1758 which stressed that admission to the Hospital or its allied

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4ASMO, G.S. 158, provisional plan of 1767.
institutions "must not be influenced by any recommendation or hasty kindness [premura], but must be based only upon merit and upon need."  

This is as clear a statement as one could wish that in fact people were liable to be admitted to the Albergo on the basis of personal recommendation and favoritism. The Duke, in seeking to remove this factor, is in fact attempting to pass the patronage directly to the institution over the heads of the more usual social network.

The Deserving Poor

The Albergo, as the heir of hundreds of charities aimed at rescuing the poorest of the poor, had an ambiguous status in Modenese thought, mirroring the dual attitudes towards the poor which had long characterized this society. On one hand the prevailing ideas of the century had stressed the confinement and coercion of the poor, who were to be kept off the streets and prevented from annoying honest and prosperous citizens. This had been especially true in France, and the French example had been well noted throughout Italy. Muratori, despite his unarguable compassion, had more or less supported this view when he spoke of the hoards of beggars who were a disgrace to the state and a plague for the people. In this view, admission to the Albergo was very

*ASMO, ECA 1902, Statutes of 1758.*
close to admission in a prison, and charity and confinement went hand in hand.

On the other hand Christ's poor, and especially widows, children and the sick, were revered. The duty to help them was one of the strongest imperatives of the Christian state as well as the Christian individual. In this respect, admission to the Albergo was a right, and almost an honor.

These two views could be reconciled only by carefully identifying the deserving poor. The 1758 statutes for the Hospital and its allied bodies, signed by Gaetano Araldi among the nine Presidents, stated that "Of all the works of Christian mercy, the greatest is the care of the poor infirm people, and of foundlings, as persons who are unable because of sickness or age to raise themselves from the great wretchedness which surrounds them." These were to be aided, the others were to be punished and expelled.

Thus, an edict issued in 1767 directed towards beggars stated that the new Albergo was expected to solve the problem of the undeserving poor once and for all. Beggars from outside the state were to leave immediately, on the pain of three tratti di corda for men, and whipping for

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6ASMO, ECA 1902, "Statutes of the Hospital and Allied Institutions", 3 vols., 1758.

7ASMO, ECA 534, Grido of 5 October 1767 issued by Secretary Bianchi.
women. The same harsh rule was to apply to rustics from the provinces who had come to the city "under the pretext of poverty, but really in order to avoid work." Finally, the "truly needy" were to report immediately to the Presidents of the new Opera Pia Generale, who would either admit them to the Albergo or issue them with a license to beg.

In February 1763 the Duke had sent detailed instructions to his administrators in Modena advancing his grand plan for dealing with the poor of Modena. If the first phase, the erection and opening of the Great Hospital, had been impressive the second phase was even more ambitious: it consisted in nothing less than a scheme to gather together "all of the different categories of poor people of one or the other sex who up to this time have been kept in different places in the city and under different names, and have been sheltered, maintained and regulated within different pious institutions."

Five residential institutions in the city of Modena were to be brought together in the Opera Pia Generale as well as a number of smaller hospitals and shelters still run by guilds, confraternities and religious houses throughout the state. In addition, the Desco of the Shamefaced Poor and

*The tratto di corda ("jerk of the rope") was a form of punitive torture in which the victim was suspended by the arms. The severity of the punishment depended on the number of trattile, or jerks, given the rope. This was a common punishment in cases of minor crime.

*ASMO, G.S. 158, Polizza of 6 February 1763.
Muratori's Charitable Company, which were not residential, were to be included. In all, a plan drawn up during this period identified five hundred and forty-one such bodies, among them numerous hospitals and orphan asylums in small cities and town-lands. Some were permitted to continue their separate existence, but one and all were brought under the administrative umbrella of the state.

In a sense this was a perfectly logical progression from the Sant'Unione which at least on the surface had attempted to do much the same almost two centuries earlier. But in theory if not in fact this was a radical step away from the traditional distinctions which the Modenese had drawn among the "different categories of poor people", and the combining of persons of civil and noble status with vagabonds and peasants, of abandoned wives with prostitutes and sick old people, and even more radical discontinuities made Francesco's Albergo of the Poor a half-way step to the levelling social reforms of the revolutionary period.

Not only can the Opera Pia Generale be seen as a move towards equality of treatment across class lines, and thus inimical to the corporate state, it also represents a move towards the unified state and away from the state as a patchwork of separate communities and statelets. Poor people from the provinces as well as from the capital city

10ASMO, ECA 145, "Opere Pie Laicale soggette alla suprema Giunta di Giurisdizione e al Buon Governo."
were to be included in this great new plan. No longer would citizenship in the narrowest sense be a prerequisite for charity.

Such aspects should not however be overstated. This was at best a half-way measure, and although the Opera Pia Generale demanded the physical and administrative consolidation of the poor the Albergo continued to recognize differences among its dependents.

This is most apparent in the differing treatment accorded to the five major residential institutions which were to be consolidated — the Hospice of Poor Girls, the Beggars' Hospice, the Colleges of the Orphans of Saint Bernardino, of the Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine, and the Orphans of Saint Geminiano. All of these were to be brought into one building and combined administratively in the interests of efficiency. However, it would have been far too drastic and sudden a step to put them all into the same quarters and apply the same rules to all, so in fact the vast and magnificent new building was arranged so that the groups could be physically and (in effect) administratively separated.

The Hospice of Poor Girls and the Beggars' Hospice were the direct heirs of two much older bodies, the general Hospice of the Poor (for both sexes) which had been set up in response to the famine of 1695 and the Beggars' Hospice,
a shelter for beggar children of both sexes dating back to the fifteenth century.

The original Hospice of the Poor had been directly inspired by Muratori and his philosophy. Until 1754 it had sheltered between 120 and 160 children of Modenese ancestry, boys to the age of eighteen and girls to twenty-five. They left with a trade and a dowry, plus a bit of money to get them started in life. The sick and the feeble minded were excluded: it was "not a shelter for those without hope."¹¹

The Beggars' Hospice, or Mendicanti, had been a shelter for the destitute, either Modenese or persons who had been in Modena for at least three years. It took in the young, the old and decrepit, and the disabled, providing they had no relations to care for them. By 1701, the great majority of the inmates were beggar children, usually between forty and sixty of them. As in the Hospice of the Poor, inmates of both genders were taught trades (hat-making, various textile-connected trades, making shoes, silk-work).

These had been quite separate institutions, both of them directed by lay persons but with close ties to the Church, each drawing on a different set of testamentary bequests and each operating under its own rules with its own Board of Presidents. In 1754 (while construction of the Great Hospital was still underway) Francesco announced his intention of assuming control of both of them. He began by

¹¹ASMO, Malmusi, Notizie Istoriche, p. 400.
moving testamentary bequests from these opere to the Hospital, and thence to the Opera Pia Generale. In 1758 he amalgamated the two shelters, moving the females to the Hospice, which thus became the Hospice of Poor Girls, and the males to the Beggars’ Hospice. By 1764 the residents of both institutions were moved into the new Albergo of the Poor and the possessions of the older bodies were either sold or leased (Marchisio leased the building of the Poor Girls and turned it into a woollen cloth factory) and the income went into the coffers of the Opera Pia Generale.12

The Hospice of Poor Girls had a total income of about £39,000 in 1764.13 By far the greatest expense - £34,686 - went for food, clothing, and care of the 103 girls and their four servants. Administrative costs and salaries amounted to about one-tenth of that sum, or £3,810. Among the salaried personnel were a singing master (stipend of ninety-six lire), a physician and a surgeon (one hundred lire each), and a woman who taught weaving (one hundred and eighty lire)14. The Ospizio was committed to providing 655 Masses each year, at a cost of £818.

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12Malmusi, Notizie Istoriche, pp. 370-423.
13ECA 1901, Account books for the Opera Pia Generale and its Associated Bodies.
14The "salaries" were retainers paid to persons who usually held several such positions. The physician attached to the Povere was also a Hospital doctor.
The beggars were seen as a separate category of poor. They were to be kept separate from the other inmates in their own dormitories, and set to work at tasks chosen by the administration: usually textile work, though a number were assigned jobs around the Poor House. The Mendicanti, however, does not appear to have been simply a workhouse. Accounts for the 1770s indicate payments for teachers and educational materials, for example two payments of £180 each for two teachers of reading and writing (for the boys and the girls respectively), and £150 for paper and books for the pupils.

The Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine, nicknamed the Bishop's Little Angels (Putte del Vescovo), were the children of citizens of Modena of "the most civil or even noble condition" who had lost both parents and had no relatives capable of maintaining them in an appropriate fashion. There were to be only thirty of these girls in the new Albergo, and all of them were to be from Modena except for four from the town of Correggio. They were to be between the ages of seven and fourteen, and were to do

15The girls of Saint Catherine had traditionally kept themselves separate from orphan girls of lower station. Rinaldo I (reigned 1695-1737) had ruled that at public functions beggar girls should wear yellow veils and crowns of silvered paper, while the Saint Catherine girls wore flowers in their hair, white veils, and white shoes with red heels. Malmusi, Notizie istoriche, pp. 361-362. They would make every attempt to maintain this separation even in the Albergo, for example by insisting on their right to dine in their own quarters apart from the rest of the poor. ASMO, ECA 1200.
whatever work was decided upon by their Superior and school mistresses. The Opera Pia Generale was to take two-thirds of the income from this work, but the girls were to keep one-third.

The Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine had a total income of £15,394. About two-thirds of this was spent on food and maintenance (£10,464) and £1,310 went for administration and salaries, including fifty lire for a physician, thirty-six lire for a surgeon, and forty lire for a cobbler. Saint Catherine had far heavier obligations for Masses, probably because it was an older and more prestigious institution. They paid each year for 1,808 Masses at a cost of £2,283. In 1774, there were thirty-two Orphan Girls of Saint Catherine.

The orphan boys from the College of Saint Bernard, called the Bernardini, were boys of civil condition with no relatives capable of caring for them, aged like the girls between seven and fourteen. Their fathers and their grand­fathers had to have been born and baptized in Modena. Because they were boys, and of civil condition, they were to be sent to the public schools to learn their letters. Boys who showed talent were to be sent to teachers who would allow them to progress in their chosen professions.

The Bernardini had an overall income of £10,457. They spent about the same proportion of their income on food and maintenance for the inmates and servants as did the Orphans.
of Saint Geminiano (£7,570) and about ten percent of that (£745) on salaries and administration. £1,107 of their annual income was set aside for mass obligations. There were twenty-one Bernardini in 1774.

Finally there was the somewhat anomalous group known as the Orphans of the College of Saint Geminiano, nicknamed the Little Angels of Canalino (after their location on Canal-grande street). These had originally been orphan girls of humble condition, but they had soon been joined by girls and women of civil and even noble state and by the eighteenth century the institution had become a shelter for widows, orphans and abandoned or abused wives who paid for their keep according to their means and lived nun-like but comfortable lives for as long as they pleased to remain there. They were by and large free to come and go as they pleased: the regulations for their amalgamation into the Opera Pia Generale specified that if they chose to leave the Albergo during the night they were to be accompanied by their servants. These ladies, whose numbers were reduced to eleven by 1764, were joined to the Opera Pia Generale, but they were provided with separate quarters including their own chapel were provided and they were allowed to keep their own regulations.

The Orphans of Saint Geminiano had a relatively smaller overall income of £8,650 and the great part of this (£6,178) was spent on food and maintenance of the inmates. Although
their administrative costs and salaries were low at £451, they had an additional expense of £872 for the maintenance of their private chapel, in addition to £757 for Masses.

All of the bodies included in this accounting -- the Mendicanti, the four orphan asylums, plus the Desco dei Poveri and the Charitable Company, had a total income for all seven of £226,953. out of which £10,159 was spent on Masses and £10,899 went for dowries.

A survey of the inmates of the Poor House made in 1774 broke down the numbers of inmates in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orphans of Saint Geminiano</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphans of Saint Catherine</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardini</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male and Female Alberganti</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberganti sent to the country</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick persons</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pregnant women</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundlings</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundlings sent to the country</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees of the Opera Pia</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,464</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 "Alberganti" was the name given to the general inmates of the Poor House who were not members of one of the subgroups.

17 That is, inmates of the Great Hospital.

18 Housed separately, in the Casa di Dio.
The daily routine at the Albergo as outlined in a Plan prepared in the late 1760s suggests that social control was uppermost in the minds of the administrators, a control to be effected by a combination of regulation and prayer.19 (It is salutary to remember, however, that a document carefully worked out by bureaucrats and presented to the Duke should not be assumed to bear to close a relationship to reality.) Men and women were to live separately of course, as was always the case in institutions of this sort, and though they dined in the same refectory they were to do so at strictly separate tables. Visits between the sexes were possible, with permission of one of the Presidents, but never under any circumstances were men and women of any age or condition to be left alone together. On rising, the inmates were to recite five decades of the Rosary, led by one of their number.20 They were then to dress, make their beds, and prepare for the day, and then kneel and recite aloud the following prayer:

19 ASMO, G.S. 158, "Piano di provvisionale regolamento per l'Albergo de' Poveri."

20 This represented one-third of the complete devotion, which consists of three sets of five decades, with each of the decades devoted to meditation upon a particular mystery. The mysteries are arranged in three sets of five, the Joyful mysteries (centered on the incarnation and earthly life of the Savior), the Sorrowful mysteries (centered on the crucifixion), and the Glorious mysteries (centered on the resurrection and ascension of the Lord).
"My Lord, I adore you above all of your creatures, and give you my heart. I thank you for all of the kindnesses you have done for me and especially for having guarded over me this night. I offer you my work, and the labors of this day united to the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, and of all your Angels and saints, to your greater honor and glory, in reparation for my sins, and for the help of the souls in Purgatory. O Lord grant that this day I might die rather than offend you, because you are my greatest good, and I love you above all things.

Next an Our Father, a Hail Mary, a Credo and the Salve Regina were to be recited for the health and well being of the Duke, "the founder, benefactor and father of this great work of charity" (i.e., the Albergo).

The inmates then proceeded two by two, to wash and arrange themselves for the day. At work, a second third of the Rosary was recited, and at noon (after "the usual Ave Maria") all proceeded to the refectory, being careful that the men and women should not meet. One of the Scalopian priests was to be present during the meal, and an inmate was selected to read the lesson aloud. After the meal, they were to take half an hour's recreation, and then return to work, where the final third of the Rosary would be said. Half an hour before the end of the day another series of prayers was prescribed, ending with the evening Angelus.

Dinner proceeded in much the same fashion as lunch, and was followed by another half-hour's recreation, after which the inmates retired to their dormitories, more prayers, and bed. Sundays and feast days were taken up largely with the Mass,
Christian Doctrine classes, religious discourses from the Scalopian priests, and meals.

Daily Life: Work

A survey made in 1778 not only specified the number of inmates in the various sub-groups, but broke the totals down into children, workers, and sick people. Of the thirty-one girls of Saint Catherine, twenty-four were working, two were younger than seven, two were sick, and two were counted among the staff (the doorkeeper and the nurse).

There were twenty-three orphan boys of the Bernardini, of whom sixteen went to public schools, one was under seven, and six were working at trades. Other arrangements had by this time been made for the ladies of Saint Geminiano.

In that year there were 244 male Alberganti, almost one third of whom were invalids or otherwise permanently incapable of work. Of the rest, 150 were working at unspecified trades, seven were under the age of seven (the age at which boys were expected to go to work), and fifteen were sick in the Hospital.

Figures for the women Albergante were similar, though some of these were employed at internal jobs, and light work was found for others. Thus, only fifty of the 324 female inmates were listed as invalids or incapable of working. Of the others 201 worked, twenty-one served in the kitchens or refectory, twenty did light work (such as "a little
spinning"), twenty were children under the age of eight (working age for a girl), and twelve were sick in the Hospital.

Thus of a total of six hundred and twenty-one inmates in 1778, four hundred and one, or about two-thirds, worked while two hundred and twenty were either too weak or too young to contribute to the upkeep of the Opera with their labors.

A 1772 table shows the various employments of Albergo inmates. The men and boys were learning and exercising the following crafts: cobbler, tailor, hat-maker, woodworker, glassworker, tablecloth-maker, copper-worker, wool-carder, salt-worker, blacksmith, furrier, moletta, chair-maker, dyer, wool spinner, book-binder, hairdresser, goldsmith, and medical trainees ("praticante", a term that included both nurses and students of surgery). Seven of the male inmates attended school in 1772, and others were detailed to see to cleaning and caring for the ovens at the Albergo.

Women worked at lace-making, silk-making, braided silk cord, silk drapery making, and stitching leather gloves:

21ASMO, G.S. 153, "Tabella dimostrativa gl'impieghi delle orfane di S. Catterina, Bernardini ed Alberganti tanto maschi che femine a tutto il 17 dicembre 1772".

22Orianna Baracchi-Giovanardi notes in "L'albergo dei poveri di Modena" that the art of silk drapery making was introduced into the Albergo in 1771 in an attempt to train women who would be able to revive this craft which was then in decline. "L'albergo dei poveri di Modena," Atti e
others were seamstresses, cutters, stocking-makers, spinners, or nurses. Other women worked in the kitchens or refectories of the Albergo.

**Daily Life: Food**

Male inmates swept and cleaned the refectory, and carried the water and cared for the kitchen fires. They set the tables with measured portions of bread and wine, along with water jugs. But all of this work had to be done early in the morning before the women arrived, or in the afternoon after the women had departed for their rest or work. Men also collected whatever was left over of the food after each meal, saving the extra *minestra* from the noon meal to be given to old people or children who needed more food. Inmates were allowed to take any bread left over in the evening and to save this for their breakfast if they wished.

Like most administrators of this period, the people in charge of planning and running the Albergo of the Poor took a close and comprehensive interest in the food provided. Although much documentation is fragmentary in studying these institutions, the one thing which is perfectly clear is the diet and the menu.

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According to the Plan of 1767, each person was to receive eighteen ounces of bread each day, made with "military-style pasta" which consisted of twelve ounces of flour to six ounces of farinello. This was accompanied by one boccale of wine (a mug, the capacity of which was not indicated). As we have noted, water was also provided on the tables for anyone who wanted it. On each Sunday (except during Lent) the inmates were to have five ounces of meat each. During Lent this was to be replaced by eggs or salt fish.23

The minestra (that is, the pasta, vegetable or soup dish which accompanied the meal) was varied during the week. The 1767 Plan called for wheat two days a week, seasoned with butter on Sunday, and with olive oil on Tuesday. On Monday and Thursday the minestra was to be made of millet, seasoned with either butter or olive oil. Wednesday, Friday and Saturday were marked by a minestra of legumes (beans, chick peas or lentils) seasoned with oil.

Each evening the inmates were to have an ounce and a half of cheese, or one or two eggs (two if they were cheap), or nuts, salad, onions or greens. Salt was provided with each meal.

Orianna Baracchi-Giovanardi includes a more detailed

23ASMO, ECA 158, Plan for the Albergo dei Poveri, 1767. The subject is also discussed in the papers of Secretary Bianchi, in ASMO, ECA 1086 for September 1769.
list of available foods. The minestra could be rice, pasta, wheat or millet seasoned with beans, chick peas or lentils. For the main dish there was arenche, salted eels, cod, fish roe, cassina cheese, marinated fish, salted ricotta cheese, salmon, tuna or eggs. The Sunday and feast day main dishes could be salami or codeghini or cured ham. Evening meals offered fresh or dried fruit, or egg or cheese or anchovies or sausage.

Dress

Costume and dress were important as much for symbolic reasons as for practical ones. We have already noticed how Rinaldo I ruled that the Orphans of Saint Catherine should dress differently from the other orphan girls of the city, with flowers in their hair, white veils and red heels on their white shoes to indicate their superior social status. When all of the poor of the city were collected into one institution, the question of dress became even more critical. Thus we find invalid soldiers petitioning to be excused from wearing the costume of the Alberganti, and former inmates who have been given jobs at the Albergo asking to be allowed to wear their own clothes rather than the uniform.

20. POOR HOUSE DRESS, AS WORN IN THE ALBERGO OF THE POOR, 1764
Of course, many of the people taken into the Albergo were dressed in rags (some intake documents mention this as a proof of wretchedness), and it was necessary that they should be decently covered at as little expense to the state as possible. Even more important was the question of uniformity. These Alberganti were wards of the state, and their clothing proclaimed this. The women wore a bodice and an *andrienne morella* (to give shape to the skirt) both reinforced with stays of whale bone and wood. The skirt was made of striped hemp fabric, the *cottino* was of green *saglia*, a light weave of wool. The apron was of Indian cotton and the shift was of hemp fabric, with knit stockings and leather or calfskin shoes.

Men wore a felt hat (which was to last for two years), a winter overshirt of mixed wool weave, a *corpetto* (a sleeveless overgarment), and stockings. In summer they wore an over-shirt (*camiciotto*) of hemp fabric, and calfskin shoes. [ILLUSTRATION]

There is no indication of color for these garments, but the illustrations found in the records of the Albergo suggest that the men's costume was light in color, perhaps grey, and the women's was of a darker grey or blue, with white apron, bodice and scarf.

One of the purposes of this uniform dress was to set inmates apart from other citizens. This was particularly desirable because inmates do not appear to have been
confined to the Albergo, despite the Plan which seemed to account for every moment of their day within the precincts of the building. One police report speaks of an incident when a group of Alberganti were taking their "usual walk" one Thursday, and were accosted by a rowdy gang of boys who waved sticks and spoke impudently to the Guardians who chaperoned the group. Worse, the boys shouted "dishonest things" (cose disoneste) which made the girls blush. The boys were ordered arrested and exposed in the public stocks with a card that read, "A proper example for those who might fall into similar error."25

The Alberganti were not always the innocent victims in such encounters. A complaint of April 1772 speaks of disorders caused in the shops and inns of the city by Alberganti who were wandering about where they should not have been. It is suggested that the police agents be given a twenty bolognini bonus for picking them up and delivering them to the detention rooms set aside for this purpose in the Casa di Correzione.26 And the 1767 Plan speaks of Alberganti going to work in the shops of the city, and urges the police authorities to ensure that they don't go into


26ASMO, ECA 1200, April 23, 1772.
Enforcing these as well as the internal rules of the Albergo was generally left up to the small city police force and to the four agents assigned to keeping order at the Albergo. The staff of the Albergo itself was small, and even with inmates appointed to assist the Guardians (half a dozen men and women were so appointed) the minute regulation of daily life for almost seven hundred persons must have depended far more on cooperation than on coercion. Four police agents were assigned full time to the Albergo. They were to guard the building at night, and each morning to go through the city, checking for unlicensed beggars. In case of serious discipline problems within the Albergo, the staff were to call on these agents, who were to take the offending inmate off to the Casa di Correzione.

Deputies were occasionally called upon to join the police agents in going through the churches and streets to apprehend illegal beggars. From time to time they appear to have indeed done so, as a handful of men and women in the Albergo are noted as having come in as the result of having been arrested for begging without a license. However, it seems unlikely that this was ever comprehensively enforced, and life in the Albergo, like life everywhere else, ground

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27ASMO. ECA 158.
along on a basis of cooperation, compromise and the line of the least resistance.

Admissions to the Albergo

Anyone wishing to be admitted to the Albergo of the Poor must file an appropriate petition showing place of birth and habitation, parish, the condition of his family, and if he has relatives [the Presidents are to enquire in the parishes to discover whether applicants have relatives obliged to care for them]. In the case of aged and incapacitated persons, the Presidents should see if they would be able to care for themselves outside of the institution if given a license to beg. For others, who claim bodily defects as a basis for admission, the opinion of the physicians must be consulted ... Males are to be admitted between the ages of five and twelve, and after the age of sixty; females are to be admitted between the ages of five and sixteen, or after fifty. ... In order to make room for younger, more needy children, boys are expected to leave the Albergo after they reach eighteen, while girls may remain until twenty-five (and may return later if they must). .... Before anyone is admitted to the Albergo, he or she is to go to the Hospital to be cured, if necessary.28

The following analysis of the population of the Albergo is based on a log book found in the Biblioteca Estense among the Opera Pia records which contains, among other records, the names and case histories of persons admitted to the Albergo between 1770 and February of 1774, accounting for them as late as 1788.29

28 ASMO, ECA 158, Piano di Regolamento per le Opere Pie, Book II, 1767.

29BE, Misc. Epsilon 24. 2, 3. The records follow many cases as late as 1788, when the reforms of 1786 in fact took effect, and the keeping of records was assumed by the Retiro delle Donne and Albergo degli Arti. These records, like most
The entries are in narrative form, with annotations dealing with later events. Some are far more extensive than others, but the great majority of them, following the directions for petitions, contain the following information: name, age, origins, reason for and date of admission and date and condition under which the inmate left, plus a file number. Often the names and conditions of parents or relations are also noted. Annotations tell when the inmate was fostered, sent to the country, found a job, returned to the family, died, or otherwise left the institution. For example:

Bacchini Giovanni, from Panzaro, age seven years; his mother, named Christina, is living and has three other children younger than he; she is in the depths of misery, being a country day-laborer. Therefore the said Giovanni was admitted to the Albergo on 24 October 1771 ... see the third file, number 55.

1779, first of March, he was sent to the country with Domenico Ghibertoni of Panzaro, see the second file.

Of the administrative documents relating to the various institutions in Modena, are fragmentary. File numbers referring to other volumes are largely useless, as the other volumes are either lost or destroyed. This volume is missing some twelve pages out of 187, representing the letters A and part of B. In my judgement, this does not impair the relative reliability of the records which remain, but it is important to remember that these are samples (though extensive ones), and any numbers cannot be taken as absolute, though the relationship among the numbers should be as reliable as any such records from this century.
1782. 28 February, he reached age 16, see file eight.

The records for men and women were kept separately, and will be analyzed the same way.

WOMEN AND GIRLS

The Albergo served as a shelter for 264 women and girls, who can be considered in three basic groups: the very young, girls of a dangerous age, and older women who could no longer support themselves. Two hundred and thirty of these can be described in terms of age (thirty-four entries lack an age, most of these being "daughters of the house" or orphans raised in the institution).

The very young, that is girls under the age of seven, were very few -- only about ten percent of the total. Even this percentage is more than one would expect given the fact that the Albergo was not supposed to accept children younger than eight. Although it is not stated, such children were presumed to be the responsibility of the Casa di Dio. In fact, most of the children in the Casa di Dio were infants.

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30Baccarini Giovanni di Panzaro, in eta d'anni sette, Orfano di Padre, e colla Mre [madre] vivente per nome Cristina con tre altri figli minori d'eta, ed in una estrema miseria, e camerante. Fu perciò detto Giovanni introdotto nell'albergo li 24 ott. 1771 per Card.e [?], di cui nella terza Filza al No. 55.
1779 Primo Marzo passo in Campagna presso Dom.co Ghibertoni di Panzano R.o 42 Fil. 2a.
1782 28 febb. compiuti gli Anni 16 come da Rec.o 37 Fil. 8o.
either foundlings or children born in the institution to unwed mothers. One may speculate that families, even very poor ones, tended to keep those very young children who survived infancy, as they could be cared for without too much of a drain on the family's resources. Those families too poor to maintain even so young a child probably abandoned them soon after birth, or left them as foundlings to the Casa di Dio.

The largest single group of children (sixty-four, or almost twenty-eight percent) were from seven to ten years of age. A number of children (those identified as "sons or daughters of the house") were those passed on to the Albergo from the Casa di Dio.

Despite the theoretical cut-off date for admission of fifteen, we find that over fifteen percent of the girls brought into the Albergo were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five. These young women, along with younger girls just entering puberty, were in the "dangerous years," the years when a young girl, and most particularly a poor girl, most needed to be protected from the dangers and temptations of the world. 31 This perception (by and large an accurate

31 The argument that a girl was in her dangerous years was always a powerful one. Thus in January of 1764, only a few months before the body was absorbed into the Opera Pia Generale, the Presidents of the Orphans of Saint Catherine heard a plea from the uncle of the orphaned Luisa Ceri which stated that she was "thirteen years old, and in consequence arriving at the dangerous age". The institution already had all the girls it was supposed to admit, but the Presidents agreed to admit Louisa when one of their number reminded
one) was based on the assumption that any woman who fell into an immoral and irregular life was almost certain to become a prostitute, and that not only would a prostitute's life be short, unpleasant and socially negative, her children would almost certainly die (mortality among foundlings was over eighty percent in these years). Given that one of the fundamental purposes of the Poor House, and the welfare system in general, was to turn the poor into self-supporting and productive citizens (the other aim, of course, was to protect settled society from beggars), one would certainly expect that girls and young women in their the dangerous years would make up a sizeable proportion of the inmates.

The plan for the Albergo excludes women between fifteen and fifty. Although that rule was obviously bent to include young women perceived to be in danger, only eight percent of the 230 women for whom an age is listed were aged between twenty-six and fifty. After age fifty intake rates increased rapidly, so that about a fourth of the women admitted in these years were in the age group of fifty or older (the eldest was ninety-six). This reflects the role of the Poor House as the shelter for those who could no longer

them that it was necessary "always to keep in mind the dangerous age." ASMO, ECA 168, Meetings of the Presidents of the College of the Orphans of Saint Catherine, 1756-1764, 25 January 1764.

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earn their living because of their failing health due to age.

Some of these older women came in with their families, others were ill or handicapped or mentally disturbed. Almost all of them were women with either no family, or no family able or willing to help them. They were mostly widows or unmarried women who either had no trade or whose trade (servant or spinner were the most common) was no longer adequate to support them.

Eighteen inmates were admitted either because they had been in the Hospital and had no place to recuperate, or because the person responsible for them was hospitalized (most of these latter were eventually returned to their parents, if the parent survived; see below). The care of convalescents was one of the specifically stated aims of the Albergo. A number of testamentary bequests absorbed by the Opera Pia Generale had been created, on the direct suggestion of Muratori, for the relief of "poor convalescents" as well as the chronically ill.

Thirty-eight of the sixty-two adult women were noted as being "unable to work", though twelve of these were over sixty-five and thus one would suppose were past working age. Thus, twenty-six women who would normally have been considered to be of working age were taken into the Poor House because they could not work at their usual trades. Some
were completely or partially blind, some lame, some simply described as "ill".

Nineteen of the inmates could be described as the working poor or their dependents -- servants, workers who had lost their spouses, and people tied to the declining textile trades.

**Origins**

Even a cursory examination of the Opera Pia Generale accounts shows that a major proportion of its income came from property it owned outside of the city of Modena, property which it had acquired by the absorption of hundreds of small provincial charities as well as property left in testamentary bequests to charities within the city. Rural officials consistently insisted that the new united Opera Pia should take in non-citizens as well as Modenese. They were reassured that this would indeed be the case, despite the long tradition among the component bodies of excluding all but persons whose fathers and even grandfathers had been born in the city. When the Deputation to oversee the Opera Pia Generale was formed in 1772 its members (all ducal counsellors) issued a number of guidelines, among them one stating that the beggars taken into the Albergo "must be selected not only from among the poor of the city of Modena,
but with the necessary proportion of them taken from the other cities and town-lands of the state."

Origins are specified for 167 of the 264 inmates, and these suggest that the above guidelines were indeed put into practice. The largest single group of persons admitted (eighty-three persons, or forty-one percent) came from the provincial areas of the state rather than from the city itself. Only fifty-two women, or about twenty-five percent of the Albergo population, were described as "Modenese". In addition to these, sixteen inmates (about eight percent) were "daughters of the house", while another sixteen came from outside the state, some from as far away as the German states. Some of these foreigners were in fact daughters or wives of men in the military service of the Este.

Reclaimed by the family

In all, fifty-six children were reclaimed either by one or both of their parents or by some other relative. This represents over forty percent of the children under the age of fourteen who were admitted. When we consider that

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32 ASMO, ECA 1199, Registri degli atti della Deputazione, 1772-1775, polizza of 8 January 1772. This Deputation lasted only three years, and was created at the time when the Giunta di Giurisdizione was being restructured to include Battista Araldi. When the Deputation was phased out the overseeing function was portioned out between the Giunta, which had charge of the Albergo, and a specific group within the Giunta headed by Count Abbot Marchisio [whose family owed Gaetano money], which took charge of the Hospital. ECA 1202, chirografo of 16 July 1774.

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thirty-three of these children died in the Poor House, we are left with the fact that well over half of the surviving children eventually went home again. Thus:

#14, a five year old girl whose father was in prison for three months and whose mother was a "daughter of the Sant'Unione" (ie a foundling raised in the Casa di Dio) was taken in for less than a year.

#s 54 and 55, two girls aged ten and eleven whose father was an employee of the customs office were taken in for a little more than a year when their mother ran off with another man. The father, unable to care for four children alone, put the two girls into the Poor House until he could re-locate in the provincial town of Carpi and hire a woman to care for the children.

#77, a thirteen-year-old with eye trouble, spent six months in the Poor House when her father injured his hand and was out of work.

#185, a rather more complicated case, a thirteen-year-old was taken away from her mother, who earned her living selling bread in the piazza. The mother was forbidden to see or speak with the girl. She stayed in the Poor House for four years until her father claimed her at the age of seventeen.

It seems obvious that the Poor House in Modena served at least in part as a temporary shelter for the children of the poor in times of crisis. (This was certainly a function
of such shelters in earlier times, notable the shelter in Florence under the Medici. In at least one case this was acknowledged, when a child (both of whose parents were living) was noted as having been taken "a mera custodia" (simply for custody) and was returned to her father two weeks later. In fact, two-thirds (fourteen) of the children whose parents were both living were returned to their families. In fourteen cases it is clearly noted that the child or children are being taken "to help the mother" (a sollievo della madre), who has usually been widowed or abandoned, or in some cases "to help the father". In most of these cases there are several children in the family, and only one or two are sent to the Albergo (usually the youngest, or the girls). In some (but by no means all) of the cases where these children survived, they were reclaimed by their parents or other relatives. Thus in Cases Number 89 and 90, two sisters (twelve and eight), two of a family of four children whose father had "no work and no hope of getting work" and whose mother had fallen ill were taken in "to help the family" in early 1773. The younger child was placed among the foundlings (indicating that the condition

For a parallel study of Florence in a slightly earlier period, see Daniela Lombardi, "Povertà maschile, povertà femminile: L'ospedale dei mendicanti nella Firenza medica." Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Research at the Istituto Universitario Europeo (Florence, May 1986). These figures support Pullan, who casts doubt on Foucault's contention that the enclosure of the poor in the early modern period paralleled the enclosure of lepers in the medieval period. See Pullan, "Support and Redeem" op cit.
was expected to be permanent), but within six months the parents reclaimed her, and a few months later they took the elder girl as well.

Eighteen children were taken in because their fathers had abandoned their families; half of these eventually went home again, not infrequently claimed by the father who returned, having found work outside the state.

Other ways out

While most of the surviving children were eventually reclaimed by their families, twenty-one of the girls left only to go into jobs as domestic servants. Many of these retained their ties with the Poor House and returned there between jobs or if they fell ill. The remainder were either fostered or sent to work in the country (four girls), or merely left at age twenty-five with no other notation as to their fate.

Children sent to work in the country were at least in theory kept under close observation to ensure that they were being well treated, and trained in the proper moral and social codes. In July 1772, for example, a country priest who owned two farms requested a child of about ten to join the others of his "famiglia" and help with work on the land. The priest promised to "keep a good account of him and educate him", and included recommendations to prove that he
was a man of honest habits and comfortably off to whom the child could safely be entrusted.34

In only one case was a girl expelled from the Albergo, a twenty-two year old expelled after almost a year "for bad conduct". However, the rules of the institution were strict, and a woman whose life indicated that she was "unworthy of assistance" could find it very difficult to gain admittance. One case which generated a good deal of discussion was that of the unfortunate Rosa Moscardini, a twenty-five year old prostitute and abandoned wife who had been taken into the Hospital in June of 1774 after she was found, starving, sick and almost blind, in the street. Once she had regained her health to some degree, Counsellor Marchisio proposed that she should be taken into the Albergo as a convalescent and invalid. Objections were raised when it was discovered that she had been in the Albergo three years earlier, and an investigation was demanded into her "life and conduct since she left the Albergo."

She had been in the Albergo in the spring of 1772, but was identified at that time as one of three women "of notoriously bad life" (ie, prostitutes). She had, it seemed, already given birth to two illegitimate children, and was taken in only because she had been confined to the Hospital with convulsions. She was later sent away from the Albergo, and soon after that had married one Giuseppe

34ASMO, ECA 1200, 18 July 1772.
Martinelli, a Florentine. However, he abandoned her and left the city, leaving the young woman "in a deplorable state" which became progressively worse until her arrival at the Hospital in June of 1774.

The argument was that, as a woman of notoriously bad life, she had no right to the care of the Albergo. However, compassion won out over principle, and Rosa Moscardini was admitted to the Albergo among the chronically ill in February of 1775.

Forty-six women stayed until they reached the age of twenty-one (or, in several cases, older) and left as self-sufficient or returned to their relations.

Nine children were removed to the Casa di Dio, it having been determined that they were foundlings rather than orphans or merely poor. In at least one case (above) a child classed as a foundling was later reclaimed by her family.

Fourteen girls were sent to one or more foster homes, and like the girls in service and those sent to work in the country, they maintained their ties with the Poor House and returned in case of need.

**Occupations**

Although the entries in this book are fairly exhaustive, only rarely are occupations mentioned, either for the inmates or for their relatives. When they are mentioned, it is generally in the context of potential self-
sufficiency or support. In all, sixty-four individuals practicing six different categories of occupations have found their way into this record.

1) Laborer: (porter, bakers' boy, selling bread or used books in the piazza, etc). One inmate and six relations are noted as earning their living in this way.

2) Artisan: (by far the most common of these are textile workers, but among the relations we find carpenters, a printer, and a goldsmith). Nine inmates, and eight relations.

3) Rural day-laborers: four relations are thus described, almost always as an explanation of their misery.

4) Servants: eight inmates formerly earned their livelihood in domestic service, and eleven relatives were described as servants. Almost all of these are noted as not earning enough to assist the inmate.

5) Soldiers: this is by far the commonest occupation for relations of female inmates, with thirteen men thus listed. Many were career military men who had lost their wives and were at least temporarily unable to keep their children. There are enough of these to suggest that the Poor House, like the Hospital, functioned as part of the benefit system for soldiers. Some of these, the sons or fathers of inmates, were thrown into the army as an alternative to prison.
6) Civil servants: rare, but two appear here as relations of inmates. In one case a customs officer was unable to care for his children, in another the sister of an essecutore was admitted since her brother was unable or unwilling to help her.

At least two of the women described themselves in terms of general work, saying that they could spin, cook, serve or knit stockings.

Finally there are three anomalies. The widow of a former merchant, the elderly sister of a former police chief of a provincial town, and the young sister of a seller of used books.

Mortality
One hundred and eighteen of the 264 inmates admitted to the Poor House died there, and fifty of them (forty-two percent) died within the first year after being admitted. This represents about nineteen percent of the total population, thus giving the Poor House a higher death rate than the Hospital. It is only fair to point out that a high percentage of these women were elderly or chronically ill, this being the basis on which they were admitted to the Poor House in the first place. Most of the deaths, as one would expect, were among the very young and the old. Both of the children admitted under the age of four died there (though one of them lived in the Poor House for over ten years).
Almost without exception, women who came into the Albergo after the age of twenty-five (and keep in mind that the vast majority of these were fifty or older) died there — sixty out of sixty-two — and almost all of these within the first three years.

A length of stay and a reason for departure (reclaimed by family, died, went into service or some other job, or simply left at the age of twenty-one) is given for 214 of the 264 women. The remaining fifty have been disregarded because there is either no age at admission given, or no date of departure. Based on these 214 inmates, we can make some generalizations about the length of stay.

About thirty percent of inmates stayed at the Albergo for less than a year. A further thirty percent remained from one to three years. These numbers, of course, include the eighty-nine persons (thirty-four percent of the total population) who died in this period. A little over eleven percent remained in the Poor House for four to six years, and even fewer — about four percent — stayed on from seven to nine years. Finally there was a relatively large group of more or less permanent residents — the twenty percent who stayed on for over ten years, some of them for fourteen, fifteen or even eighteen years.

Of these forty-two women who remained at the Poor House for ten years of more, about a third of them died there. Several of these are described as being "simple" or "blind"
or "lame" or otherwise handicapped, and with no family to care for them. These were the classic wards of the state -- weakest of the weak, the people with no other home and no means of caring for themselves.

They were for the most part relatively young women. If we exclude the very old (and most of the very old, like most of the other inmates, died long before they had been there for ten years), then we find an average age at death of about thirty. In other words, most of these women came into the institution because they were "in danger", at some time around puberty. In fact, over seventy-six percent of the women who stayed this long, whether they died here or left for some other reason, came into the Poor House between the ages of seven and twenty, though this group represents only about fifty percent of admissions in general.

Sixteen of the women (thirty-eight percent) simply "left" -- some no doubt to marry, while others may have found work or simply drifted away to join the great mass of the poor outside of the institutions. It is probably not a coincidence that most of them left in the 1780s, the period when the welfare system was reorganized and the Poor House was transformed into what was euphemistically called the House of Crafts (more realistically, a workhouse). Of the remaining women, six went into service, one found a job in the Hospital (as a nurse), and one returned to her family in the person of an uncle who worked as a servant.
MEN AND BOYS

Two hundred and nineteen men and boys were admitted to the Poor House in these years, almost twenty percent fewer than the number of women and girls. Like the females, they may be considered in three dominant age groups — the very young, adolescents, and the very old. There are, however, significant differences: fewer adolescent boys were taken in to the Poor House, and fewer adult men between the ages of twenty-six and sixty-five were sheltered there.

Although rather more boys than girls under the age of four were admitted, the total of young children under seven was in both cases about ten percent of the total inmate population.

Adolescence was considered a dangerous age for boys as well as for girls, but with obvious differences. This was the period when boys were expected to form work habits and so it was considered important to train them in these years. The all-important training in Christian morals and ethics was expected to take place before the teen years. There was as one might expect considerably less concern with the specifically sexual morality of the boys. Thus while thirty-five percent of the females were girls admitted between the ages of eleven and twenty-five, only about twenty-eight percent of the boys were in that age group and the great

As with the females, not all entries include an age, so the following figures are based on 198 persons out of a total of 219.
majority of these were under fourteen. Many of these were young boys arrested for begging on the streets, and they tended to be kept in the Poor House until they were twenty or so and sent away with a craft or trade.

Not all such children were admitted; it was not always easy for even the most wretched to get into the Albergo. In June of 1773 the Presidents were asked to decide the case of three boys who had been arrested for living in the streets and sleeping under the porticoes of the Rangone Theater in Modena.36 One was a boy of thirteen whose stepfather, a bricklayer at the Citadel, had thrown him out swearing that he wouldn't have him in the house. A second boy was also thirteen, an orphan whose father was dead and his mother confined to the Great Hospital. The third child, eleven years old, had lost his mother and his father had left town two years earlier, abandoning the boy. The case had come to the attention of one of the Presidents, who felt that the children should be admitted to the Albergo. In the course of the hearing, however, it came to light that all three boys worked at a woollen factory, earning a few pennies a day. It was decided that they had enough to live on, and admission was refused.

Male workers, even pitifully underpaid workers, had to meet rigorous standards before the Albergo would take them. There were therefore even fewer adult men than there were

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36 ASMO, ECA 1201, #105.
adult women in the Poor House, in all only twenty-four men (twelve percent of the total) between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-four (there were forty-two women in this age group, or eighteen percent). If we consider adults to be persons of twenty-five years or older, there were fifty men (twenty-five percent) in those ages. This was very close to the sixty-two women, representing twenty-six percent of the total. However twenty-three of the men, almost half, were over sixty-five (compared to fourteen women, or twenty-two percent).

Of the twenty-four men between twenty-one and sixty-four, seventeen were described as unable to work due to illness or handicap, two were ex-soldiers (one was a retired sergeant waiting for his pension), and one was a fifty-year-old man in particularly wretched circumstances who was admitted in 1770. He was described in unusual detail, either because he was a particularly pitiable specimen or because his history as an honest working man gave him the right to a certain amount of respect:

Domenico Montanari of Modena, about fifty years old, a wretchedly poor man as one can see from his aspect, and from the clothing which barely covers his nudity. He is a widower. He has a son who serves in the Casa Fabrizi, but this son gives him no help. His present trade is that of making slippers37, at which he earns little, but in the

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37 This was a very common trade for poor persons of both sexes in eighteenth-century Modena. I have not been able to determine the reason unless these slippers, which were extremely cheap, were easy to make from scrap material and, being flimsy, sold in large numbers. A cloth slipper which
days of his prime he worked as a servant in several Houses. He lives in the parish of San Giacomo in the alley called the Rua de' Frati where he sleeps in a stall which he cleans out [in exchange for being allowed to sleep there].

Montanari was admitted to the Albergo and lived there until he died ten years later, in 1780.

Origins

Origins are specified for 149 of the 219 men. Unlike the women, the numbers are evenly balanced between the city and the provinces (which might suggest that rather more women than men came into the city and ended up destitute?), with sixty-seven from the city and sixty-six from provincial towns. Only eight males (three percent, compared to eight percent for women) are described as "sons of the house", or children who had been reared in the Poor House. Similarly, far fewer men than women (eight compared to sixteen) came from outside the state. Two of these were unemployed textile workers originally from Bologna and one, a Swiss, is described as a disabled soldier.

The unemployed textile workers were typical of the declining textile industry which was a characteristic not only of Modena but of many cities in this part of Italy. In 1774, Giachino Mandini, a Bolognese described as "a mechanic in the silk industry," offered to set up a workshop in the

sells in Modena today for about £1200 is no doubt the direct descendent of these ciabbatini.
Albergo and teach the men there how to make machines for spinning silk. At the same time, his wife would teach the women the arts of sewing and embroidering in silk. All he asked in return was that he and his wife and three children be admitted to the shelter of the Albergo. Despite the fact that the couple's skills were unquestioned, and that there was only one man in Modena who knew this craft, the Presidents debated the offer and voted to refuse it, on the grounds that "the Opera Pia is in no state to take on the burden of the maintenance of a foreign family."

Reclaimed by the family

Of 128 boys under the age of fourteen who came into the Albergo, fifteen died in the institution and thirty-five were reclaimed by some member of their family. Eight of these were claimed within a year or less of being admitted; eleven remained in the Poor House for between one and three years, a further ten went home after four to six years, and six remained for as long as ten years or more before returning to their families. Most of those reclaimed (twenty-eight in all) were children who had been admitted under the age of ten, and sixteen of these had both parents living — again suggesting that the Albergo was used as a temporary shelter where poor families could leave one or more of their children when times were particularly bad.

30ASMO, ECA 1202, # 171, doc. 6
The most striking fact about many of these children is the late age at which many of them were returned to their families.

Examples: a father who returned after five years to claim his eighteen-year-old son; another who found work after seven years and took his boy (aged eighteen) back; a seventeen-year-old who had been four years in the Albergo and was apprenticed to a hat-maker (making straw hats was one of the few successful industries in the city).

Not all boys were left this long in the institution. In 1773 the parents of two little boys aged three and five left the city and abandoned their children. They returned a year later and took the boys to Parma, where they had found work. And a fourteen-year-old, sent to the Albergo when his mother's second husband abandoned her, was reclaimed a few months later when the husband returned.

As in the cases of the girls, many of these boys were taken in "to assist the mother" or "to assist the family", and almost all such children were sooner or later returned to their parents. Even orphans were not always left permanently in the Albergo. Two brothers aged nine and eleven were sent to the Poor House when their parents died, but three years later they were taken out again by their elder brother, a servant to the noble house of Molza.

The Albergo was not only the last refuge of orphans, it was also the place where children were sent when the state
decided that their parents were not fit to care for them. This was most common in the cases of young girls of a dangerous age whose mothers or fathers led disorderly lives. But younger children as well could be taken, as in the case of the two young children of Domenico Antonio Prampolini and his wife Dorotea Solmi, who lived in the provincial town of Livizzano. Domenico got into trouble with the law for his "wild and undisciplined life" (sua vita discola) and was sent to the army in lieu of prison. Dorotea then ran away, abandoning their three children. Recognizing, or so the account went, that she was incapable of caring even for herself, much less her children. Relatives took in their eldest son, but the younger two, a girl of about four named Catterina and a boy named Giuseppe, were sent to the Albergo. Little Catterina because she was so young was sent to the Foundlings at the Hospital, and within a few months she died there. Giuseppe, so far as we know, remained in the Poor House until he reached sixteen.

Mortality and Length of Stay

Only fifty-five of the 218 males admitted to the Albergo died there, and unlike the case with the women, most of these were elderly. Only one child died below the age of six, and fourteen of the 105 boys admitted between seven and fourteen died. The remaining forty deaths were men of
fifteen years and older, and all but six of those were older than fifty when they died.

If the numbers of deaths are taken as percentages of total age groups, we find that eleven percent of the boys under age six and thirteen percent of those under fourteen died, while one in four of the boys admitted after the normal cut-off age of fifteen died, and two-thirds of the adults (or thirty-three individuals aged twenty-five and older) died in the Albergo. All but two of these were over fifty years of age, and seventeen of them were over seventy. This is as one would expect: children brought into the institution had a mortality rate not much higher than what would have been normal for their age group in the population as a whole, while older people — admitted only because they were too weak or handicapped to care for themselves in the first place — had a much greater likelihood of dying in the shelter which had taken them in.

More than half (fifty-three percent) of the men and boys taken into the Albergo stayed for three years or less, but a full twenty-seven percent had quite extended stays of seven years or longer. Of the twenty-five who stayed for ten years or longer, sixteen were between the ages of seven and fourteen, while only three came into the Albergo as adults. Only two of these died there, a boy who came in at the age of eight and died there at eighteen, and the fifty-year-old man who had been discovered living in an animal's
stall in a state of utter wretchedness lived in the Albergo for ten years and died at sixty. Except for these two, and a forty-three-year old vagabond who stayed for eighteen years and left in 1788, all of the rest were boys who had come in quite young and left when they reached sixteen or seventeen.

Other ways out

Besides the relatively small proportion of boys and men who either died in the albergo or returned to their families, 135 other departures from the Albergo are accounted for in some detail. Of these, by far the greatest number (sixty-eight) either remained there until they reached the age of eighteen (the usual age for leaving, though it does not seem to have been enforced with any regularity), or were simply noted down as having "left" (most of these being adult men who were taken in because they were ill or temporarily unable to work).

Thus case #19, a six-year-old abandoned boy, was first placed among the Esposti, then fostered twice — the first time at age eight, then again at age ten. Finally the boy, whose older brother was a furrier, left at age sixteen.

Some of these young men had jobs to go to, but only occasionally is a specific job mentioned, as in the case of a fifteen-year-old who arrived at the Albergo with no relations at all, but who left two years later having got
himself a job in Bologna in the wool trade. In another case, a man of sixty-two stayed at the Poor House for over two years, and then left to take up a job with the Scalopian priests, the order which managed the institution.

In August of 1771 a young man of twenty-five, married but without children, was admitted to the Poor House after his release from the Hospital where he had been treated for leg ulcers and venereal disease. He stayed for a year and then left for a job with the ducal minister, Malagoli.

Forty-one boys were sent either to foster homes or to farms, the names and locations of which were carefully noted in their records. Their foster parents were paid for the children's upkeep (see below), and the parish priest of the locality was required to keep an eye on them and report periodically on their condition.

The 1767 rules indicate that the Alberganti were to make themselves useful, "not only for the arts and crafts of the city, but also for the very necessary cultivation of the farms and the assistance of the rural population." To this purpose, an unspecified number of male as well as female Alberganti were to be sent to work in the country, "assigned to families of peasants, and workers, and persons

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39 ASMO, ECA 158, Regulations for the Opera Pia Generale.
who rent land, such as will be able to care for them in the manner of a family."

A catalogue was prepared listing the boys and girls who were available to be sent to the country in this fashion. It consisted of sixty-three girls, the youngest of whom was six and the oldest a woman of thirty-three. The great majority, however, were between the ages of seven and fourteen (fifty-one girls), and all but one of the persons on the list were eighteen or younger.

There were seventy-five boys, the youngest aged six and the eldest nineteen. All but one was seventeen or younger. Forty-one of the boys were aged between nine and twelve, and twenty-eight were between thirteen and seventeen.

All of the children, boys and girls, had come from country families, and all of them were currently learning trades -- textile work for the most part for the girls, and crafts such as cobbler, woodworker, baker or tailor for the boys.

In the spring of 1772, no doubt looking ahead to the fall harvest, a number of country people filed requests with the city government asking that children from the Albergo be sent to live with them. The Comunita compiled a list of

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"assegnati a quelle famiglie di contadini, e Lavoratori, o a que' Fittuarj d'Impresse, che potessero abbisognarne in qualita di famiglij."

ASMO, ECA 1200, "Estratto dal Catalogo Generale degli Alberganti", June 1772.
these requests, along with the necessary recommendations and certificates, and forwarded it to the officials in charge of the Albergo.42

Domenico Montanari of Cittanova, who sowed fourteen stadia of ground, wanted a boy between eight and twelve to look after his animals. He specified that the child should not be afflicted with ringworm and should come from a country family ("di nazione di campagna").

Some had specific children in mind. Giuseppe Andreotti in Salicetta S. Giuliano, who sowed twenty-four stadia of land, wanted a boy between twelve and sixteen, preferable Antonio Gullini's son, who had been with him before. Interestingly enough the same boy was requested by one Giorgio Caselli, who stated that he was a relative, and if he couldn't have Gullini's son, he didn't want any boy at all.

Not all of the children requested were boys. The factor who looked after the land belonging to the Nuns of the Madonna in Villanova wanted a girl of twelve or younger, to act as a "country servant" and look after the animals.

Nor were all of the children requested for the countryside. The widow Domenica Brighenti, a herbalist living in the parish of Santa Maria Pomposa in Modena, asked for a girl of about fourteen, to live with her and learn the art

42ASMO, ECA 1200, "Note of those who have presented themselves to the Chancellery of the Comunità requesting the services of an Albergante after the notice of 15 May 1772".
of herbalism ... and if that weren't enough, she'd teach the

girl to knit stockings and spin, too.

If the child fell ill while with the country families
he was often returned either to the Albergo or to the
Hospital, if the illness was serious. Thus in October of
1772 a seven-year-old boy was admitted when his mother died
and his father was unable to care for him. At the age of
nine the child was sent to the country but he returned the
following year with a stubborn and unusually extensive case
of ringworm. He remained in the Albergo for another five
years, and his father took him back when he reached fifteen.

Six children (all younger than five) were sent to the
Foundlings Home, though the relationship between these two
institutions was in the process of changing. By the 1780s
children remained under the jurisdiction of the Hospital in
the Casa di Dio and among the Foundlings until the age of
six. They were then transferred to the Poor House to be
educated and sent out to work or school in the city or the
country, and remained there until they were of the appro­
priate age to go out on their own.

We noted that the greatest number of girls who found
work went into domestic service. However, only one boy is
noted as having gone to work as a servant in their period.
though a number of Alberganti were former servants or dependents of servants.

While only one girl was expelled or ran away from the Poor House, a far greater number of men and boys seem to have voted with their feet and removed themselves from care. In all of these cases there is a note explaining why the event happened. One boy ran away "for fear of punishment," another "for no reason anyone can find out," and yet another, who had come into the Albergo at the age of fifteen, ran away three years later when he "refused to have his hair cut like the other Alberganti."

Despite the rather strict rules, few men or boys were expelled from the Poor House. However one old former servant who arrived at the age of seventy, estranged from his two children, was finally thrown out three years later for "acts of dishonesty committed many different times." Similarly, a disabled drummer in the Duke's service, a thirty-nine-year-old foreigner from Verona, was sent away "as a trouble-maker."

Occupations

One might expect that more occupations would be specified for the male inmates than had been written down for the women, but in fact specific occupations are listed for only about seventy individuals, half of them inmates and half of
them relatives of inmates. These fall into five categories: laborers, artisans, rural day-laborers, servants, and military men. A sixth profession, mentioned some seven times, usually in connection with teen-aged boys, was that of beggar (four inmates and three relations).

1) Laborers: these were mostly porters and odd-job men, but one could also include the wretched man who earned a place to sleep among the animals by cleaning out the stall. Four inmates and eight relations are described in these terms.

2) Artisans: as with the women, this is the most common category of worker. This might be the result of two factors: the life of an artisan was marginal but at the same time an artisan was a respected figure and his claim upon the assistance of the state was recognized as valid. Most of these, again as with the women, were distressed textile workers, but we also find woodworkers, cobblers, tailors, and an elderly blacksmith and his son from the town of Este (outside the state but with strong Modenese connections as the ancestral home of the ruling family). Seventeen inmates are listed as artisans, and eleven relations.

3) Rural day-laborers: two inmates, and four relations.

4) Servants: as with the women, a number of the inmates (three) and even more relations (ten) either currently or formerly earned their livelihoods as servants. Some of these are extremely wretched, as the mother of a
thirteen-year-old boy who "serves for food only". Others, such as the elder brother of two orphans who was employed by the Casa Molza, were prosperous enough to be able to afford to take charge of their less fortunate relations.

5) Soldiers: fewer of the men are identified as soldiers or the relatives of soldiers, though we know from other sources that superannuated members of the ducal forces and their families were commonly taken into the Albergo as a sort of unofficial retirement benefit. In any case, between 1770 and 1774 only five inmates were identified as soldiers, while six of their relatives were so identified.

Conclusions

Out of a city population of some 20,000 the Opera Pia Generale assumed custodial care of over 1,400 persons, most of them in the Albergo of the Poor. This number does not include the shamefaced poor or the invalids assisted but not admitted to the Albergo or the Hospital. And even then, the problems of poverty in Modena were hardly affected at all, much less solved. There was simply not enough surplus available in a pre-industrial state such as Modena to deal with the great numbers of persons who could not support themselves. Not even the appropriation of vast tracts of city and rural property, so assiduously pursued by the Giunta di Giurisdizione, could support the burden.
Despite efforts to encourage industry and to have the labors of the inmates contribute to the support of the institutions, the whole grandiose and ambitious plan for the Enlightened and Christian care of the poor seemed doomed to failure. It came as no surprise to find that upon the death of Francesco III in 1780, the chief minister of the new Duke would devote a considerable proportion of his innovative energy to attacking and then restructuring the Opera Pia Generale, and in particular the Albergo of the Poor.
CHAPTER X

RICCI AND REFORM

When the ambitious young General Bonaparte rode into Modena in 1796 he was shocked to learn that a local Jacobin, seeking to please him, had smashed the equestrian statue of Francesco III which had stood for little more than two decades in the Piazza Sant' Agostino. The General had the man confined for life to a mental asylum; however historians may evaluate him as Revolutionary Consolidator or as Enlightened Despot, Bonaparte was no lover of anarchy. He very likely recognized the dukes of Modena as his brothers; certainly he did not hesitate to employ their civil servants. The republican government was studded with names that had as comfortably graced the Estense court, and none among them was more in accord with the "new" ideas than Lodovico Ricci, former head of the Supreme Economic Counsel and chief minister to Ercole III and future Minister of Economics to the Cisalpine Republic.

Ricci continued to do precisely the same job he had done for Francesco and for Ercole. And he was perfectly comfortable in the role not because he was indifferent to
politics but because, at least in the areas with which he concerned himself, in Modena the revolution was old news.

Lodovico Ricci had been born in the summer of 1742 in a small town near Modena where his family had gone to avoid the July heat and the inconveniences of French occupation during the War of Austrian Succession. His family were and would remain civil servants and administrators (we have already met his father, as a "worthy but unfortunate" notary associated with the Opera Pia Coltri in Chapter VI). Lodovico was a brilliant and ambitious man who before his premature death in 1799 would serve Francesco III and Ercole III as advisor and chief minister, and would be a Director of the Cispadane Republic and Minister of Finance for the Cisalpine Republic. An enthusiastic admirer of the "common sense" school of Scottish illuminism and of French economic theory, he was a tireless collector of statistics, always less interested in theory than in detailed knowledge of actual economic conditions. His admirers (among them Franco Venturi) see him as turning "the hard clear light of political economy" on the tangled problems of the past.¹

His role as chief economic advisor and minister to the new Duke in 1780 gave him the scope he required to shine this light, and in 1787 he produced what appeared to be a revolutionary new plan for dealing with the defining problem of Old Regime Modena: the poor. Perhaps with an eye to Jacques Necker who six years earlier had issued a somewhat disingenuous *Compte Rendu au Roi* in the form of a popular pamphlet. Ricci turned his literary and scientific powers on the question of poor relief in his state. In three furiously active months in the Autumn of 1787 he researched and produced his own more or less disingenuous apologia, the 220 page volume *Riforma degli Istituti Pii della Città di Modena*, under the Aristotelian motto, "Non minus negotii est Republicam emendare, quam ab initio constituere." The parallel with the *Compte Rendu* goes deeper than mere style. Ricci, like Necker, was addressing the most difficult problem of his state: in France, the deficit; in Modena, the poor. And like most such proposals both the *Riforma* and the *Compte Rendu* changed less than their rhetoric suggested. Ricci's work, with the significant exception of a pivotal shift in philosophy, simply moved the system farther along the road it had already been travelling.

What Ricci proposed was yet another restructuring of the welfare system which had so recently been restructured.

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*Ricci, Riforma degli Istituti Pii.*
into an Opera Pia Generale. Under the new plan the system was to be divided into three separate bodies.

1) The Hospital was to consist of the civic and military Hospitals, the infirmary for prisoners, clinics for sufferers from venereal disease, care of mothers and foundlings, shelters for the insane in Modena and in Reggio, and the cemetery. This group of services was to have an annual income of 12,000 zecchini with projected annual expenses of about 10,000 zecchini.

2) The Albergo, now to be called the Albergo Arti or work house, was to consist of asylums for orphan boys and girls and the associated clerics and their church of Saint Augustine. Aid to artisans and crafts was also to fall under the care of the Albergo, along with the Monte di Carità, and non-residential aid to the chronically ill, the disabled and the poveri misti, plus aid to infants whose mothers could not nurse them, and the traditional subsidy to converts from Judaism. These services were to have an annual income of 6,000 zecchini, and expenses of 5,700 zecchini.

3) The Retreat for Women, to consist of the Retreat and the Church of Maria Vergine, the fund to provide money to parish priests and chaplains, the various dowry funds, aid to the shamefaced poor, and pensions for nuns and the

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3A category consisting of persons who for some other reason were unable to earn their living and who had no one to support them.
dependents of religious houses. Income was to be about 9.500 and expenses about 9.200 zecchini.

Within the new structure some aspects of the welfare system would remain the same, others would be altered significantly, while still others were to be completely transformed. The acid test was cost: the welfare system which had from time out of mind been a drain on the limited resources of the state was finally to pay for itself, and even show a small profit. 4

One of Ricci's main lines of attack concerned the need for efficient administration, which he felt could be achieved by dividing the administration of the institutions into several independent boards or Magistratures. Whereas the Opera Pia Generale had been administered as a single body by a board of twelve Presidents rotated every six months, the three new bodies would each be run by a four Presidents drawn from among the city Conservators, to be rotated only every six years. Ricci reasoned that it would be better to have a limited number of specialized administrators rather than one overall group responsible for the more than thirty different bodies which made up the Opera Pia Generale, each with its own rules, aims and principles. To show the complexity of the job Ricci listed some of the area for which an administrator was responsible. The list included: care for the sick; looking after the employment

4Of course, it never did so.
of the poor; dividing the worthy from the undeserving; educating more than one hundred orphans and needy citizens; seeing to the care of five hundred foundlings; controlling the thirty-five unwed mothers in the Casa di Dio; looking after the insane and the venereal disease sufferers; seeing to the upkeep of the cemetery; keeping up to date the rolls of those aided outside of the institutions (that is, the chronically ill, the disabled, the poveri misti, the abandoned children, the women who need wet-nurses, the shamefaced poor, and the converts); looking after the Monte di Carita and the upkeep of the churches; keeping up an enormous number of buildings and holdings in city and country; balancing at least thirty sets of books; keeping abreast of some three hundred sets of statutes and regulations; looking after all of the officers, keeping peace and order among more than one hundred and twenty employees, and numerous other chores.

The rationale for most of Ricci's changes may be summed up in his belief that administrative efficiency should be achieved at all costs, and no lingering cobwebs of tradition should be allowed to perpetuate confusion and waste. But underlying these utilitarian motives was a shift in philosophy which, if it was to change little in the short run, in the long run would change everything. In Ricci's philosophy, which would coincide so handily with that of Bonaparte and the revolutionaries, change was consistently
valued above tradition, whether that meant abandoning the last remnants of Tridentine Catholic thought about poor relief, or nudging the shamefaced poor gradually but firmly into what one could almost call the working class.\textsuperscript{5} With Ricci, "Christ's poor" were well on their way towards becoming the units of energy they would be in the next century, when improved manufacturing techniques would provide the engines which these units would fuel.

The great majority of the 6,334 persons on the welfare rolls in 1786 were of course women, children, the old and the sick — in other words, the traditional and permanent underclass in any society. This did not prevent Ricci and his colleagues and heirs from planning a welfare system in which the useful would be employed, and the useless would cost as little as possible.

It is worth noting that no society willingly supports those it considers to be useless. The difference between Muratori's and Ricci's attitude to the poor lay in their very different concepts of utility: for Muratori and his predecessors and contemporaries, saving one's soul had a high priority, and the poor were very useful indeed for this purpose; because Ricci and his successors had a different

\textsuperscript{5}In his 1786 study, Ricci accepted the need for aid to the shamefaced poor as a temporary measure, but proposed that the vergognosi should reconcile themselves to sooner or later joining the workers.
set of priorities, the poor were useful for them only insofar as they could be put to work.

The greatest potential use of course lay with the children. The intake records for the Albergo between 1770 and 1774 indicate that sixty percent of the inmates were under the age of fourteen. These were to be put to work as soon as possible (eight was the usual age), either outside the institution or within it. In order to accomplish this Ricci sponsored a renewed drive to introduce industries into the Albergo. This had been a continuing project under Francesco III and was in accord with Muratori's ideas, but Ricci attacked it with such vigor that the change in name from Albergo of the Poor (Albergo de' Poveri) to Albergo of Crafts (Albergo Arti) was in fact appropriate.

Whenever possible those presently institutionalized were to be moved out, the healthy expelled and the children put to work in the factories or in the country. An exception was to be made in the case of the San Geminiano women, but they too were to be moved and put to work (see below, the Retreat of Women).

Perhaps the most revealing changes were to take place with respect to the shamefaced poor. The whole reason for aiding them had always been to preserve stability within the class structure, since sudden and drastic changes in station were considered to be bad for the whole system. Ricci acknowledged the need for this social safety net, but at the
same time introduced a regular and rigorous scrutiny of the welfare rolls for the shamefaced poor and stated that sooner or later these people would have to give up their privileged status.

The parish clergy were virtually absorbed into the civil service, thus continuing a trend which had become clear two decades earlier in the development of the Giunta de Giurisdizione. In the new plan, payment of parish priests became a function of a branch of the welfare system (the Ritiro). Priests were given an expanded role in determining eligibility for the shamefaced poor and the chronically ill who received free medication, and in overseeing the care of unwed mothers and their offspring.

The collection and collation of statistics was of course central to Ricci's system. For this purpose he had a small but highly trained and disciplined army of workers ready to hand: the parish clergy. He began his work in the most modern of ways, by having a form printed up and sent out to his data collectors.6

Along with it he sent out a document which defined terms and provided a model for parish priests to identify and quantify the poor in their areas. Using this data, Ricci estimated that there were 6,337 poor persons of one sort or another in

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6ASCM. Riforma 1786-1787. Opere Pie. "Avvertenze per la formazione dei due Cataloghi a tenore delle annesse module."
Modena (beggars, shamefaced poor, and miserabili) out of a total population of 23,700, or about twenty-six percent.7

Each parish was divided into quarters, making use of the recently introduced system of numbering the houses of the city. The poor were to be identified on two separate lists, one for the shamefaced poor and one for the poor of the common sort. The enumerator was asked to list the houses of the poor by quarter and by number (A 11, A 13, and so forth), giving the name of the family and the number of persons in the house and then dividing these into three groups: workers, disabled, and idle or unemployed (oziose).8 The last two columns asked for weekly income, and income from pensions. The rest of the four pages was devoted to explaining the terms of the survey:

Workers: men and women over the age of seven

Unable to work (impotenti): not only the decrepit, lame, and mentally handicapped, but also all children under seven, and nursing mothers

Idle: all of those poor who, despite being of the age and physical condition to work, do not, but spend their time begging


8The word also means "lazy".
Weekly earnings: to include estimates of how much a woman can earn by spinning, sewing, etc, as well as artisan's work.

Pension: not to include the aid which a poor or shame-faced family currently received from the Opere Pie

Vergognosi were carefully defined for the guidance of the enumerator. They were to be persons of noble or high citizen status (molto civile) who by a stroke of ill fortune had fallen from wealth into misery; they were also be honorable and of good repute.\(^9\) The shamefaced poor capable of learning some craft or work were not to be disqualified by failing to do so, but they should sooner or later be expected to rejoin the workers (depending on how recently their families had fallen into poverty).

To simplify this catalogue, the ages and work of the workers were not to be included, but Ricci warned that such a specification might be required in the future.

Along with the form and the guide for completing it is a nine-point report from Don Santo Pavarotti, President of the Parish Priests, dated 1 May 1787 (after the survey was completed.)\(^10\) Although the document to which Don Santo was

\(^9\) The term used is buone costume, which can mean good habits or customs and also carries the meaning of well-bred, well-mannered, polite or honest, of good repute.

\(^10\)Don Pavarotti held the post which Battista Araldi had held from before February 1745 until he lost his parish in 1773. See the booklet by Msgr. Manzini, *Lodovico A.*
responding is no longer in the archives, it is clear that
the priest was replying point by point to a critique from a
certain lawyer Paolo Pedretti. His responses strongly
support many of Ricci's basic assumptions, and were no doubt
included for this reason. Pavarotti has based his reply on
his own observations as parish priest of San Michele.

I. Of the 600 poor persons I have reported, 350
of them are unable to earn their livings, either
because of infirmity or age. There are in
addition 250 vergognosi; of these, 150 would be
able to work if work suitable for their class
could be found.11

II. The annual sum available to me from benefac­
tors to distribute among these poor amounts to
about £1,500.

III. As to whether these poor could live on the
sum of ten bolognini [half a lire] per day each,
that would depend on circumstances. If the family
consists of a father, mother and young children, I
would say yes. If there are only one or two
persons, then no. One must also reflect that in
winter time, a large family needs no more heat
than a small one, so the cost per head is higher.

IV. As to whether some of those who claim to be
poor are of the "false poor". I would say that few
of them are really poor. As to how to easily
distinguish the false from the true poor, their
behavior gives them away. The false poor can be
seen spending their money on taverns and on
gambling, and it would be a very good thing to
keep an eye on such behavior.

Muratori. op cit, which cites the since-lost records of the
Collegio of urban parish priests in which it is stated that
Don Araldi was elected President "for the second time" in
February 1745.

11"Suitable" in this context referred to other than
mechanical crafts, and preferably work which could be done
in the privacy of one's home.
V. As to whether these poor would be willing to work in silk, wool, bombazine [a silk and wool mixture], etc. I can say that few would volunteer for such work, since begging is easier. Therefore it would probably be necessary to use force to induce them to work.

VI. Parish property [in San Michele] which earns funds available for the priest to distribute in alms as he sees fit consists of a newly-built house and a censo of £3000.

VII. If a project were introduced to provide work for those who can work, with no alms given to these people, I would think that there would be some who would rather die of hunger than work.

VIII. There is no need to fear grave disorders if illegitimately pregnant women of whatever class who cannot remain in their own homes were to be provided with some sort of maintenance until their eighth month, and be assured that they will not be taken to the Casa di Dio by the police.

IX. In case of sickness, poor people who apply can rarely get into the civic hospital; however, many of those who apply don't really need such assistance.

X. With regard to the final question, as to whether the work of one healthy person could be enough to maintain two small children or one adult unable to work, one must first ask what the wages for the work would be, and without knowing that one could never set a hard and fast rule.

The result of this information-gathering was a parish by parish and quarter by quarter breakdown of the poor (six parishes and nineteen quarters), giving a total of 1,028 beggars, 3,988 poor persons, and 1,311 shamefaced poor in the city.\(^{12}\)

\(^{12}\)ASCM, Riforme delle Opere Pie 1786-1787, "Ristretto di poveri della città di Modena."

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These statistics give a picture of the city which may be compared with that derived from the paintings, chronicles and statistics of Chapter III.

Changes in the Albergo

Of the 428 persons admitted to the Albergo between 1770 and 1774 whose ages and conditions were noted, sixty percent were children under fourteen, twelve percent were women between the ages of fifteen and fifty, and twenty percent were over fifty (with the great majority of these over sixty-five) -- in other words, ninety-one percent of the persons in the Albergo were women, children and old people, and the remaining nine percent were almost all handicapped or sick men. When Ricci began his reforms, there were over 900 persons in the Albergo, and there is no reason to assume that their characteristics were in any way different from those described above.

Nevertheless, Ricci had a clear idea of what had caused Modena's economic troubles, and as clear an idea of what should be done to alleviate them. For his explanation, he turned to an historiographical theory which had been popular for some time, and which retains its popularity in some circles. Harking back to the good old days of the sixteenth century Ricci found a time when crafts thrived and were encouraged, days when Modena was famous for luxury fabrics, and supported 600 velvet workers and 300 taffeta workers.
Changes in world trade patterns had left Italy stranded and, according to the theory, imported Spanish ideas of luxury and class distinctions had completed the destruction of the artisan class and of Modenese industry. As an inevitable result artisans declined, and beggars hospices increased.

The solution lay in encouraging new industries. Entrepreneurs were to be encouraged by providing them with labor from the Albergo, boys over the age of eight who would work at weaving hemp, cotton, linen and wool. The overall aim was to import raw materials where necessary, and export finished goods. This would not only create industry and economic advancement, but would also make useful workers of the beggars (that is, the Albergo inmates) currently living off the state.

In May 1786 to reduce the numbers of Albergo inmates in accord with the new plan all boys eighteen years of age and over and all women twenty and over were sent away, except for the Daughters of the House, who could stay until they were twenty-four. At the same time all the poor who were able to work were either provided with work at the Albergo, or sent away. In order to provide the necessary work, a number of textile factories were either moved into the Albergo, or plans were made to so move them. These, in theory at least, included factories for making veli in the French and the Bolognese style, and factories for making lustrini, drapi and zendali. The Albergo was thus in effect
transformed into an workhouse, housing the above factories plus the administrative offices of the Opera Pia, the Monte di Carità, the Casa di Correzione (until 1798), and the Bernardini orphans. In consequence of the suppressions and changes of 1787-88, some of the foundling girls were reconstituted to the Guardiana of the Casa di Dio: twelve girls were sent to work in the new veli factory belonging to Sig. Pelliciari and now located at the Albergo Arti. These girls continued to live at the Albergo.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1788, a list of all the male and female Alberganti was prepared.\textsuperscript{14} The list of males contains 115 names, with each person identified by age and occupation or disability. It is divided into four parts: men employed in the Albergo, disabled men, children under seven, and men and boys living in the Albergo but working in the woollen factory. About thirty percent of the inmates were older men (their average age was about fifty-five) who were employed in various crafts and jobs around the Albergo. They worked as porters and servants, and in the kitchen, at shoe making and tailoring. Thirty-two of the men are shown as disabled because of age or handicap. Four of these were blind and six lame, and the others aged between sixty-three and eighty. Only nine of the inmates were boys aged seven or

\textsuperscript{13}E. Gatti, L'ospedale di Modena, op cit.

\textsuperscript{14}ASCM. Riforma delle Opere Pie, "Ristretto de' Poveri della Città di Modena" including a general roll of male and female inmates of the Albergo.
younger, and the rest of them — thirty-eight boys in all — worked in the woollen factory and slept at the Albergo. These boys were aged eight to nineteen, with an average age of about twelve and a half.

There were 205 women among the Albergo inmates. Thirty-one of them worked at what are described as "various tasks" (nursing, laundry, cooking, caring for the foundling children) around the Albergo. A further 101 were assigned to work connected with the textile trade — tailoring, making silk cord, sewing, making stockings. Unlike the men, there is no clear breakdown by age, with the older women working at the Albergo and the younger ones sent out to work. Instead, all of the able-bodied women over age eight were assigned to Albergo or textile work more or less regardless of age. Six inmates were children younger than eight, and sixty-seven were disabled. Four of these latter were blind, five were lame, and several others described as chronically ill, asthmatic, or mad. Most of them were women aged between fifty-two and eighty-seven.

Out of the total Alberganti population of 320 (two-thirds of them female), 114 were either disabled or too young to work (forty percent of these were male).

The Bernardini

As under the old system the Albergo was to continue to house the Orphans of San Bernardino, who were orphan boys of
respectable citizen families. Their number, however, was to be cut down both by more demanding entry requirements, and by sending them away at a younger age. In 1771 there had been forty Bernardini; there were twenty-four in 1786-87. These have been identified by name, age (only three of them are older than fifteen), place of origin (all but two from Modena), father’s name and profession (most of them artisans), mother’s name, and date of admission.15

An edict of Ercole III issued on 19 March 1786 defined "civil persons": those born within the walls of the City of Modena, or living there for ten years or longer, whose families have never practiced infamous crafts.16 For a boy to qualify to join the Bernardini, however, the requirements were more strict. Only boys with no parents and no kin to support them were to be admitted, and they were to be of families which were Modenese as far back as the baptism of the boy’s grandfather. No one in the family was to have been associated with any infamous profession (a category which included police agents and officials as well as butchers, innkeepers and, of course, criminals.)17 In addition, there

15ASCM. Riforma delle Opere Pie, "Ristretto de' Poveri della Città di Modena, Ruolo Generale degli Alberganti, Ruolo Generale delle Albergante, Ruolo de' Bernardini, Ruolo delle Putte del Vescovo."

16ASMO. Gridario.

17Piero Luschi deals with the question of education for children of "infamous" families in his article, "La prima isturzione: idee, metodi, libri." In the eighteenth century, public schoolmasters were encouraged to widen the
was to have been no one in the family who practiced any mechanical craft. The fathers of the Bernardini boys in 1787 included a medical doctor and lower ranking military officers, but there were also a cook, a hairdresser, a gold-worker, a scribe and a painter.

This ancient institution, the planners point out, was created to educate poor orphans of the class of true citizens, a class which "at all times has merited and will always merit special consideration". Ricci, like Voltaire and Napoleon, was not so much of a revolutionary that he had the slightest intention of getting rid of social distinctions or the supports of religion. The new element with these later thinkers is that they tended to consider social distinctions and religion as useful tools by which to regulate society, not as truths upon which to build a system of beliefs.

scope of their schools, including even the poor so long as they behaved decorously, and did not come from "dishonored families". In this respect, Luschi notes that dishonored or infamous persons included the bargello and his police agents as well as butchers, innkeepers and criminals. These somewhat incongruous persons were all considered infamous because of their connection, however innocent, with crime and with blood (a very ancient concept which continued through the century of Light). The children of such families were excluded from public schools, as they were excluded from the Bernardini, even though it was recognized that no blame attached to them or (in most cases) to their families. In 1772, a plan was proposed to set up separate schools for such children in the Modenese state. See Il catechismo e la grammatica, Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed. (Bologna: Mulino, 1985). p. 28 et seq.
The plan for the Bernardini presented to the Duke at his summer palace of Sassuolo in October of 1786 calls for the boys being reduced in number to no more than twenty-four, and moved to some appropriate place in the Albergo separate from the other inmates.\textsuperscript{10} The new Bernardini shelter was to be headed by a priest who would be its director and chief administrator. He was to be chosen from among the priests of the city of Modena and by his post he was to become a member of the Collegiata (which included the priests who ran the Albergo and the Hospital). His pay was to consist of the daily Mass offerings, plus his home, bed, fire and light, and his daily meals.

The Director was to run a benevolent but stern establishment, suitable to preparing these boys for the hard realities of life, and to this end he was to be a man not partial even to "honest and licit" recreations. His job was to supervise the education and the moral development of his boys. He was to offer Mass in the mornings, teach the young children their prayers, and instruct all of them in their Catechism. With regard to their training and education, he was to direct each boy according to his talents, sending those with a bent for science to the public schools and directing others towards the Liberal Arts or towards crafts by means of which they could support themselves. All boys,

\textsuperscript{10}ASCM, Riforma delle Opere Pie 1786-1787, "Regolamento per gli Orfani di San Bernardino."
regardless of their future occupation. were to be able to read, write and do their sums, and the Director was personally to give them the appropriate lessons. If any boy fell ill, it was the Director's responsibility to see that the Hospital doctors were informed.

The Director was to be assisted by a Guardian, an honest and respectable man who could read and write, and was capable of "earning the love as well as the respect" of the orphans. He was to make his home with them, being the first to rise and ensuring that the boys got up on time, got to Mass. and safely reached and returned from their school or work. He was to eat with the boys and keep them in order, and generally see to the neatness and cleanliness of the institution.

The boys were to be healthy, and could be admitted only between the ages of seven and fourteen. They were to remain until age eighteen, and there were never to be more than twenty-four of them. According to Ricci's oft-stated rule of thumb, if there arose a case which urgently required help, then some less worthy or needy recipient would have to be removed before the new one could be admitted.

The plan for their daily routine stressed intellectual, professional and moral education, and above all else was the formation of a character appropriate to their circumstances: the boys were to cultivate brotherly love, simple humility, a graceful obedience, piety and modesty. They were to avoid
such villainies as joking, laughter, immodest behavior and loud talk. Their clothing was to be simple but respectable, not a uniform such as the foundlings wore but still identified by the monogram O + B (Orfani Bernardini). In the same way, their meals were to be adequate but plain — "simple meals with which they must learn to be content, so that they realize that they are being reared by charity." The aim was to rear sober, pious, industrious and suitably grateful citizens of the middling rank.

They were to rise in the morning with the sign of the cross, and after taking half an hour to dress were to proceed two by two to Mass, where they were to pray for the Duke, for the Director, and for their benefactors. After Mass they made their beds and cleaned their rooms and their persons and then divided themselves into two groups, the workers and the students, and, accompanied by the Guardian, proceeded to their daily tasks. Half an hour before midday they returned to the College, where the students retired to their rooms for homework while the workers joined the Director for lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic.¹⁹ After the noon meal (which they were to eat "without making a rumpus") there was an hour or two of recreation (depending on the season), and in the afternoon they returned to work or to school. From time to time, with the Director's

¹⁹Subjects which were not normally taught in public schools. See Brizzi, Il Catechismo, p. 27.
permission, they were allowed to go on outings outside the city walls, but they were expected to be back in their rooms in time for the evening Ave Maria (the Angelus) where the workers would go over their morning lessons in reading and writing, while the students did their homework. Supper was at nine, and bedtime followed immediately.

The College was to provide them with the goods necessary for their lives and training. Each year they would have a winter and a summer suit, with appropriate hose, plus a black cloak, a hat, and three pair of shoes (mended as necessary) with buckles. Students would be given their books, pens and paper, while workers would be provided with the tools of their respective trades.

The Plan ends with this pious sentiment: "May God protect this institution for centuries to come, and may the reward of its labors be the knowledge of having been useful to their Sovereign and to their country, as well as to themselves as useful citizens who otherwise would have surely fallen into indigence."

**Monti di Pietà**

There were two Monti di Pietà, or official pawn centers, in Modena at this time. The first was the Monte Generale, which had been created by combining two older general pawn centers in 1779, and which changed a regulated
amount of interest. The second was the free (gratis) monte, called the Monte Pavarotti after the beneficiary who had established it by bequeathing his estate to Muratori's Charitable Company for this purpose. This was funded by contributions and made loans to the poor on which no interest at all was charged. It was this second pawn center which was moved into the Albergo as an integral part of the restructured Opera Pia Generale.

Ricci acknowledged that the primary usefulness of these institutions was to prevent people profiting from the misery of others, but felt that neither law nor religion could stop usury where there is a need for borrowing money. In fact, he argued that the monti tended to encourage improvidence rather than thrift, but on the balance he felt that they did more good than harm and so should be continued. In the interests of efficiency he considered whether it might not be best to combine all of the Monti into one large institution, both those who lend at no interest and those which lend at a moderate profit. However, in the end he concluded that although this would be possible, by and large it would not be worth the trouble. So the Monte Generale, no doubt to the relief of the Araldi, was allowed to continue as before.

20Antonio Araldi was the treasurer of this institution, a tribute either to his skill as an accountant or to the fact that his uncle Battista and his father Giovanni Antonio were both members of the board of directors. See BE, gamma W 4,6.
while the Monte Pavarotti was moved into the Albergo and placed under the jurisdiction of that institution.

Changes in The Hospital: Foundlings

The issue of foundling children was always a sensitive one in a state concerned with increasing its population. It must indeed have been frustrating to see all of that potential work force slipping through the fingers of the state, not only not contributing but actually costing a great deal of money. Ricci, with his passion for statistics, set out to show how badly the existing foundling system was in need of reform. In the past decade, he noted, the Casa di Dio had taken in an average of 175 infants per year. Basing his figures on a German table of normal mortality rates, he estimates that 121 of these should survive the first year, while ninety-two should be alive at the end of ten years.21 Instead, only fifty-three survive the first year, and at the end of the decade only forty-three of the 175 children are alive. Only four in thirteen such children survive, and this does not include losses by abortion and infanticide. He blames all of this loss of potential population on "dissolution and license", argues for an improved foundling system and states that only religion and education can

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21If instead he had consulted the records of similar institutions in France he would have found that the Modenese mortality rates were quite normal. However, this was not the point Ricci wished to make and so, as in the case of his Hospital statistics, he has selected the worst possible scenario.
restore either the honor or the economy of the state. (A
nice example of Riccian stress on the utility of religion
and education.)

In the new plan (which in fact was not very different
from the old one) foundlings were to be divided into two
groups, legitimate, and illegitimate, who were to be
baptized and given a name immediately. All infants were to
be sent to a wet-nurse in the country as quickly as
possible, and once arrived there would not be taken back
into the Casa. Preferably, the wet nurse's family was to
keep the child; however, if they would not or could not, the
Presidents were to seek out some rustic family who would
take it, and thereafter keep the child until the age of
sixteen. Only under specified circumstances would the child
be removed: if the parish priest certified that the foster
parents were treating the child badly; if they failed to
educate and train it; if the custodian became known as an
undesirable person who would be a bad influence on the
child; if the child were being sent out to beg; or if the
child itself requested to be moved. In these cases, new
families were to be found.

There is no indication of what was to become of the
child after it reached the age of seventeen; no dowries are
promised, no money or goods are offered to give them a start
in life. Presumably they were expected to remain with their
foster parents, or go out to make their own lives on the same footing as any other young person.

The only notable differences between the old Opera Pia Generale system and the new one advocated by Ricci was his insistence that the child be got out of the Casa di Dio and not returned, the stress he places on parish or town—land of the mother contributing towards the care of the mother and child, and the fact that no responsibility is assumed for the child once it reaches maturity.

A table was made up indicating the cost to the state of rearing each child. In all, £1,524 was to be paid to the foster parents, starting with £180 for the first year, then £144 for the second and third years. £120 per year from four through eight, and gradually falling to £30 a year through age sixteen. In other words, the foster parent was paid relatively well in the years before the child could be expected to earn his or her keep (that is, through age eight), and considerably less thereafter. Similarly, the state paid a total of £184 for clothing for the child, only four lire in the first year, and rising to thirty lire in the tenth year, when the subsidy ceased.

The term "fostering" for this relationship can be justified by its long-term nature, and by the fact that at least in theory it was meant to be a quasi-adoptive relationship. One of the terms under which a child could be removed from a family was specified as "if the custodian
treats it in a less than paternal manner." and among the things which the parish priests were required to watch over was the moral and emotional well-being of the child as well as the physical, and the fact that the child was being trained in some job (agriculture or a mechanical craft) at which he or she could expect to earn a living, as well as being given the basics of a Christian education. These basics, if we are to go by Battasti Araldi's plan of 177?, would have included basic literacy.

The Hospital also dealt with persons who lived in their own homes but received money for medications (a plan which originated in Muratori's Charitable Company). A catalogue of "persone inferme sussidiate" from November 1787 to June 1790, contains lists of pharmaceuticals and their costs as well as the name, parish, and the amount given in aid to a number of sick persons on the welfare rolls. Some are families, but the majority of them are single persons, about two-thirds of them female. The amount given varies from month to month, and the program was phased out in April of 1790 after a sharp drop in aid in March of that year and a few grants continuing into May and June.

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22BE. Epsilon 24. 3.2, Selmi index of Opera Pia records.

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The Ritiro

Retreat for Women

Part of the £6,000,000 confiscated from the suppression of the cloistered orders was to be spent to establish the new Ritiro delle Donne, or Retreat for Women.23 This was in fact a new name and set of rules for the two groups of civil-status orphans and abandoned women, that is the Orphans of Saint Catherine and the Orphans of Saint Gemignano. This "retreat" was intended to house needy women of the "most civil class" from all over the state: women whose father and grandfather had not exercised any mechanical trade or lived in service to some private gentleman, but instead lived "in the manner of a comfortable citizen". The education of these girls was to be entirely aimed at making them the useful mothers of citizen families, and was to include "religion, morals, physical education, science and the arts". Specifically: religion -- "all of those salutary practices that lead people to habitual duty"; morals -- encourage them to find happiness in "domestic benevolence and frugality", on which depend the peace and prosperity of families; physical education -- to encourage robustness and strength necessary to a woman who will have to keep house herself; science -- to aid in domestic

23Chirografo of Ercole III, 19 March 1786, cited by Gatti, p. 95.

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management, not to provide the polish of philosophy; the arts — to improve the home.

Inducements were to be preferred to punishment in this institution, meals were to be simple but adequate, and dress modest and economical but decent. There were to be thirty-six women in this Retreat, which was to be run by an ecclesiastical superior, a Directress, three women teachers, and the eight women at present in the College of Saint Geminiano.

The girls of Saint Catherine, who were moved from the Albergo to the Monastery of the suppressed Franciscans of the Church of the Grazie, were moved, along with the girls of Saint Geminiano, to the Ritiro in 1787. The Ritiro had been proposed as early as August 1783, but it did not finally move into its quarters in the former Convent of the nuns of the Madonna until 15 April 1788, and in fact it seems possible that it did not really go into operation until 1792. (It should be noted that many of the changes proposed by Ricci remained theoretical. After the arrival of the French in 1796 these reforms and others were superceded by other, more drastic, changes.)

There were thirty Putte del Vescovo (nineteen of them over age fifteen and of these, eight aged twenty to forty and three older than forty). As in the similar catalogue of the San Bernardino boys they are identified by name, age, origin (all but four from Modena), father's name and
profession (writers, druggists, notaries, hairdressers and several lower-rank military men), mother's name and date of admission (one had been there for over thirty years).

The Duke retained the prerogative of nominating the students at the Ritiro, as well as naming the eleven teachers, their superior, and the Spiritual Director and his assistants. The dual problem of how to find teachers for little pay, and what to do about the gentlewomen at San Geminiano was neatly solved by making the gentlewomen teachers at the institute. They were to wear their own clothes, but with a gold medallion on a turquoise ribbon to identify them; each was to have her own room and there was to be one servant for every three women. The students at the Retreat were not to number more than forty (already a departure from Ricci's plan), and they were to be aged between six and twenty-four.

The Retreat for Women carried a number of related and unrelated accounts, including the salaries of parish clergy, dowries, and the fund for the shamefaced poor. The 1787 expenses for the Retreat included £1,943 to the parish priests (including £750 per annum each for the parish priests and £60 to each of the curates, and £200 to each of the five parishes for prizes for Christian Doctrine classes); £6,483 for dowries; £20,000 for the Shamefaced Poor; £27,277 for pensions for religious (nuns and priests
whose convents or monasteries have been suppressed); and £960 in pensions for three servants.

Battista Araldi appears on the payroll of the Retreat for Women as the Spiritual Director for the Bedridden, at a salary of £62.10, or £750 per year. He was eighty-five at this time, and would die in 1792, though his parish records indicate that he was active and signing his own financial records until 1790, when his priest nephew Giovanni assumed the task.

Ricci had all along expressed doubts that dowry funds, which rewarded marriage and were intended to reduce celibacy and promote increased population, were as useful as popular opinion held them to be. Typically, Ricci urged individual effort as being more effective than the older forms of social protection. Only "frugality and hard work," he urged, would enable the population to increase.

Under Ricci's plan, dowries in Modena appear to have been drastically cut back. More than four-fifths of the monies set aside for dowries (£5400 of the total of £6483) went for the fifty-eight Estense Dowries, paid from a fund set up by the Duke in 1775 to provide £100 dowries for girls who marry agricultural workers. Only two other dowry funds survived the reforms: £750 to provide four dowries by testamentary bequest from the Marchese Pio di Savoja, and

\[\text{24 ASCM, Nota degli Onorari e Stipendi degli impiegati dell'Opera Pia Generale di Modena, as of the first of December 1789.}\]
£333 to be spent for dowries to the descendants of Appolonia Simonelli of Garfagnana.

A glance at the Curial archives of charities based on testamentary bequests and administered by the Bishop indicates that these dowry funds continued throughout the period, but a dramatic change in the appearance of the records suggests that they came under some outside administration or were at least subjected to regular scrutiny. An example is the Opera Pia Merli, based on a 1656 testament which established a fund half of which was to go to the poor, and half to Masses (and in this case the Masses were obviously a form of alms to poor priests). After 1786, these records are neatly broken down into money for Masses and money for alms. While the money for Masses remained relatively consistent at about £220 for the decade between 1786 and the arrival of the French, the amount for alms varied from £277 to £493. After 1796 there is a dramatic change: from this point on, money was spent only for Masses, suggesting that the money for alms was taken over by the state.

The Opera Pia Bisogni continued to give its eight or nine dowries (see Chapter IV), but there was a marked change in 1788, when a letter appears from the Supreme Economic Counsel stating that they have examined the books of the
Opera for 1787 and have found them worthy of approval. The letter is signed by Munarini and by Lodovico Ricci.

These private charities also give some indication that dowries for poor girls became harder to find after 1787. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Opera Pia Bisogni had given eight or nine dowries a year, and only rarely had there been more applicants than dowries. In those few cases where there were one or two more eligible applicants than could be accommodated, lots were drawn to determine who got the dowries. In 1788, however, twelve girls applied for the eight available dowries.

The Shamefaced Poor

At Ricci's request, the parish priests of Modena identified 1,300 shamefaced poor in the city, a number which Ricci felt could be substantially reduced: are all of them really all that badly off, he asked, with no other recourse, and incapable of helping themselves? More frequent and rigorous scrutiny of the lists of vergognosi, and more discrimination on the part of the parish priests would, he felt, reduce these lists substantially. In all, Ricci asserted that £20,200 per year of public money should be

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more than enough — the less-than-munificent sum of about fifteen lire each.

Because it takes years to acquire the habit of life which would justify such aid, all vergognosi were to be mature adults (and, presumably, their young dependents). Young persons were to be given some aid for a short time, but they were expected to get used to a less noble or civil style of living.

The Presidents of the Retreat were directed to examine any applicant for this form of aid, and the amount of aid conferred was to be at the entire discretion of the Presidents. These officials were to seek the opinion of the parish priest, who was directed to come to the Board when summoned and give his honest opinion. Aid (which was to be assigned for periods of one year only, beginning each March) would be distributed by the parish priest, who was to keep the Board up to date on any changes in circumstances among the recipients so that payments could be adjusted accordingly.

Ricci was constantly seeking a means of identifying the shamefaced poor which would reduce their numbers. The parish priests were directed to keep their eyes open for any "change of circumstance" (either improvement, or behavior unbefitting their status, such as begging). The harsh

26 ASCM, Riforma delle Opere Pie 1786-1787, "Regole per il sussidio ai poveri vergognosi."
regulation was imposed that, if some new and urgent case requiring aid should arise, then some less needy or less worthy recipient would have to be removed from the list before the new person or family could be added.

In 1789, to get the program off to a good start, each parish priest was required to comb through his lists of those who were being aided. As a result, twenty-nine families, representing forty-one persons, were removed from the rolls, for a total saving of £255 per month.27

Of the twenty-nine families, almost half of them (fourteen) were removed on the grounds that either the applicant or a family member was capable of working, or the family was being otherwise provided for and no longer required state assistance. Thus one elderly lady went into full-time care at the expense of another charity and another moved to the country while a glassmaker, though incapacitated, had a wife and five children who in the judgement of the Presidents were capable of working. Another family was removed "for having recently had a job with a reasonable salary, and for having some belongings." An elderly woman who had been receiving £10 a month was removed from the rolls because "although she is old and disabled her son who is a notary lives nearby, and can support her."

Six of the recipients had apparently accepted their lowered expectations and status, as two of the men went into the army (no rank is specified) and four of the women "went into service".

Three recipients had died since the last scrutiny had been made, a risk which should have been reduced if not eliminated when the parish priest making the aid payments in person. Three persons, all women, were summarily removed for begging, one with the indignant note that "though she is of civil status and able to work, she begs."

Ricci and the Clergy

Ricci insisted on the importance of maintaining the external uniformity and dignity of religious ceremonies. Like many reformers of his day he saw religion as absolutely essential for public order, and never missed a chance to promote it in that role.

He continued and intensified the use of parish clergy as civil servants and extensions of the welfare system. Illicitly pregnant women were required to be under surveillance from the time their pregnancy became apparent until they entered the institution in their eighth month. During that time, their parish priest was to watch over their conduct and report to the Head of the Casa di Dio, who would in turn report to the Board of Presidents each month. If these reports were negative, the woman was to be placed
under arrest in the local prison until her eighth month, when she would be conveyed under guard to the Casa di Dio. On the other hand, if a woman feared retribution from her family, or if her work was such that she would be unable to hide her pregnancy from public view, she could ask to be admitted to the Casa di Dio as early as her fifth month. For this, she required a certificate from her parish priest describing her situation.

As was the case before the reforms, the parish priests were an important link in the system of keeping a watch over the children when they were sent out to nurse, or fostered in the country. The clergy were to make monthly reports on the health, education and welfare of foundlings in their parishes. And if the child fell ill or died, a report from both the priest and the physician had to be presented to the Presidents.

Wages of Parish Priests

In mid-century there had been seventeen parishes (down from an earlier nineteen), with parish priests living on the different incomes provided by each. In the interests of utility, Francesco III had divided the city into five equal parishes, and at the same time he took all parish incomes into the Opera Pia Generale, out of which parish priests were to be paid equal salaries.
In discussing the role of parish priests in his 1786 statement of philosophy, Ricci argued strongly in favor of the "usefulness" of parish priests. Even without considering their main function, which is sacramental, he stated that their moral and economic usefulness was unparalleled. He mentions their record keeping work, and their work in the distribution of alms.

There is some discussion of whether or not the priest should totally be supported by the state. As Ricci put it, a priest should not be so rich that he does not need the love of his parishioners nor so poor as to be burdened by poverty. In order to achieve this desirable balance, he explored alternative means of supporting priests, including assigning them lands (on the theory that they should make excellent managers and landlords), or giving them the ancient rights of stola bianca e nera.

Conclusions

Ricci's motto was, "Civil economy is the calculator of morale economy" (La civile economia calcolatrice della morale) — that is, civil economy (in modern terms, statistics and economics) was to be used as the tool whereby moral questions could be weighted and measured. Implicit in his philosophy is the that moral economy should be based less on the tenets of religion and custom than on the statistical reality as revealed by economics. He made a
conscious attempt to use economic analysis as a means of sweeping away all of the tangled old systems inherited from the past; and what he thought was wrong with those systems is defined in his second motto, "Charity creates poverty." He believed that the problem of the poor was traceable to the creation of a "charitable mentality" in Italy in the 16th century ... that is, after Trent. Believing that charity created poverty, Ricci took an unambiguous stand in an old argument which pitted charity as a religious duty against the economic reality of non-productivity. He saw the Albergo as "a nest of idleness and filth": free medical care was "a font of inexhaustible abuses"; dowries and aid to unwed mothers were necessary evils but by and large were next to useless, and aid to the unemployed went mainly to support a class of professional beggars. In order to support his position, Ricci had to argue that most of the poor were simply lazy, and therefore the most efficient and reasonable way of dealing with them was first to get them out of the institutions where they were living comfortably without work, second, to get them off the welfare rolls and third, to get them to work. The fact that he was talking about women, children, old people and invalids did not enter into his calculations. With Ricci, official Modena rejected the Christian Enlightenment of Muratori, and embraced of a mathematical, pragmatic, economically-oriented secular Enlightenment.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY

1. MANUSCRIPTS

The following abbreviations are used in reference to manuscript sources:

AC Archivio della Curia

ASD Archivio San Domenico

ASCM Archivio Storico Comunale di Modena

ASMO Archivio di Stato di Modena

BE Biblioteca Estense

Archivio della Curia, Modena, Italy

Carteggio Chiese Soppresse

Opera Pia Bianchi

Opera Pia Bisogni

Opera Pia Bellincini

Opera Pia Laicale Rovatti

Opera Pia Molza

Opera Pia Poveri di Cristo

Parrochie Varie

495
Parrochie Soppresse


Archivio della Curia Reggio-Emilia, Italy

Ordination certificates, 18th century

Archivio di San Domenico, Modena, Italy

V. 20 Libri parochiale
IX. 30 Capitoli, sec. XVII-XVIII
XIII. 10 Libri parochiale, including Libro dei Morti of the Parish of Sant'Agata, 1697-1773 and Battesimi, 1680-1748, Parish of Sant'Agata.
XVIII.105-110 Registri battesimale
XX Matrimoniali, 1706-1787
XXIV Opere Pie
XXX Scrittori

Archivio Storico del Comune di Modena (ASCM)

CAMERA SEGRETA

Lucchi's guide to the Camera Segreta (see this Bibliography under Bibliographies, Guides and Archives Indexes) is particularly valuable for access to records of the city guilds and confraternities.

Lucchi II. 9 Catalogo dei laureati in entrambe le leggi nella città di Modena dall'anno 1730-1772

Lucchi IV. IV. 6 Arte de' Merciai: "Libro delle Sessioni dell'Arte, 1690-1758

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Lucchi IV. IV. 9  Arte de' Merciai
Lucchi X. 1  Statuta Collegii magnificorum dominorum medicorum civitatis Mutine 1550-1779
Lucchi X. 5  Miscellanea di atti ... relativi al Collegio Medico e al Tribunale medico, 1691-1786

Cronaca Modenese of Don Antonio Rovatti, MS in 31 vols. (1796-1818)

Libro d'Oro della Città di Modena

ESTIMI E TRIBUTI

A typed index exists for this series, but the volumes themselves are in disorder and there is little relationship between the index and the volumes. Nevertheless some useful information may be extracted with regard to property holdings.

Campioni del Censimento Generale, 1783
Estimo, colte e tasse, 1699-1792
Ruolo dei possidenti di case in città, "per alloggio truppe" 1742
Maestro degli estimi, 1773-1781
Istrumento, 1754

EX ACTIS and ATTI DELLA COMUNITA

This massive collection (216 vacchette, or leather-bound volumes) represents the minutes of meetings of the Commune between 1420 and 1796. The minutes are backed up by a parallel collection of the day to day working papers of the Commune, literally thousands of documents mainly consisting of letters and reports sent to the Commune. The Acts of the Comunità have been inventoried; the Ex Actis, or working papers, are in the process of examination.

Atti della Comunità, 1420-1796
Ex Actis, or Prodotte degli atti della Comunità, 1420-1796

MAGISTRATO DELLA SANITA

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A recently published index by the Director of the Archivio Storico Comunale, Aldo Borsari, makes available the files of the city Health Board. These include documents from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, in over a hundred files and some fifty registries.

Atti, 1526-1814
Registri, 1488-1794

MISCELLANEA DI RAGIONERIA

The recently completed index by Gianna Dotti-Messori (see this Bibliography under Bibliographies, Guides and Archives Indexes) reflects a major work of organization of the financial records of the city from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The collection consists of 386 separate buste, arranged both topically and chronologically.

77-106 Mandati pagati dal tesoriere della Comunità di Modena, 1772-1799
120 Recapiti del Patrimonio delle soppressie Parrocchie dall'anno 1774 al 1776
192 1764-1770 Recapiti per la leva delle reclute nationali
205 Recapiti anzi stampe diverse relative agli Uffizi dello Spedale sec. XVIII
215 Recapiti di computisteria, 1766-1800

OPERE PIE, ASSISTENZA

A shelf is dedicated to this topic, but the documents are not arranged either chronologically or by topic. Some of the more useful collections are:

Stato dell'Opera Pia Generale, 1785
Recapiti: Opera de'Mendicanti, 1686-1761
Riforme delle Opera Pie 1786-87 Casa di Dio

REGISTRI DI NATI E MORTI

This collection, along with the Acts and Working Papers of the Comunita, is among the most complete and most usefully arranged series of documents in the Communal
Archives. It consists of copies from the baptism and last rites records from the urban center parishes. The records were submitted annually to the Commune, and are arranged in two series of bound volumes, Births and Deaths.

Nati 1558-1799 (31 vols.)

Morti 1554-1806 (27 vols.)

MISCELLANEA

Atti della "frumentaria" o della "Santo Monte della Farina", 150-1803 (210 files)

Ordini e provvisioni dei Giudici della Vettovaglie, 1586-1796 (7 files)

Registri di privilegi di cittadinanza 1546-1874 (8 vols.)

Catalogo delle famiglie di Modena, 1573-1673 (6 vols.)

Liste nominative dei "sapientes", dei "conservatori" e dei "consiglieri del Comune", 1412-1896 (7 vols.)

"Raccolta degli atti della soppressione delle parrocchie", Cancelliere Vescovile Rizzi, 1769

Campioni del Censimento Generale, 1783

Archivio di Stato di Modena (ASMO)

ARCHIVIO NOTARILE

The Notarial Archives of Modena (except for the century immediately past) are kept in the Archivio di Stato. They were established in 1271 (the oldest such archives after Bologna), when the commune ordered that copies of all notarized documents be filed with the authorities. [Bibliography: see A. Spaggiari, "Cenni storici sugli archivi notrili degli Stati dei duchi di Modena e Reggio" in Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le antichi province modenesi, s.IX, II (1980), pp. 207-226.]

I used this source for two purposes: first, to locate testaments and legal documents relating to the Araldi and their immediate connections, as a means of tracing family property and relationships, and second, as a general source for social and economic information (as in the survey of Mass obligations). In neither case did the source prove to be ideal, but it remains indispensable and, on the whole, usable.
The Archives are arranged chronologically and by the name of the notary and consists of bb. 4,997 e regg. 4,015; filze, regg. e repp. 164 (1271-1875). There is an excellent guide and inventory.

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<td>5123</td>
<td>Alessandri, I.</td>
<td>(1741-1764)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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This large and extremely interesting series consists of 200 buste and five registri containing a variety of materials relating to the tenth through the nineteenth centuries. It is arranged by topic, from "Accademie"
through "Storia naturale", and contains many documents in the handwriting of important persons. There is a partial inventory and a thorough index.

Accademie 1 1790 reform of the University

Ecclesiastici Churchmen of the city and state

Istruzione Pubblica 1 Various acts relating to the College of San Carlo

Istruzione Pubblica 3 Reports from the Board for the Reform of the Schools, relating to University Reforms

Letterati 2 Manuscripts of G.B. Araldi, in some 20 notebooks; Letters from Araldi to members of the Court

Particolari 42 Letters from and to various members of the Araldi family, from 1543 through the eighteenth century

Popolazione Population figures from the duchy and city

Medici Manuscripts and correspondence relating to physicians, including Gaetano and Michele Araldi

Merciai Letters, petitions etc relating to the Merchants' Guild in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

ARCHIVIO RICCI

40 Regole della Cancelleria

83-83b Relazioni

ARCHIVIO SEGRETO ESTENSE

The Archivio Segreto Estense consists of the working papers of the Este court, and makes up a discrete section of the archives which were originally collected as a unit by the court archivist. It consists of documents relating to the family, to the Chancellery, and the magistracies.

CASA E STATO

These are the papers of the family, and on the dynasty
in the strict sense.

271 Letters of the royal family, 1743-1773

427 The correspondence of Maria Teresa Cybo Malespina (1725-1791)

475 Visits of Princes and illustrious persons (1717-1775)

CORPORAZIONE SOPPRESSE

This file, closely related to Giurisdizione Sovrana and to Ente Comunale d'Assistenza, is a collection of documents relating to or confiscated from (a) suppressed religious bodies, that is, confraternities, parishes and monasteries and convents of the Regular clergy (b) suppressed guilds and (c) Jewish organizations.

C.S. 2022 Documents relating to the Opera Pia Bisogni from 1700 foreward.

C.S. 2026 Documents of the suppressed parish of Sant'Agata, from 1706 until 1792. (Church of B.G. Araldi, the benefice of which remained under his control until his death in 1794.)

C.S. 2028 Suppressed parish of San Barnaba, including account books and petitions for dowries.

C.S. 2762 Chronicle history of the parish and convent of San Barnaba

ENTE COMUNALE DI ASSISTENZA (ECA)

This elaborately indexed and extremely complex archive contains the documents relating to the Congregazione di Carita and the later Ente Comunale di Assistenza. Among the most valuable series relate to the institutions incorporated in the Opera Pia Generale in the reforms of 1764, along with the archives of monasteries and confraternities suppressed between 1768 and 1783.

It consists of over 2,250 filze and has been the subject of much recent curatorial attention (not always a blessing). The archive has been shaped by the three major consolidations of charitable institutes, which took place in 1541, 1764, and in 1786. Since bureaucrats involved with each succeeding consolidation cannibalized the files of their predecessors, there is a certain confusion. This is
compounded by the fact that these same archives reflect the drastic reorganizations of the Fascist period.

ECA 169 Minutes of the meetings of the Presidents of the Orphan Girls of Santa Catterina, 1756-1764

ECA 174 Petitions for admission to the Orphan Girls of Santa Catterina, 1710-1761

ECA 176 Petitions from midwives, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

ECA 177 Petitions for admission and for employment to the Orphan Girls of Santa Catterina

ECA 178 Orphan Girls of Santa Catterina, 1748-1759

ECA 180 Carte diverse, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

ECA 182 Petitions for dowries from the Opera Pia Cortesi 1729-1768

ECA 187 Opera della Carità, legal documents 1729-1764

ECA 188 Opera della Carità, 1764

ECA 342 Petitions for admission to the Opera de' Mendicanti, eighteenth century

ECA 534 Ducal proclamations concerning the Opere Pie, 1761-1768

ECA 535 As above, 1769-1770

ECA 737 Donors and bequests to the Opera della Carità, 1720-1763

ECA 771 Account books for the Cassa della Carità, 1760-1774

ECA 1023 Correspondence between Secretary Felice Antonio Bianchi and the Presidents of the Casa di Correzione, 1755-1762

ECA 1033 Meetings of the Presidents of the Sant'Unione, later the Opera Pia Generale, 1763-1771

ECA 1034 Account books for various bodies belonging to the Opera Pia Generale, 1772-1779
ECA 1039  Miscellanea for the Hospital, 1764-1772
ECA 1040  Miscellanea, Atti diversi 1773-1775
ECA 1046  Meetings of the Presidents of the Opera Pia Generale, Jan. 1768 to March 1772
ECA 1047  Meetings, March 1772 to Feb. 1775
ECA 1071  Correspondence and documents of the Opera Pia Generale, 1772-1773
ECA 1072  As above, 1773-1774
ECA 1075  As above, 1764
ECA 1084  Prodotti, 1768 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1085  Prodotti, 1769 (Jan. to June)
ECA 1086  Prodotti, 1769 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1092  Prodotti, 1772 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1093  Prodotti, 1773 (Jan. to June)
ECA 1094  Prodotti, 1773 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1095  Prodotti, 1774 (Jan. to July)
ECA 1096  Prodotti, 1774 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1097  Prodotti, 1775 (Jan. to July)
ECA 1103  Prodotti, 1778 (Jan. to June)
ECA 1104  Prodotti, 1778 (July to Dec.)
ECA 1199  Register of Acts of the Deputation for the Opera Pia Generale, 1772 to 1775
ECA 1200  Documents relating to the Albergo de' Poveri and the Hospital, 1771-1773
ECA 1201  Documents of the Superintendents of the Opera Pia Generale, 1772-1773
ECA 1202  As above, 1773-1775
ECA 1449  Repertorio of the Retreat for Women, 1788-1799

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ECA 1880  Relations of the Congregazione di Carità, 1770-1779
ECA 1901  Account books of the Opera Pia Generale, 1763-1764
ECA 1902  Account books of component institutions of the Opera Pia Generale, 1764
ECA 3225  Report on the history and development of the opere pie of Modena, prepared 1869.

CAMERA DUCALE, ESTIMI E CATASTI

This is a vast collection of separate archives. They are mainly differentiated from the Archivio Segreto by the fact that the Camera records are in some way related to financial or economic functions. Most of the Camera Ducale archives were developed during the eighteenth century.

BOLLETTA DEI SALARIATI

Pay records of certain categories of ducal employees. The Araldi feature in several of these bulletins, and they are also useful as indications of income and perquisites attached to a variety of positions.

211  1753-1758
212  1759-1764
213  1765-1770
214  1771-1776
215  1777-1789
216  1780-1785
217  1786
218  1786-1795
221  1766, Piano Generale
222  1777-1780, Bolletta di Milano, Pensionati
Partial catastos were carried out at various times during the eighteenth century. A rather basic catasto of the lowland areas of the state was carried out from 1711 to 1717. A catasto directed primarily towards identifying ecclesiastical holdings (for tax purposes, of course) was ordered in 1768. The economist and ducal minister Lodovico Ricci attempted an ambitious and thorough catasto of the state in 1791, but this was never completed.

The pre-unification catasto consists of 1,226 filze and buste and 2,954 registri, between 1711 and 1870. Partial lists of contents exist. Of these, the most useful for my purpose was the very thorough catasto of houses in the city, presented to the Duke in 1770.

307 Registro Nuovo delle Case di Modena, 1773
368 Estratto dei possedenti nelle ville del distretto di Modena

DONI

There are two files for donations to the Archivio di Stato, usually by local historians. One, containing 149 separate donations, is the "Collezioni donate da privati", with a list of maps and a partial inventory. The other is "Miscellanea di piccoli doni ed acquisti", 63 cartelle and 422 pergg. There is a partial summary index to this collection.

Doni 54 Contains material on Muratori's Compagnia della Carita (1721-1749) as well as a Plan for the Casa di Correzione (1786) and a Piano di regolamento per l'amministrazione della spezieria dell'Opera Pia Generale (1776)
Doni 86 List of Opere Pie Laicale ed altri Stabilimenti e Divozione Perpetue (MS, no date).

CANCELIERIA DUCALE
SEZIONE INTERNO
CARTEGGIO DI REFERENDARI

The correspondence and working papers of Ducal functionaries, this file was most useful for the papers of Felice Antonio Bianchi.

107 Papers of Felice Antonio Bianchi 1768

GIURISDIZIONE SOVRANA

The archives of the Magistrato (and later the Giunta) di Giurisdizione Sovrana, or the Jurisdictions Board, was one of the most important sources for this investigation, consisting as it does of the records of the various boards instituted by Francesco III for the purpose of overseeing Church-State relations. The first body, the Magistrato, was set up by ducal order of 17 December 1757 and the Giunta was recreated on 30 October 1772. The duties of the board were identified as being to look after the interests of the state when they came into conflict with ecclesiastical authority, to oversee the behavior of secular and regular clergy and the constitutions of dioceses and parishes, and to regulate benefices and the administration of the Opere Pie of the state.

Because of the far-reaching and somewhat elastic powers of the Giunta, the archives are extensive and confusing. The confusion is compounded by the fact that the Giunta collected documents relating to many of the bodies which it investigated. This collection seems to have been almost random, and any expedition into the Giurisdizione Sovrana archives tends to have unexpected results. Also, much of the material collected by the Giunta has been removed and placed in the Ente Comunale d'Assistenza archives (qv). In the later period, the Giunta was occupied with administering confiscated properties belonging to suppressed Church bodies.

These archives, like the archives of most government bodies, have been regularly plundered by bureaucrats seeking information on any number of aspects of administration.

There are at least 376 filze in this archive, and only partial lists of their contents have been compiled. The most useful guide is a handwritten description prepared by Castignoli, a student at the Università di Modena who wrote his Tesi di Laurea (Number 26) on the Magistrato.

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The Giunta di Giurisdizione was directly in charge of the Opera Pia Generale, except for the period from 1772 to 1775. The Opera Pia Generale was in turn the body which oversaw the operations of the Albergo of the Poor and the Great Hospital. In practice the members of the Giunta almost always delegated decisions to the Presidents of the various Opere which made up the Opera Pia Generale.

G.S. 1 A well-organized collection of the letters and reports of Salvatore Venturini between 1757 and 1762

G.S. 2 Working papers and documents, 1757-1772

G.S. 3 Working papers and documents, 1772-1774

G.S. 4 Working papers and documents, 1775-1777

G.S. 5 Assorted documents from 1778 to 1795

G.S. 6 Miscellaneous documents relating to the Court

G.S. 7 Ecclesiastical orders, instructions and regulations, 1762 until 1796

G.S. 8 Tabular materials on the numbers of churchmen in the state, 1771-1792, and data on provincial parishes

G.S. 68 Register of letters sent by the Giunta, September 1774 to 1776

G.S. 127 Documents relating to the lay Opere Pie, 1773-1779

G.S. 128 An overlapping series of documents on the lay Opere Pie, 1774-1780

G.S. 141 Letters and decrees with regard to the administration of the Sant'Unione, 1541 to 1764

G.S. 142 Fascicoli relating to various Opere Pie in the city of Modena

G.S. 143 More on assorted Opere Pie of Modena

G.S. 144 As above

G.S. 145 Papers relating to confraternities of the city of Modena in the seventeenth century

G.S. 147 Congregations and various Opere Pie of
Modena, 1780-1794

G.S. 148 Re: the reform of the Pious Institutions, reports prepared 1786-1789 as part of the Ricci reforms

G.S. 158 Statutes and Regulations for the Great Hospital of Modena, 1759

G.S. 159 Administration of the Casa di Correzione and the Albergo Arti, 1788-1794

G.S. 161 On the reduction of the parishes of Modena, 1774

G.S. 167 Administration of the Ritiro; dowries; and aid to the Shamefaced Poor, 1765-1795

G.S. 225 Letters from and to the Congregazione Generale of the Opere Pie of Correggio, mainly petitions for assistance from young men and girls

G.S. 266 Churches and parishes, 1604-1779

GRIDARIO

This file, whose full title is "Chirografi ducali, gride, statuti (1286-1796)" consists of 42 buste, 6 registri, and 43 volumes containing copies of many (but by no means all) ducale proclamations and edicts between 1286 and 1796. There is a printed index.

[See U. Dallari, "Inventario sommario dei documenti della cancelleria ducale estense (sezione generale) nel r. Archivio di Stato di Modena," in Atti e memorie della r. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie modenesi, s. VII, IV (1927), pp. 151-275.]

Gridario EE 1762-1764

Gridario FF 1764-

Gridario LL 1772-

Dicreti e Chirografi 12 1761-1770

D. e C. 13 1771-1773
INQUISIZIONE

The Archives of the Inquisition are kept in the Archivio di Stato of Modena, where they were brought after the suppression of the Holy Office in 1785. It is a rich file which contains records of denunciations and trial transcripts, as well as reports of the censors. After the suppression, the powers of the Inquisition reverted to local bishops, with the significant exception of censorship of books and the press, which were to be subject only to civil law. Curbing the authority of the Inquisition, however, went back at least to the formation of the Giunta di Giurisdizione and the activities of that body between 1770 and 1780 (when G.B. Araldi was a leading member).

Although the file is a rich source of social and religious history, it was primarily useful to me in showing the wide range of activities pursued by G.B. Araldi, as consultant to the Inquisition, Ducal Counsellor, and as an individual whose name came up in a number of cases as accuser, accused, and confessor.

The Catalogo al Fondo Inquisizione at the Archivio di Stato has been recently reorganized and the buste have been re-numbered causing some confusion.

[See G. Orlandi, Le campagne modenesi, "Niccolò Giurati 'ateista' (1655-1728)", and Note e documenti per la storia del quietismo a Modena; Mignani, "Inventario cronologico degli atti del tribunale della S. Inquisizione", as well as C. Righi, "L'Inquisizione Ecclesiastica a Modena nel '700".]

Inq. 226 (1749)
Inq. 228 (1748)
Inq. 229 (1748-1751)
Inq. 232 (1753-1755)
Inq. 233 (1754)
Inq. 240 (1772-1775)
Inq. 280 Patenti, 1700-1787
Inq. 298 Funeral of the Inquisitor, 1737
Inq. 303 Registri dei patenti

MANOSCRITTI

In addition to the various archival collections, the
Archivio di Stato also contains a small but important library of printed books and manuscripts.

J813. Carlo Malmusi, MS Notizie Storiche degli Istituti Pii della Città di Modena. 1843.

Biblioteca Estense. (BE) Modena, Italy

Archivio Muratoriano, Filza 11, Fasc. 7 "Progetto per la Compagnia della Carità."

Archivio Muratoriano 44/20 Francesco Soli, Cronache, e diverse altre Memorie riguardanti la Città di Modena 1733-1753.

Boriani, Giuseppe. Memorie istoriche di questa città di Modena dal 1757 al 1772.

Corfini, F. Diario dell'anno 1787 in Modena.

AUTOGRAFOTECA CAMPORI

N 47 [Busta 293] Lettere autografe di Scarpa Antonio

CAMPORI COLLECTION


761. Araldi, Gaetano. Miscellanea medica

762. 763 Araldi, Gio:Battista. Notizie Sacre e Profane

764. Araldi, Michele. Miscellanea

812. Baruffaldi, Girolamo Seniore. Directorio de' Confortatori dei Condannati alla morte

1032. Copia del Catasto e delle Piante dei beni del Ven. Monastero di San Paolo d'Orvieto, 1788

1072. Araldi, Giovanni Pietro. Notizie storico-chronologiche delle chiese, confraternite e monasteri della Città di Modena
1648. Selle, Alessandro delle. *Confortatorio manual*

1924. Araldi Documents


2000. Capitoli della Santa Unione di Modena, including the reforms of 1759

2005. Carteggio librario Ettinger di Gotha. Letters to the bookseller from Foa and others


Alpha G. 1. 16-19 Alessandro Frosini. *Register of letters*, 1754-1772 (in four volumes)

Alpha W 4, 6 Araldi family documents

Beta 8, 1 "Bequests to the Pious Institutes of Modena" (Gift of P. E. Vicini)

Cons. Mod. 091.454 Catalogo del Archivio Muratoriano

Gamma D. 1, 7-11 Franchini, Giuseppe "Cronaca Modenese" MS in five volumes. 1774-1799

Gamma D. 7, 20 Franchini, Teresa "Memorie" 1786-1816

Gamma F. 1, 1 Michele Araldi. *Lettere e Memorie* 1764-1811

Gamma H. 1, 23 Michele Araldi, Miscellanea

Gamma H. 5. 17 Cerretti, Comedia: "La casa di correzione"

Gamma Q 6, 29 Pietro Araldi, "A Religious History of Modena"

Gamma R. 4, 27 Catalogo della Libreria Araldi

Gamma S. 7.1 Cronaca di Modena dal 1743 al 1759

Gamma S. 7.2 Cronaca di Modena dal 1759 in avanti

Gamma V. 4. 10 (21) Regulations of the Santa Unione

Gamma V. 4. 2, 2 Michele Araldi. *Elogio di Bernardino*
Ramazzini

Gamma W. 4, 6 Famiglia Araldi
Gamma X. 5, 44 Michele Araldi. Patologia.
Gamma Y. 4, 13 Carte riguardanti la Chiesa del Voto di Modena

Manoscritti di Bartolomeo e Francesco Valdrighi (sec. XVIII - XIX). Sala manoscritti.

DONDI COLLECTION
(MISCELLANEA DONDI)
A, 62, n.9 Opuscoli Storici Modenesi: "Elogio del Cavaliere Michele Araldi"
A, 354 Elogio di Bernardino Ramazzini ... 25 Nov. 1777, dal Professore Dottore Michele Araldi

FERRARI MORENI COLLECTION
(MISCELLANEA FERRARI MORENI)

Raccolta Ferrari Moreni, Famiglie Modenese 6: Araldi
Miscellanea Ferrari Moreni 38, 21 "Osservazioni mediche del Dottore Gioseffe Ramazzini... Modena, 1767"
Raccolta Ferrari Moreni, 66, 11 Notizie della Confraternità di San Pietro Martire in Modena, 1789
Raccolta Ferrari Moreni, 162-66 Memorie Storiche Modenesi col codice diplomatico. Modena, 1793

MANOSCRITTI ITALIANI
2138 Fondazioni Benefiche Lasciti e Opere di Modena

SORBELLi COLLECTION

1699. 1. Memorie storiche di questa citta di Modena dal 1757 al 1772 (Boriani)
       2. Diario dell'anno 1787 in Modena (F. Corfini)

ADMINISTRATIVE BOOKS OF THE SANT'UNIONE

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"Inventory of the Administrative Books of the Santa Unione of the Hospitals and Pious Institutions of the City and the Suburbs of Modena (1541)." (Selmi Index of materials in the Campori collection relating to Pious Works)

Balie:
Epsilon 22. 1. 6 1718-1720
23. 2. 3.
25. 1. 3
25.1.4
25.1.5
25.1.6

Collegio Orfane di Santa Catterina:
Epsilon 22.3.7 (1741-1752)
22.3.8 (1742-1764)
22.3.9 (1753-1764)
22.3.10 (1753-1764)

Compagnia S.S. Sagramento:
Epsilon 21.3.17 (1743-1762)

Esposti
Epsilon 22. 2. 11 (1704-1719)
22. 2. 12 (1733-1742)
22. 2. 13 (1783-1788: Albergo Arti)
22. 2. 14 (Rubrica)
Messe
Epsilon 23. 2. 14
23. 2. 15

Opera Pia Coltri
Epsilon 22. 3. 12 (1724-1752)
22. 3. 13 (1724-1755)

Orfane di San Geminiano
Epsilon 21. 3. 9 (Libro Maestro, 1678-1737)

Orfani di San Bernardino
Epsilon 21. 3. 15 (1668-1762)
21. 3. 16 (1712-1727)

Ospitali e Ricoveri
Epsilon 23. 2. 16 (1792-1797)

Poveri Mendicanti
Epsilon 19. 1. 17 (1698-1761)
19. 1. 18 (1718-1733)
19. 1. 19 (1721-1745)
19. 1. 20 (1761-1743)[sic]
19. 1. 21 (1783-1787)

Poveri Vergognosi
Epsilon 19. 1. 13 (Miscellanea)

Miscellanea
Epsilon 24. 2. 2 Untitled [Theatine Account Books]

24. 2. 4 Account books; servants' pay
24. 2. 5 Pay for surgeons and servants at the Hospital
24. 2. 3
1. Bisognosi accolti all'albergo, 1770-1784
2. Uomini e fanciulli muniti dal segno o sia da Bolettone, 1772-1780
3. Uomini e fanciulli che possono guadagnarsi il pane
4. Donne e fanciulle muniti dal segno o sia da Bolettone
5. Donne e fanciulle che possono guadagnarsi il pane

24. 3. 1 Fede on good care of foster children
24. 3. 2 Inferme sussidiate
24. 3. 6 Fede

Epsilon 25. 1. 4 Monte Generale dei Pegni: Ingresso e Uscita delle zitelle del Ritiro delle Cittadine

25. 1. 5 (Sant'Unione: Capitoli

JOURNALS

Il Messaggiero delle cose più osservabili in Europa ed in altri luoghi. 1756-1796.

La Minerva o sia Nuovo giornale de letterati d'Italia. [Venezia] 4 vols. 1762-1763.
2. PRINTED DOCUMENTS

Applausi poetici per la solenne dedicazione della Statua Equestre di Francesco III. Modena: Eredi Soliani, 1774.


-----------. Lettere modenesi intorno il voto sanquinario. Modena: Eredi di B. Soliani, 1757.

-----------. "Notizie Sacre e Profane." Biblioteca Estense, Campori Collection, MS. 762-763, 1788.


Capitoli per la locazione de' beni di campagna della Pia Opera Generale de' Poveri di Modena. Modena: n.p., 1765


Codice di Leggi e costituzioni per gli stati di sua Altezza Serenissimo. Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1771.


La Minerva o sia Nuovo gionrale de' letterati d'Italia. [Venezia] 1762-1763.


-----------. Governo della peste e delle maniere di guardarsene ... diviso in politico, medico ed ecclesiastico. Modena: Soliani, 1714.

-----------. Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nella scienza e nelle arti. Venezia: Pavino, 1708 and Napoli: Reynaud, 1715.


-----------. Elogio del Cavaliere Michele Araldi. Modena:
Tipografia Camerale, 1823.


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Balletti, A. L'abate Ferrari Bonini e le riforme civili della beneficenza nel secolo XVIII. Reggio-Emilia: n.p., 1886.


Biagenti, Ivo. "Povertà e assistenza durante l'Ancien
Regime: La fraternità dei laici di Arezzo nelle riforme
Leopoldine." In Cultura e società nel seicento
lorenese: Arezzo e la Fraternità dei laici. Firenze:

Bianchini, Marco. Alle origini delle scienze economici:
Felicità pubblica e matematica sociale negli economisti
italiani del settecento. Parma: Edizioni Studium
Parmense, 1982.

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Pubblica a Modena nel Settecento. Modena: Mucchi,
1986.

Blanning, T.C.W. Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1743-1803.

Bolton, Charles A. Church Reform in Eighteenth-Century
Italy (The Synod of Pistoia, 1786). The Hague:

Borsari, Aldo. L'Archivio Storico del Comune di Modena.

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Bosellini, Lodovico. Elogio del Conte Cavaliere Luigi
Valdrighi. Modena: Soliani, 1865.

Briganti, Giulio. The View Painters of Europe. Trans.
Pamela Waley. New York: Phaidon, 1970

Brizzi, Gian Carlo. Il catechismo e la grammatica.

Brizzi, Gian Carlo. La formazione delle classe dirigente

Burke, Peter. The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern

Cajani, L. "L'assistenza ai poveri nell'Italia de
Settecento." In Quinto congresso internazionale


Convegno di Studi sul Risorgimento a Bologna e nell'Emilia.


Lodovico Antonio Muratori e la giurisprudenza del suo tempo. Modena: Universita degli Studi, 1931.


Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Friends: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of*


McMasters, John. "'Popular Religion' in 17th and 18th Century France: A New Theme in French Historiography."


-----------. Un lato nuovo e sconosciuto nella attivita di


---------. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation*


2. PERIODICALS


Bertoli, B. "Polemica anticristiana del 700 e vicende di


---------. "La laboriosa adozione d'un formulario per il grande spedale di Modena nel Settecento." Bollettino della Societa Medico-Chirurgica di Modena. Vol. LIX,


La Cava, A. Francesco. "La Funzione Didattica dell'ospedale maggiore di Milano." Atti del Primo Congresso Italiano
per la Storia Ospitaliera. (1957): 391-400.


Peset Reig, Mariano. "Una propuesta de código romano-


Salvioli, Giuseppe. "La legislazione di Francesco III duca di Modena." Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi, Series IV.


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Briano, G. "Inventario delle cronache Modenese dell'eta moderna." Typescript in the Biblioteca Estense.

"Catalogue of Ferrari-Mor manuscripts." Typescript in the Biblioteca Estense, gamma 2, 3, 4 and 4 bis.


"Index to the Campori Collection." Typescript in the Biblioteca Estense.


Selmi, Marianna. "Inventario degli Libri Amministrativi." Typescript index to materials in the Campori collection relating to the Hospitals of the Sant' Unione of 1541 and to pious institutions in the city and suburbs of Modena.


Valenti, Filippo. Guida degli archivi storici comunali.
dell'Emilia-Romagna. Biblioteca Estense.

---------. *Panorama dell'Archivio di Stato di Modena.*
           Modena: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Lezioni e

---------. *Profilo storico dell'Archivio Segreto Estense.*

---------. "Note storiche sulla cancelleria degli Estensi
           a Ferrara dalle origini alla metà dal sec. XVI," in
           Bolletino dell'archivio paleografico italiano, n.s.,

Vicini, Emilio Paolo. *Repertorio-Indice degli Atti notarili
           stipulati da Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1698-1750).*

Vischi. *Catalogo dell'Archivio Muratoriano.* Biblioteca
Lodovico Antonio Muratori was born in 1672 some twenty miles from the capital city of Modena in the provincial town of Vignola. His father, who ran a copper foundry and owned a small farm, sent his promising son to the capital to be educated by the Jesuits. There he gained degrees in theology (1692) and law (1694). In due course he was ordained on 24 September 1695 and took up his studies in "physics and metaphysics" with the Franciscan scholar Benedetto Bacchini, then head of the ducal library and abbot of the monastery of San Pietro in Modena. He served a term at the famous Ambrosian library in Milan before being called back to Modena to the parish of Santa Maria Pomposa and the task that would form the focal point of the rest of his life: the management of the Estense Library. His reputation, then as now, was that of a pious and dedicated priest and a kind and simple man, quite without personal ambition and with a superhuman capacity for hard work.1

A cursory glance at the Muratorian bibliography illustrates both the range of his mind and his astonishing productivity. The body of his work runs to several hundreds of volumes, covering the years 1697 to 1749, and includes exhaustive studies in literature, bibliography, history, law, religion, civil administration and economics.

Muratori’s work enjoyed a European-wide reputation in the eighteenth century, especially after the publication of *Rerum italicarum scriptores* in 1723. This famous annotated collection of medieval documents was an attack on superstition and an attempt to demythologize the study of history by consulting the documents and filtering out as much as possible of the popular moralizing and embroidery. His tract on the plague and the best ways for political, medical and ecclesiastical authorities to deal with it (*Governo della peste*) was widely reprinted as a practical and accessible document in city management. His legal treatise of 1742, *Dei difetti della giurisprudenza*, condemned the tangle of laws and lawyers, proposed a new codification, and had a major impact on legal reform from Milan to Naples, and in Europe at large. Translations and editions of his works appeared in the Holy Roman Empire, England, France, Russia, 

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and Spain, and a Greek translation appeared in Vienna in 1761-62.*

If the "grande maestro" was a renowned and respected thinker in Europe at large, he was to become little less than a patron saint in his native state. Local intellectual luminaries from the eighteenth century onwards acknowledged their debt to him. Giambattista Venturi, statesman, scientist, and a leader of the Modenese enlightenment, wrote in 1818 of "the most learned, immortal Muratori ... whose inspiration, reason, truth and wisdom teach and direct the homeland." Lodovico Bosellini, a Modenese historian writing in the 1850s, called Muratori

the father of history ... theologian, canonist, publicist, jurist, economist, antiquarian, man of letters; at one and the same time he shows us temperance in every doctrine, and clearly indicates our distinctive character.®

Muratori's most distinctive feature was his Roman Catholic Christianity and he, like the Christian enlight-


®Prof. Cavaliere Lodovico Bosellini, Elogio del Conte Cavaliere Luigi Valdrighi, 15 November 1862 (Modena, 1865).
tenment thinkers who would follow him, embraced modernism as the handmaiden not the enemy of Christian belief. He needed a philosophical tool for fitting a religion based on revelation into a universe of progress and reason, and he found this tool in the classic scholastic dual concept of truth. For Muratori there was one sort of truth for science and the business of running the world, and quite another for religion and morals. He made the general rule that one should accept reason over tradition in most secular matters -- the older a scientific concept, for example, the less likely it was to be reliable. On the other hand, tradition must be accepted over reason in matters of theology -- the older a truth about religion (that is, the closer to the revelation or the event), the more likely it was to be reliable, providing one had scraped away the encrustation of popular superstition. A logical extension of this was Muratori's assumption that human history consists of two parts -- one fixed and unchanging (that is, morals and religion), the other open to progress, development and

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change (that is, the arts, including medicine, architecture, mechanics and agriculture).\textsuperscript{7}

Muratori's world view drew a clear distinction between knowledge and belief. While he welcomed progress in those areas open to knowledge (science, technology, the mechanics of administration and economic planning), he saw no virtue in changing what was essentially a belief system (his Christian view of man and society) in favor of a new religion of Reason. He expressed open-minded willingness — even eagerness — to consider and introduce changes perceived as beneficial to science, education or government; at the same time he refused even to consider changes that seemed to threaten the eternal verities of revealed Christianity.

Muratori's program for his homeland was most clearly laid out in his last work, his philosophical testament, 
\textit{Della pubblica felicità, oggetto de' buoni principi}, published shortly before his death in January 1750.\textsuperscript{8} This work offers a shorthand description both of the duties of the prince (in the tradition of the medieval and Renaissance \textit{Speculum Principiae}) and of those practical measures most likely to enable the prince to carry out his duties.

\textsuperscript{7}\textit{Della pubblica felicità, oggetto de' buoni principi} (Venice: 1748). Republished in \textit{La Letteratura Italiana, Storia e Testi}, Vol. 44. See also Badeloni, \textit{Storia d'Italia}, who has some interesting comments to make on this subject, as does Franco Venturi in \textit{Settecento Riformatore} (Torino: Einaudi, 1976).

\textsuperscript{8}\textit{Della pubblica felicità, oggetto de' buoni principi} (Venice: 1748).
The prince's foremost duty, underlying all the others, was to ensure the happiness of his people -- with happiness defined in a modest, Christian and typically Muratorian fashion as "tranquility of soul and body." The treatise then identified and discussed those elements required for the increase of public happiness. The author looked at the role of religion, literature and the sciences. He examined Christian moral philosophy (contrasted with secular philosophy) as the true foundation and primary source of happiness. Next came the secular disciplines: jurisprudence and the laws; medicine; mathematics (that is, those arts and sciences based on order, proportion, number and measure); logic, physics and metaphysics; history, erudition, eloquence and poetry; agriculture; useful arts and commerce.

From this theoretical consideration of the proper approach to the major fields of human study, Muratori turned to practical problems of administration, which took up the rest of the treatise. He dealt with questions of provisions and victuals; problems of vice and crime (sexual misconduct, banditry, drunkenness and gambling); economic questions such as taxation and money supply; public administration and welfare issues (such as notarial archives, the poor, popular amusements, hunting and fishing rights, and public health and building projects). He ended, as a scholar writing at
the end of the Wars of Succession, with the thorny moral and economic questions raised by to problem of war.

The Muratorian bibliography begins in 1697 with *Anecdota quae ex Ambrosiana Bibliotheca codicibus nunc primium eruit* (Milano: Malatesta, 1697), the first volume of a series of studies on previously unpublished Latin materials at the Ambrosian Library. In the decades that followed, Muratori produced an astonishing range of studies. These included *Vita e rime di Carlo Maria Maggi* (Milano: Malatesta, 1700), a biography of his friend the poet Maggi; *Primi disegni della repubblica letteraria d'Italia* (Venezia: n.p., 1703), a proposal for the general reform of Italian culture built around studies of poetry and literature; *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (Modena: Soliani, 1706), a critical study of Italian poetry; *Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nella scienza e nelle arti* (Venezia: Pavino, 1708 and Napoli: Reynaud, 1715), a plea for simplicity of language and clarity of purpose in the regeneration of Italian arts and sciences.

Muratori entered the world of polemics with *Osservazioni* (Modena: Soliani, 1708), "observations" on a letter titled, "The temporal dominion of the Holy See over the city of Comacchio," a part of his contribution to the long-running quarrel between the Papacy and the Estense dukes over the ownership of the region of Comacchio. The work
sparked a life-long fascination with the collection of medieval documents.

In the realm of political science his work included *Rudimenta philosophiae moralis pro principe Francesco Maria Estensi* (Modena: Soliani, 1713), an outline of moral philosophy for the benefit of his pupil, the heir to the ducal throne; *Governo della peste e delle maniere di guardarsene ... diviso in politico, medico ed ecclesiastico* (Modena: Soliani, 1714), one of the first of his many contributions to political science and city management; this one dealing with the plague and associated matters of public health. His interest in medieval history continued with *Delle antichita estensi ed italiane* (Modena: Stamperia Ducale, 1723), the first volume of a two-part study of the medieval history of the duchy.

*Trattato della Carita Cristiana in quanto essa e amore del prosimo* (Modena: Soliani, 1723), was a profoundly influential work on poor relief and practical Christian charity.

His major work, a twenty-seven volume collection and annotation of medieval documents from all over Italy, was the massive *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (Milano: Tipografia della Societa Palatina, 1723-1728, 27 volumes). This series made and maintains Muratori’s reputation among European historians.

*Filosofia morale esposta e proposta ai giovani* (Verona: Targa, 1735), simplified and explained his thought on moral
philosophy for the edification of children; *Dei difetti della giurisprudenza* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1742), another of his most important and most studied works, condemns the tangle of laws and lawyers which characterized the eighteenth century and proposed a new codification. This was followed by *Il cristianesimo felice nelle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguaï* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1743), a laudatory study of the economic and social, as well as the religious, work of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

He continued with two major historical works, *Annali d'italia dal principio dell'era volgare sino all'anno 1500* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1744, 9 vols.) and *Annali d'italia dal principio dell'era volgare sino all'anno 1749* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1744-1749, 12 vols.). These annals were an ambitious chronicle of Italian history.

*Della forza della fantasia umana* and *Della forza dell'intendimento umano, o sia il pirronismo confutato* (both published in Venezia by Pasquali in 1745) were philosophical treatises on human imagination and understanding.

Towards the end of his life he published *Della regolata devozione dei cristiani* (Venezia: Albruzzi, 1747) part of a series of works on Christian history and liturgy; and *Della pubblica felicità, oggetto dei buoni principi* (Venezia: Albruzzi, 1749), one of five quite different books published in the last year of his life. The others dealt with
Christian devotions, Jesuit missions, Roman bronzes, and the last section of the Annali.

The above represents only a very partial listing of Muratori's work, work which was even more remarkable for being sandwiched between exhausting tutorial, parochial and library duties in the midst of the chaos of war and social upheaval. In addition, all of his work was accomplished under conditions of chronic poor health.

APPENDIX 2

ARALDI CAREERS

COURT CAREERS OF GIOVANNI BATTISTA AND GAETANO ARALDI

GIOVANNI BATTISTA ARALDI
b. 1704
1727, ordained at Reggio
1732, Chair of Philosophy at San Carlo
1735, becomes Rector of parish of Sant'Agata
1747, Presidente of the Opera della Carità
1748 et seq., Inquisition connections
1750, member of the Accademia dei Dissonanti, Modena
1751, created Doctor of Civil and Canon law by Crown Princess (by this time he was already her almoner and confessor)
1757, Lettere Modonesi intorno il voto sanguinario
" Lettere ... all'autore della Storia Letteraria d'Italia (in defense of Muratori)
1759, Le Virtu Teologali
1761, Lettere ed Indici Apologetici in Materia di Sconto
1768, speech from the scaffold at Poggioli execution

553

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1768, struggle over redistribution of parishes, loses Sant'Agata

1769, Il Confessarsi ed il Comunicarsi sacramentalmente

1772, President of the Association of Parish Priests; member of the re-created Giunta di Giurisdizione; named Ducal Theologian

1780, named "Consigliere" and moved to the payroll of the Opera Pia Generale

1781, builds a tomb at the church of San Lazaro

1788, Notizie Sacre e Profane: dizionario enciclopedico (ms)

1794, dies, age 90

GAETANO ARALDI

b. 1708

1729, degree in medicine at San Carlo

1737, Third Chair of Medicine

1741, physician to the Crown Princess

1748, Inquisition troubles

1754, reluctant member of the Physicians Guild ruling body

1758, physician to Princess Elizabeth (Duke's sister)

1763, physician to the Duke's person, Protomedico Ducale (?)

1764, Consultant to the Sanità

1765, Inspector of the Hospital

1765, assists at the miscarriage of the Crown Princess

1772, retires with a pension of £1,500 p.a.

1790, dies age 82
CAREER OF MICHELE ARALDI

In April 1774 the chief physician (Michele Rosa) and the chief surgeon (Antonio Scarpa) of the Hospital were directed to coopt other physicians to assist them in making up a plan which would "serve the best interests of the sick as well as the economy of the Opera Pia Generale" ... in other words, to reorganize and cut costs. One of the physicians so coopted was the 33-year-old Michele Araldi, nephew of Battista and Gaetano and (as Cavaliere Michele Araldi) future member of the French Legion of Honor, destined to become the most eminent of his family in the coming century.

Michele had been born in 1740, son of Giovanni Antonio and Diamante Bastardi, and was baptized the godson of his uncle Battista. As a general rule, Battista had stood patron to Giovanni Antonio's children -- he would secure the post of cathedral canon for Michele's brother Giovanni Pietro -- while Gaetano assumed the sponsorship of the children of his brother Pietro. However, Michele seems to have shown an early talent for medicine, taking a medical degree from the University of Modena at the age of eighteen and within four years holding the chair of physiology. Between 1762 and 1772, when the University was reformed and finally separated from San Carlo, Michele alternated between the chairs of physiology and anatomy, and would continue to hold a chair of medicine until the revolution arrived in
1796. By order of the Duke, he became chief surgeon at the Hospital in 1771, and soon passed to the more prestigious post of physician there. In the early 1770s he, with two other Hospital doctors, planned an ambitious and innovative vaccination project (see Chapter VIII). After a serious illness in 1779 he seems to have taken a thought to the fact that he was the only Araldi male of his generation likely to marry (one brother, Giovanni, was a priest and the other, Antonio, was a confirmed black sheep). In 1782 he married Luigia Conti, a young girl from the provincial town of Correggio, and they had five children. He appears to have had the traditional Araldi thorniness: a letter from the famous physician Scarpa in 1781 comments, with regard to the creation of a literary academy among the professors of medicine, that "if Araldi is a member it will be difficult to keep others." Nevertheless he was evidently an affectionate husband and father, and a loyal brother. After the death of their father and uncles, the three Araldi brothers — Michele, Giovanni and Antonio — inherited the family property and managed it, as their forebears had done, in fratellanza. With the arrival of the French in 1796, Michele became a partisan of the revolutionary party.

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9Giuseppe Favaro, "Antonio Scarpa e l'Università di Modena" in Rassegna per la Storia della Università di Modena e della cultura superiore modenese, Fasc. IV (Modena: 1932), p 248. In the letter, Scarpa speaks of Araldi's "carattere insociabile ..., il suo tuono cattedratico, e la mala sua intenzione verso chiunque tenti di far un passo nelle provincie che egli insegna ex-professo."
serving as a member of the legislative body of the Cisalpine
Republic in 1797 and at the same time shielding his brothers
from any misfortunes inherent in supporting the losing side.

After the revolution Michele's career, already
promising, flowered. He became a member of the Istituto
Italiano, left the University chair in Modena and moved to
Bologna. He wrote extensively on a wide range of scientific
topics, in twenty-eight publications and thirty manuscripts.
He was a member of virtually every important Society and
Academy of his day, in Modena, Bologna, Venice, Florence,
Livorno, Monaco and Paris, culminating in the French Legion
of Honor. He died, full of years and honors, at Milan in
1813.
APPENDIX 3
ARALDI CONNECTIONS

BY MARRIAGE

first generation
GIROLDI, Domenica (wife of Antonio A, c.1682)
FERRARI, Anna Maria (wife of Antonio A (cousin?), c.1699)
VIDINI, Giovanna (wife of Carlo Giuseppe A, c.1700)

second generation
TONDINI, ? (husband of Maria Felice A, c.1730)
CONSETTI10, Tomasso (husband of Antonia A, c.1740)
BASTARDI, Diamante (wife of Giovanni Antonio A, c.1730)
JATICI, Maria Maddalena (wife of Pietro A, c.1753)

third generation
CONTI, Maria Luigia (wife of Michele A, c.1780)
LEONE, Piero (husband of Teresa A, c.1785)
VITALI, Teresa (wife of Carlo Giuseppe A?, c.1787)

fourth generation
BOCCABADATI, ? (wife of Carlo A., c.1820)

10The Consetti were related by marriage to the SANT'AGATA family.
GODPARENTS

first generation

ALBOSELLI, Leonora (madrina (godmother) of Antonio A's daughter, 1699)

ROMERI, Franc.o (stood for A.B., padrino (godfather) of Antonio A's son, 1689)

BONDRI, Andrea (padrino of Antonio A's son, 1689, above)

ROMERI, Laura (madrina of Antonio A's son, 1689)

TONDU, Antonio (padrino of Antonio A's daughter, 1688)

ROMERI, Matteo (padrino of CG's daughter, 1700)

MELERIS, Paola (madrina of CG's daughter, 1700)

RICO, Laura (madrina of CG's son, 1702)

BONDRI, Maria (madrina of CG's son, 1704)

BOTEA (or BONDRI?), Bernardo (padrino of C.G.'s daughter, 1705)

MALMUSI, Antonia (madrina of CG's daughter, 1706)

ROMERI, Carlo Giuseppe (padrino of CG's son, 1708)

ROMERI, Giovanna (madrina of CG's son, 1708)

FERRARI, Antonio (padrino of CG's son, 1710)

JATICI, Maria Madama (madrina of CG's son, 1710)

FERRARI, Carlo Bartolo (padrino of CG's son, 1712)

1 Milanese, living in Piacenza

2 Milanese, living at Piacenza

3 Probably the "merchant from Parma" mention in 1696 letter, Particolari 42.

4 of Piacenza

5 The Jatici were related by godparentage to the CERETTI, see Chapter IV.
FERRARI, Antonio (pad. of CG's son, 1714)
PONTONI, Domenica (mad. of CG's son, 1714)
FERRARI, Dorotea MANZOLI (mad. of CG's daughter, 1716)
CAPPI, Angiola Maria (mad. of CG's daughter, 1718)
TEDESCHI, Lucia (mad. of CG's son, 1719)
PETRJ(?), Bartolomeo (pad. of CG's son, 1725)

second generation

BASTARDI, Claudio (pad. of Gio. Antonio's daughter, 1733)
JATICI, Giovanni Andrea (pad. of Pietro's daughter, 1753)
JATICI, Teresa (stood for Victoria J, mad. of Pietro's son, 1755)
VANDELLI\textsuperscript{16}, Tomasso Dott. (pad of P's daughters, 1756 and 1758)
JATICI, Vittoria (mad. of P's daughters, 1756 and 1758)
SIGHINOLFI\textsuperscript{17}, Don Antonio (pad of GA's daughter, 1738)
BASTARDI, Nicodemo (pad. of GA's son, 1737)
BEDINI, Giovanna (mad. of GA's son, 1737)

third generation

CARRANDINI-TASSONI, Marchese (pad. of Michele's daughter,

\textsuperscript{16}The Vandelli were scientists and courtiers: the brothers Francesco and Domenico were both mathematicians and ducal civil servants, one of whom was responsible for a noted engineering project, the Vandelli road which connected Modena with the duchy of Massa-Carrara.

\textsuperscript{17}A 1692 tax document lists a merchant family of this name, contemporary to Antonio Araldi's rise to prosperity. Don Antonio Sighinolfi stood godfather to one of Niccolo BASTARDI's sons, and a Catterina SIGHINOLFI BREGOLI was godmother to another of Niccolo's children.
ARALDI-MURATORI CONNECTION

In his Notizie Sacre e Profane, Battista Araldi traces out the relationship between his family and the family of Lodovico Antonio Muratori:

For many years Muratori honored me with his cordial friendship and confidence, and gave glory to my family by its connection to the family of such a great man. Thus ...

1. From the fact of Signora Diamante BASTARDI being the wife of Gian-Antonio my brother, mother of four children, my niece and nephews Anna, Antonio, Michele and Giovan Pietro ARALDI; and aunt of Signora Isabella SOLI-MURATORI, wife of Signor Claudio BASTARDI brother of Signora Diamante BASTARDI ARALDI.

2. From the fact of Signora Isabella SOLI-MURATORI being the daughter of Signor Dottore Fortunato SOLI-
MURATORI, brother of Signor Rector Gian-Francesco SOLI-MURATORI, nephew of Rector Lodovico Antonio MURATORI.

3. From the observable and obvious connections of affinity exchanged among six families, MURATORI, SOLI, RAMAZZINI, BIANCHI, BASTARDI, ARALDI. See the life of the great Prefect Lodovico Antonio Muratori written by his nephew Gian-Francesco, Rector Soli-Muratori printed in Venice by Pasquàli in 1757."

10Most certainly NOT the family of Felice Antonio Bianchi, who was a Genoese without Modenese ties, but rather with the Modenese family of artists, scientists and administrators of that name.
APPENDIX 4

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

DISTANCE, WEIGHT, VOLUME

Miglia (=500 pertiche or 3,000 piedi) 1,569.14 meters
Pertica (6 piedi) 3.13 meters
Oncia 0.04 meters

Biolca (72 tavole) 3400.00 sq. yards
Tavola (4 pertiche) 39.39 sq. meters
Pertica 36.00 sq. feet

Sacco (2 staia) 126.50 liters
Staio (2 mine) 63.20 liters
Mina (4 quarte) 31.60 liters
Quarta (6 cappelli) 7.90 liters
Cappello 1.30 liters

Quarto (2 mastrelli or 12 paroli) 101.8 liters
Mastello (6 paroli or 45 boccali) 50.9 liters
Boccale 1.10 liters

Carro (100 pesi) 751.00 kilograms
Quintale (100 libbre) 4.00 kilograms
Peso (25 libbre) 8.50 kilograms
Libbra 0.30 kilograms

MONEY

Basic unit of Currency, the Lira di Modena (£)

Zecchino = 30 lire di Modena
Filippo = 15 lire di Modena
Bolognino = 20 per lira
Denaro = 12 per bolognino

Albergo dei Poveri. The Inn for the Poor, or Poorhouse. A major component of the social welfare system in Modena the Albergo along with the Great Hospital was the key to Francesco III's reforms of the 1760s. Its purpose in theory was to both shelter and confine the poor of the city, particularly the old and the very young. In practice, the Albergo often functioned as a temporary relief system for poor families who placed their children there until they could be reclaimed.

Arte dei Merciai. The Merchant's Guild; amalgamated with the Silk Workers' Guild in 1758 and abolished, along with all of the city's guilds, with the arrival of the French in 1796.

Casa di Correzione. Correction House; a place for the detention of minor criminals or delinquents not of the criminal class. First established in 1755 and reformed in 1786 under Ercole III.
Casa di Dio. House of God; the shelter cum detention center for unmarried mothers, until 1764 associated with the Hospital. Infants born here became wards of the state. They were sent out to licensed wetnurses and the survivors (from ten to twenty-five percent) were either fostered to country families or brought up in the Albergo dei Poveri (qv).

Censo. A bonds sold by public institutions or by individuals. This was the primary form of investment in eighteenth-century Modena. By purchasing a censo, one gained a secured income (generally around five percent per annum) in the form of a mortgage against the property or capital on which the censo was issued.

Chirografo. An edict written and signed by the official who issued it.

Collegio dei Medici. The Physicians' Guild. Because of the long tradition of medical education in Modena, this was an important component of the reformed University. The Physician's Guild was at the center of a struggle between the Duke and the old communal power structure. In 1739, Francesco III ordered that his own chief physician was to be head of the Guild; in 1754 the old Guild
was abolished and completely re-structured, headed by the duke's men (principal among them Gaetano Araldi).

Comunita. Community. In the context of eighteenth-century Modena, it indicates the commune or city government, the smallest administrative division; a community organized for the protection and promotion of local interests. May refer either to the formally organized city and city government, or to the broader structure of the set of social and civic arrangements within which the citizens of the town related to one another.

Compagnia della Carita. Charitable Company or Companion-ship. A charitable association founded by L.A. Muratori in 1720 patterned on the lay associations created by Vincent de Paul in France. The Compagnia continued as an autonomous organization until it was amalgamated into the Opera Pia Generale (qv) in 1764.

Congregazione dell'Anona or dell'Abondanza. Foodstuffs Committee. A branch of the communal government whose function it was to control the food supply. Because of its central importance to the welfare of the state, the Committee came under the control of the dukes by the seventeenth century. Its chief functions were
controlling the import and export of foodstuffs, and setting prices and rationing in times of scarcity.

Desco dei Poveri Vergognosi. The Board for the Shamefaced, or Respectable Poor. This was a committee of the city government which was responsible for welfare payments to persons of respectable status in the community. It was originally designed to assist distressed nobles, but by the eighteenth century it included artisans and ducal servants. The benefits were distributed through the parish priests of the city.

Forestieri. Foreigners, outsiders; persons from outside the state. Forestieri were excluded from any sort of public assistance except for the minimal help set aside for the relief of pilgrims.

Magistrato or Giunta di Giurisdizione. Magistracy or Board of Jurisdictions. The body whose purpose was to oversee relations between the Church and the state, and specifically to determine under which jurisdiction any particular case might fall. It was set up in 1758 as the Magistracy of Jurisdictions. It was recreated in 1767 and again in 1774 as the Board (Giunta) of Jurisdictions.
Monte Generale dei Pegni, or Monte di Pieta. A state-subsidized institution for providing low-interest loans to the poor in exchange for pledges of property or goods.

Opera dei Neofiti. The Pious Work for Neophytes, an institution whose purpose was to support and shelter Jews who agreed to convert to Christianity. It provided dowries as well as monthly payments to the families. Like the other independent charities, this opera was brought into the Opera Pia Generale in 1764. This was a favorite charity of the ruling family in Modena.

Opera delle Povere Vedove. A charity for widowed or abandoned women in Modena. It was set up under ducal protection after 1627, and in the eighteenth century its main function was to distribute bread to poor women. Became part of the Albergo dei Poveri (qv).

Opera Estensi. A dowry fund created by Francesco III in 1776 with the express purpose of increasing the number farming families throughout the state. They were distributed annually to girls who married agricultural workers.
Opera Ferrari. A dowry fund for daughters of Modenese citizens maintained by the city government on the basis of a bequest from Don Francesco Ferrari in 1710. It was linked to the Church of the Vow, the church built by the city in thanksgiving for the end of the plague of the 1760s.

Opera Pia Bisogni. A privately-endowed dowry fund administered by a board of Presidents and designed to distribute one hundred lire dowries to poor girls of respectable Modenese families.

Opera Pia Coltri. A privately-endowed fund given by testament to the Theatines of Modena and designed to support the church, pay for Masses for the souls in purgatory, and assist the poor. The Jurisdictions Board converted this fund first to dowries and then to pay for the rebuilt facade of the Theatine church. When the Theatines were suppressed and expelled from the duchy by Ercole III the Coltri fund was taken into the general funds of the Opera Pia Generale.

Opera Pia Generale. The General or Universal Pious Work; name given to the consolidated charitable institutions of the duchy created by Francesco III in 1764. The Opera Pia Generale built around the major institutions
of the Poorhouse and the Great Hospital was under the
direction of the Giunta di Giurisdizione (qv) since its
primary function was the state takeover of church
property and responsibilities.

Protomedico Ducale. The chief court physician, personal at-
tendant to the duke and his immediate family. After
1737 the protomedico was head of the Physicians' Guild.

Sanita: The Sanitation Board, a committee of the city
government whose function it was to control infectious
disease (primarily by quarantine) and to serve as an
advisory body to the University and the Great Hospital.
Some, but by no means all, of its members were
physicians.

Santo Monte della Farina. A pious work dedicated to
providing subsidized flour for the poor in times of
shortage. This charitable institution was operated by
the city guilds, the merchants, and the parish priests
of the city, under the sponsorship of the Commune (and
later of the Duke). Founded in the early sixteenth
century, it continued to operate until 1737 when it was
brought under the control of the Congregazione
dell'Anona (qv).
VITA

Susan Vandiver Nicassio was born in Muskogee, Oklahoma, the second daughter of Clarence Raymond Vandiver and Sari Frances Chase. She grew up in New Orleans, and attended a variety of schools including the then LSUNO. Her academic career was interrupted by a long and fruitful career as operatic soprano, wife, mother, librarian, social worker, journalist, and editor (more of less in that order).

She married Anthony R. Nicassio and they have one son, Alexander Raymond. Following an extended stay in Ireland, the family returned to the United States, where the author completed her undergraduate work at Louisiana State University in 1982 and took a Masters' Degree at that institution in 1985.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Susan Vandiver Nicassio

Major Field: History


Approved:

Edward C. [Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Garrett J. Cutcher

Karl A. Reid

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John Irwin Tucker

Date of Examination:

12 December 1988