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978-0-521-48333-9 - Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and their Motives in Turin, 1541-1789

Sandra Cavallo

Excerpt

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Introduction

This book is an attempt to relate two objects of study which are usually treated separately: the identity of the dispensers and changing definitions of the recipients of charity. It is concerned with how changes in the social composition of donors and administrators affected policy towards the poor and with how shifts in the motivations for becoming involved in charity affected the social composition of those groups for which the relief was intended.

Within the social history of poor relief it has generally been assumed that the recipients of charity changed as a result of changes in the nature of poverty, a view which would suggest that new welfare policies were a reflection of, for example, shifts in the numbers, age and sex of the poor and in the extent of crime and vagrancy. This has meant that social historians have tended to attribute a crucial role to the nature of demand as the chief determinant of social policy – an approach which is problematic unless we assume that charity can be interpreted as simply a response to a lucid and rational analysis of the condition of the poor.

Those who have chosen instead to look at charity in terms of the actions of individuals and groups rather than of governments and institutions have focused more on what we might call the supply side. They have examined the factors (not always related to the actual conditions of the poor) which motivated the actions of benefactors in different periods and which influenced the structure and aims of their giving. Much has therefore been said about the impact of mendicant preachers and their calls for the rejection of temporal wealth in the Middle Ages; about the impetus for moral reform which prompted a wave of charitable activity from the late sixteenth century on; and also about the decline in voluntary charity caused by increased secularisation during the Enlightenment.¹ In addition there has been debate over the close link between theories of

¹ B. Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice. The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*, Oxford 1971; M. Vovelle, *Piété Baroque et Déchristianisation en Provence au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1973; C. Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence 1640–1789*, Baltimore,

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political economy and specific forms of welfare provision which set out ways to enforce social discipline, population policies and control of the labour-force.²

This 'supply' approach has been valuable in showing that policy towards the poor was not determined solely by the statistical extent of poverty. Too often, however, the sorts of explanation for charity which are given within this approach are over-generic and certainly cannot account for the concrete actions of individuals. Reference to spiritual or ideological movements which were in vogue at the time or to structural changes which slowly redefined collective mental attitudes certainly illuminates the context in which philanthropy took place, but historical analysis of the motivations behind measures for the poor should not stop there. It is always the case that certain social groups are far more receptive to these ideas and conditioning factors than others, perhaps women rather than men, or young people more than the old. The variety of possible responses to the same ideological stimulus becomes particularly evident when one shifts from generalisations about the influence of, say, the Counter-Reformation, or the subsequent process of 'de-Christianisation', to the analysis of specific situations. It becomes clear that the preaching of a given religious order in a particular local context might have stimulated some to charitable activity but also aroused the hostility of others. The spread of Counter-Reformation ideas was often encouraged by specific groups and circles who were pursuing wider aims in local politics (as will also be apparent in cases discussed in following chapters).

We need, therefore, to look for those more hidden motivating factors which might allow us to establish some pattern to the apparent randomness of different individuals' participation in charitable activity, and to find explanations for their involvement which are less remote from the concerns of their everyday experience. Motivations for charity, ranging from conflict over family wealth to the search for prestige, have occasionally been mentioned by historians (especially in descriptions of individual donors), but they have never been analysed systematically; above all, no attempt has been made to construct a periodisation of charity based on changes in the role that charity

Md. 1976; J. Chiffolleau, *La Comptabilité de l' Au-Delà: les Hommes, la Mort et la Religion dans la Région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age*, Rome 1980; C. Jones, *Charity and Bienfaisance. The Treatment of the Poor in the Montpellier Region 1740-1815*, Cambridge 1982; K. Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble 1600-1814*, Berkeley, Calif. 1985; S. K. Cohn Jr., *Death and Property in Siena 1205-1800: Strategies for the Afterlife*, Baltimore, Md. 1988; S. K. Cohn Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death. Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*, Baltimore, Md. 1992.

² G. Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty. England in the Early Industrial Age*, London 1984; D. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police. London Charity in the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton, N.J. 1989; M. Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers. Hamburg, 1712-1830*, New York Oxford 1990.

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played in the secular circumstances of its dispensers.³ The present study seeks to go some way towards achieving this. Various forms of charity are examined in the social context in which they took shape, firstly by establishing the identity of the individuals and groups who introduced, controlled and funded welfare provisions in various periods; and secondly by examining those conflicts and social dynamics within the actors' social and political milieux, as well as in their private lives, which may have affected their attitudes to charity.

In the earlier period covered by this study (chapters 1 and 2) the predominance of broadly based civic forms of charity tends to make individuals less evident and the protagonists of the dynamics I describe are mainly social groups; subsequently (with the exception of the period examined in the last chapter, in which an impersonal subject, namely the state, returns) the stage is occupied instead by individuals whose aim it was to ensure that their names should be linked with the charitable acts they performed. It should be pointed out that in this section not *all* those who contributed to the maintenance of the poor are considered, but only those who gave substantial donations, either in the form of dispositions made while they were still alive and intended to take effect immediately, or in the form of dispositions within their wills. Because I am chiefly interested in secular motivations for charity I have not taken small donations into account since these were presumably motivated above all by compassionate impulses towards the poor, by concern for the after-life and by a wish to avoid the embarrassment of refusing the invitation – which notaries were obliged to extend to all testators – to add a charitable clause to their will.⁴ The charitable acts on which I focus are those which, due to their size, represented a public as well as religious and private act and clearly constituted a message to one's peers.

For the purposes of this study, I have found wills and testaments to be a particularly fruitful source of evidence concerning the context in which charitable activity took place. When considered in their entirety, and not just – as has often been the case – for the charitable bequests they contain, these documents can reveal much about the lives of benefactors, their status, their struggles to establish or enhance prestige, their social networks and their family

³ One exception is represented by Cohn's attempt to link different pious attitudes to the changing meaning and use of property. However his concern is with 'strategies for the afterlife' in general rather than with provisions for the poor specifically. Cohn, *Death and Property* and *The Cult of Remembrance*.

⁴ For the same reason this study does not deal with casual charity, with those occasional contributions to alms-boxes for the poor which, though they may have been made as public acts, have remained anonymous. This sort of giving can only reveal changes at the rather vague level of collective mentalities. For the criteria used to calculate donations and bequests see chapter 3, note to figure 1.

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ties and conflicts.⁵ Wherever possible I have supplemented this data with additional biographical details which throw light on the public appointments and economic activities of benefactors and administrators of charity.⁶ Finally, I also consider the material celebrations of charity: changes in the architectural form of hospitals and institutions and other figurative representations of charity have proved a particularly valuable source for tracing shifts in the symbolic implications of charitable acts.

My study thus focuses less on the explicit aims which administrators and donors declared and more on the indirect and symbolic meanings which charity embodied for its dispensers. Special attention is given to the various patterns of power and of conflict within the elite groups in which differing charitable practices developed. Two types of conflict have been identified as particularly significant: firstly, conflict resulting from shifts in the influence, status and access to power of different social groups in the arena of city politics and, secondly, conflict caused by changes in the configurations of family and gender relationships. Following these two main threads, different chapters examine the clash between the representatives of civic power and the ducal entourage in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century (chapters 1 and 2), the tension between new economically successful groups and the older court elite which held the monopoly of prestige in the mid seventeenth century (chapter 3), the attack by state functionaries on traditional corporate forms of hospital administration in the eighteenth century (chapter 5) and its outcome (chapter 6). Chapters 4 and 5 pay particular attention to the redefinition of marital relationships and control over family property within the upper classes and to the emergence of new patterns of family and kinship among the dispensers of charity in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

These various patterns of conflict among the elites largely explain the predominance of particular groups in charitable initiatives at particular times,

⁵ This research was greatly facilitated by the existence in the Archivio di Stato of an index, arranged alphabetically and by year, to the Turin *Insinuazione* (Ins.), which contains all notarial acts drawn up in the city. This collection, together with that of the *Testamenti Pubblicati dal Senato* (T.P.), also in the Archivio di Stato, made it possible to consult complete copies of wills once a list of the names of benefactors and details of their charitable acts had been drawn up from collections of bequests and donations housed in the archives of charitable institutions. In order to be legally valid, in fact, it was required that a will be either recorded by a notary or deposited with the Senate if written by hand without a notary and witnesses. Only wills made outside Turin are not found in these sources (but they were a small minority).

⁶ These include notarial acts drawn up on behalf of the individuals in question which reveal their financial transactions and social networks: *Patenti Controllo Finanza* (PCF), or authorisations for payments from the state treasury for public offices held, for repayments for loans to the duke, etc.; and finally, lists of members of various institutions such as the City Council, the confraternities and the boards of governors of hospitals.

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and also the particular forms which charity took.⁷ For example, the shift from outdoor relief to institutional care – something which is often explained by reference to an emerging ideology of *renferment* – seems in fact to have been more closely linked to a shift away from an idea of charity as a civic duty (and therefore away from a tendency to care for the poor within the community), which was dominant as long as the City Council retained its monopoly over welfare issues. In a period characterised by fierce rivalry between elites, this broad and impersonal idea of charity gave way to a more personal and voluntary one which attributed new importance to hospitals as theatres for the public display of the benefactors' prestige.

Even shifts in the definition of the deserving poor – in other words of those categories of the needy seen as especially worthy of assistance – seem to have been related to changes in the social identity of benefactors or administrators – or rather, in the discourses and sets of values which those controlling charity endorsed. For example, the introduction of discrimination against outsiders to the town in the second half of the sixteenth century was an aspect of the political rise of the City Council and the related construction of a rhetoric in which citizens came to be given special prestige. Similarly, state employees became the object of special charitable concern precisely during the period when the special dignity of state service was being emphasised by functionaries who were appropriating power in crucial areas. In the late seventeenth century, concern for women who suffered marital violence or desertion and for widows and young women unable to marry, came above all from women benefactors – a pattern which can be linked to the acute awareness of female vulnerability and to the anti-marriage rhetoric which were widespread among aristocratic women in a period in which gender conflict was rife within families of rank.

These kinds of dynamics contributed towards shaping the very perception of poverty itself and thus influenced definitions of the worthy recipient to a much greater extent than has previously been recognised: in many cases, the definition of who was and was not deserving of relief can be seen as a metaphorical transposition of discourses which reflected tensions within the world of the elites.

Measures for the poor have been studied primarily in cities in the small states of the North and the Centre with a strong communal tradition and a sophisticated system of urban government which developed further in the Renaissance. It is these studies which have provided the basis for a picture of the principal

⁷ I use the word 'elites' loosely to indicate not only those at the very top of the social hierarchy but also the affluent and those involved in the exercise of power in the various urban institutions and government bodies; in other words those who were in an economic and political position to influence substantially the resources available for the poor and the policies adopted towards them.

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characteristics of the 'Italian system' of poor relief: the importance of the charitable activities of the confraternities; the existence as early as the fifteenth century of large hospitals with hundreds of medical patients; and the early appearance of a policy of *renfermement* in the form of legislation which confined beggars and other categories of outcast in institutions.⁸ It is usually assumed that these elements combined to make the charitable system existing in certain parts of Italy exceptional in the European context. Thus the towns of the Veneto, of Tuscany and Lombardy – which had already led the way in adopting public health measures against the plague after the Black Death – continued in the early modern period to be admired by foreign observers and governments of the time and the measures adopted with regard to the poor and the sick to be taken as examples to emulate.⁹

But what was the situation in those numerous areas of Italy (covering most of the South, but also many parts of the North and Centre) whose economies were feudal and rural in nature rather than urban and industrial, and where towns were essentially creations of the early modern period? Turin is an ideal place to examine this question because it is not generally held to have been part of the Italian tradition of *comuni* and Renaissance city-states. The Duchy of Savoy, of which Turin was officially made capital in 1560 (though it had effectively functioned as such from the end of the fifteenth century onwards), is usually thought to have been characterised by a form of economic and social organisation which, being predominantly feudal, was closer to that prevailing in the nearby kingdom of France than it was to that in neighbouring Italian states.¹⁰

Certainly the economy of this small state which straddled the Alps (consisting

⁸ Surveys of the numerous works on poor relief published in the last two decades (most of them on single institutions or single aspects of relief) are in: M. Rosa, 'Chiesa, idee sui poveri e assistenza in Italia dal Cinque al Settecento', *SS*, 10 (1980); G. Assereto, 'Pauperismo e assistenza. Messa a punto di studi recenti', *ASI*, 141 (1983); A. Pastore, 'Strutture assistenziali fra Chiesa e Stati nell'Italia della Controriforma', *Storia d'Italia, Annali* 9, *La Chiesa e il Potere Politico* (edited by G. Chittolini and G. Miccoli), Turin 1986; S. J. Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, London and New York 1986 (Introduction); B. Pullan, 'Support and redeem: charity and poor relief in Italian cities from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century', *CC*, 3 (1988). Among the most significant studies to be published after these surveys are C. F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989; P. Gavitt, *The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536*, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1990, and S. Cohen, *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500*, Oxford 1992. On medical charity in particular see also J. Henderson, 'The hospitals of late medieval and Renaissance Florence: a preliminary survey', in L. Granshaw and R. Porter (eds.), *The Hospital in History*, London 1989; K. Park, 'Healing the poor: hospitals and medicine in Renaissance Florence', in J. Barry and C. Jones (eds.), *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, London 1991.

⁹ E. Chaney, "'Philanthropy in Italy': English observations on Italian hospitals, 1545–1789", in T. Riis (ed.), *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, Stuttgart 1981; K. Park and J. Henderson, "'The first hospital among Christians": the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in early sixteenth century Florence', *MH*, 35 (1991).

¹⁰ The most authoritative account of this influential view is F. Gabotto, 'Le origini "signorili" del "comune"', *BSBS*, 8 (1903).

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of Piedmont on the Italian side and part of Savoy on the French side) relied mainly on agriculture: grapes from the wine-growing areas of the pre-Alps, cereals and rice from the plains of the Po river and livestock raised on the slopes of the Alps constituted resources sufficient both to satisfy domestic requirements and provide a modest surplus for export. It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that any significant industrial development took place. In particular, the manufacture of raw and unfinished silk thread rapidly established itself throughout the region as a natural extension of the cultivation of mulberry-trees and silk-worms which had flourished in the Piedmontese countryside since the end of the fifteenth century. Before long, the silk threads exported by the Duchy, especially the famous Piedmontese organzines, came to be regarded as the best in Europe – a reputation which was to remain unchallenged for decades, until oriental silks became widely available at the end of the eighteenth century. This expansion was in part the result of government policies which, like Colbert's experiments in France, saw the development of traditional domestic manufacturing skills as the most 'natural' way to increase the industrial output of the state; it was also, however, related to the contemporary expansion of the silk-weaving industry in nearby Lyon. Indeed, together with England, this French city was to establish itself as the chief market for almost all the unfinished silk produced in Piedmont.¹¹

Yet even the rapid growth of the silk industry (and that, less pronounced, of the wool, hemp and linen industries) did not alter the fundamentally economic and social character of the Duchy. The forms of production which were developed fitted readily into the traditional economy of the peasant family and gave rise to a predominantly rural industry. Silk spinning became widespread in the countryside but was carried out in small domestic units within the home, while the spinning-mills which turned the raw thread into organzines became numerous not in the big cities but in the larger rural centres and market-towns.

It will be clear that both the history and character of the Duchy of Savoy are substantially different from those of the oligarchic republics and principalities of the Centre and North of Italy, which have attracted the attention of historians. In terms of its urban structure too, the Duchy follows a particular form of chronological development characterised not by continuity between the age of the *comuni* and the early modern period but by dramatic shifts in the relative size and importance of its urban centres.¹² The towns and cities of Piedmont which had been important commercial and manufacturing centres in the Middle Ages went into decline in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century while the towns and

¹¹ S. J. Woolf, 'Sviluppo economico e struttura sociale in Piemonte da Emanuele Filiberto a Carlo Emanuele III', *NRS*, 46 (1962).

¹² G. Levi 'Come Torino soffocò il Piemonte', in his *Centro e Periferia di uno Stato Assoluto*, Turin 1985; M. Ginatempo and L. Sandri, *L'Italia delle Città. Il Popolo Urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (Secoli XIII–XVI)*, Florence 1990.

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cities that flourished in the early modern period were those whose rise to prominence was relatively recent. Turin is the most obvious example of this phenomenon. In the Middle Ages the city was very small (with no more than 3,000 inhabitants in the fourteenth century) and lagged considerably behind centres which had a more highly developed industrial base such as the woollen cloth-producing towns of Asti, Vercelli and Pinerolo, and Chieri, famous for its fustian. By the end of the fifteenth century the city had assumed a more important role as a university town, episcopal seat and headquarters of the Duchy's administration, and its population had risen to between 5,000 and 6,000.¹³ This sustained expansion continued in the following two centuries, and became particularly intense at the turn of the seventeenth century. The population had more than doubled by 1571 and underwent a rise of 70 per cent in the next forty years (growing from around 14,000 to over 24,000 between 1571 and 1614). The number of inhabitants then increased again by 100 per cent over the next hundred years (reaching 49,000 in 1712). This last increase was especially remarkable given that during this period the city had to withstand the plague of 1630, the dynastic civil war (1637–42), and the devastating effects of wars fought on Piedmontese soil in the 1650s and, almost without interruption, between 1690 and 1706. During the eighteenth century Turin continued to grow, albeit at a more moderate rate, and by the 1790s the population had reached over 78,000 (table 1).¹⁴ The rate of physical expansion of the city itself also gives a useful indication of the chronology of growth in the numbers of inhabitants. There were three main phases in which additions were made: to the South in the first half of the seventeenth century (with the creation of the so-called Città Nuova – New Town), to the East in the 1670s and 1680s and to the West from 1730 on (see plate 1).¹⁵ As a result, the number of *isole* (i.e. the groups of dwellings bounded by four streets characteristic of the Roman grid on which the plan of the city is based) doubled between 1631 and 1705, from a total of sixty-nine to over 130.¹⁶

¹³ A. Barbero, 'Una città in ascesa', in *Storia Illustrata di Torino* (ed. by V. Castronovo), vol. II, *Torino Sabauda*, Milan 1992.

¹⁴ For the 1571 and 1614 figures Ministero dell'Agricoltura Industria e Commercio, *Statistica del Regno d'Italia. Censimento degli Antichi Stati Sardi e Censimento della Lombardia, di Parma e di Modena*, vol. I, P. Castiglioni, *Relazione Generale con una Introduzione Storica sopra i Censimenti delle Popolazioni Italiane dai Tempi Antichi sino al 1860*, Turin 1862; for the 1702 to 1792 figures G. Levi, 'Gli aritmetici politici e la demografia piemontese negli ultimi anni del Settecento', *RSI*, 86 (1974).

¹⁵ V. Comoli Mandracci, *Torino*, Bari 1983, and, recently, M. D. Pollak, *Turin 1564–1660: Urban Design, Military Culture and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital*, Chicago, Ill. 1991.

¹⁶ There were 126 in 1705, excluding the Città Nuova. Ord. 7.6.1592; F. Rondolino, 'Vita torinese durante l'assedio (1703–1707)', in Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria, *Le Campagne di Guerra in Piemonte (1703–8) e l'Assedio di Torino (1706)*, Turin 1909, vol. VII. The calculation of the number of *isole* excludes all those which were entirely occupied by ducal palaces or by public buildings.

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Table 1. *Population of Turin and suburbs, 1571–1792*

1571	14,244
1614	24,410
1702	43,866
1712	49,102
1722	52,989
1732	59,558
1742	59,320
1752	62,356
1762	66,103
1772	71,680
1782	73,984
1792	78,514

Source: See note 14

The expansion of the city was undoubtedly linked to its new status as capital and to its increased appeal, as the seat of the court and the administrative centre of the state, for immigrants, industry and commerce. In the second and more dramatic phase of its development, however, a significant part was also played by its transformation into a centre for the manufacture of cloth and other silk products. Indeed, from the end of the seventeenth century on, the government stubbornly pursued mercantilist policies whose aim was to ensure that not only the production of raw and unfinished silk but also the final stages of silk manufacture were to be kept strictly within the confines of the state (even if this were at the expense of the profitable export of organzine threads). Turin was the city in which these policies produced their best results: in 1702 there were already 432 working looms in the city, exclusively for the manufacture of silk cloth; by the middle of the century this number had risen to 1,150 (out of a total of 1,510 in the whole of Piedmont).¹⁷

The history of Turin is thus very different from that of Italian cities which had strong manufacturing, trade and guild traditions and where systems of relief generally regarded as pioneering developed. The city began to flourish only in the early modern period at precisely the time when, in Piedmont as well as in other parts of Italy, the foremost urban centres of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance saw their role decline and experienced difficulty in maintaining their populations.¹⁸ A substantial expansion in the number of employees in services and manufacturing industry occurred only from the mid seventeenth century onwards and, accordingly, the numerical importance and role of craft

¹⁷ G. Prato, *La Vita Economica in Piemonte a Mezzo del Secolo XVIII*, Turin 1908.

¹⁸ On these different chronologies of urban development, see E. Fasano Guarini, 'La politica demografica delle città Italiane nell'età moderna', in Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, *La Demografia Storica delle Città Italiane*, Bologna 1982.

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organisations and devotional associations became significant only from the late decades of the century on.¹⁹

A study of the case of Turin makes it possible, therefore, to shift the focus from the Italian cities of the Renaissance, which have so far attracted the attention of historians of charity, to those of the early modern period. This may allow us to glimpse what things were like in that neglected other half of Italy but I hope that this research will also have wider implications and contribute to a reappraisal of what has come to be regarded as the 'Italian model' of measures for the poor and sick.

The story begins in 1541, the year in which the first comprehensive plan for relief was issued by the municipal authorities; it then traces the history of welfare provision offered by different charitable agencies for just over two centuries, up until the eve of the French invasion of Piedmont.²⁰

It seeks to give as comprehensive a picture as possible of initiatives taken on behalf of the poor, including policy towards the sick, a subject which the now numerous monographs on relief in various European cities usually omit as belonging to the separate domain of the historian of medicine.²¹ The tendency to see poverty and disease as separate areas of investigation reflects a recent distinction which certainly does not hold for the early modern period (and even today is often inappropriate): as has been demonstrated elsewhere and as my study confirms, illness, together with marital status, gender and age, was at this time one of the components of contemporary definitions of poverty.²²

The period covered by the book is one which has been insufficiently explored by studies of charity and welfare facilities in Italy. Histories of medical provision in particular have focused either on the Renaissance or on the enlightened despotism of the later eighteenth century while the intervening years

¹⁹ On the late development of guilds, S. Cerutti, 'Corporazioni di mestiere a Torino in età moderna: una proposta di analisi morfologica', in *Antica Università dei Minusieri di Torino*, Turin 1987 and *La Ville et les Métiers. Naissance d'un Langage Corporatif (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècle)*, Paris 1990. On lay religious associations, by contrast, there are no recent studies. See G. Martini, *Storia delle Confraternite Italiane con Speciale Riguardo al Piemonte*, Turin 1935.

²⁰ The only aspects of relief and social policy I do not touch on are policy towards lunatics (the main initiative in the period seems to have been the mad-house called the Pazzarelli, which had an elite clientele) and measures dealing with converted heretics (Jews and Waldensians). Both are characterised by features which distinguish them significantly from other forms of social policy. On converted heretics in Turin L. Allegra 'Modelli di conversione', *QS*, 78 (1991). I have also been obliged to exclude the House of the Orfanelle, an institution (founded in the mid sixteenth century) for young girls who had lost their fathers, since its Archives were not open to consultation when the research for this book was carried out. They are now available at the Archivio di Stato di Torino, prima sezione.

²¹ For an exception to this tendency see C. Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France*, London 1989.

²² See, for example, M. Pelling, 'Illness among the poor in an early modern English town: the Norwich census of 1570', *CC*, 3 (1988); M. Fissell, 'The "sick and drooping poor" in eighteenth century Bristol and its region', *SHM*, 2 (1989).