Unwanted People and Desired Citizens

Contemporary Attitudes, Challenges and Perceptions of Migration and Integration

Edited by
**Cezary Smuniewski, Andrea Zanini,
Cyprian Aleksander Kozera, Błażej Bado**

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Economic Interest and Good Government: Foreigners and Social Control in Early Modern Genoa

Abstract

This paper addresses the complex issue of attitudes toward foreigners in the early modern age, together with that of social control. Focusing on the case of Genoa, a Mediterranean port city in north-western Italy, it shows to what extent the norms and policies implemented in this domain followed a logic of economic interests and good governance, rather than an ideological one. It also highlights how a similar approach also concerned the poor, beggars, vagrants, and, more generally, people living on the margins, in a condition of "foreignness" who were thus considered as foreigners in their homeland.

Keywords: economic interests, Italy, minorities, Jews, marginal people, Old Regime

1. Introduction

Since at least the late Middle Ages, many European states started to introduce specific measures aimed at aliens. In a broader sense, attitudes toward foreigners could range from a general and almost unconditional openness to a nearly complete closure. Within these two extremes, many regulations situated themselves in an intermediate position aimed at reconciling the various interests at stake. Specifically, states sought to control the entry or exit of foreigners, define their rights in comparison to nationals, establish if and under what conditions they could acquire citizenship or the status of subjects, and reserve the right to expel non-resident paupers and vagrants, as well as other unwanted people (Herzog 2003; Groebner 2007; Noiriel 2007; De Munch, Winter 2012; De Koster, Reinke 2016; Barry 2017; Maifreda 2017; Minns, et al. 2020; Cornelißen, et al. 2022; Mierau 2022).

In many cases, legislation required foreigners to register themselves upon their arrival and regulated their presence and movements within the state's territory. Sometimes, it changed in response to a contingent threat scenario, such as war, political turmoil, epidemics, refugee exodus, etc. In such situations, the government could set in place ad hoc measures targeted at a specific group of aliens, for example, refugees considered worthy of humanitarian aid or, in other cases, issue an entry ban for citizens of enemy powers, or even enact stringent measures of surveillance or issue expulsion decrees (Meriggi, Rao 2020; Scholz 2020; Jansen 2022).

Alongside these measures aimed at regulating immigration flows, central governments and local authorities sought to monitor foreigners permanently settled within their borders. Sometimes they just periodically counted alien citizens, often to levy taxes on them, while in other cases they aimed to investigate social and economic compositions of resident aliens by collecting information about their place of origin, domicile, household structure, professional status, religion, etc. However, not always public officials were able to depict a complete and up-to-date picture and monitor the evolution of the foreign presence within the state, especially in places characterized by intense flows of strangers, such as the Italian cities of Venice, or Rome (Canepari 2012; Ravid 2013; Fosi 2019).

Starting from these premises, this essay is aimed at expanding the existing knowledge on this topic by analyzing how these issues were managed in the specific context of Genoa. During the early modern age, Genoa was the capital of a small pre-unification Italian state, the Republic of Genoa, a leading port in the western Mediterranean, and a financial market of international relevance (Piccinno 2017; Zanini 2020). As a result, it was a crossroad for people arriving from different places and for various reasons: travelers, diplomats, merchants, craftsmen, refugees, vagrants, beggars, etc. (Ferrando, et al. 2023). Over time, the policies adopted by the Republic of Genoa regarding foreigners were characterized neither by marked openness nor overt closure. Except for specific measures adopted in particular circumstances, the attitude toward immigrants was marked by a general criterion of tolerance, which was accompanied by the granting of some tax benefits to encourage the coming of merchants and entrepreneurs as well as skilled workers (Canepari 2012: 103–104; Piccinno, Zanini 2019: 285).

However, the need to balance the various interests at stake required the authorities to adopt specific measures to both monitor the flow of

strangers coming to the capital and to control the urban population to prevent public order problems, which will be analyzed in the following paragraphs.

2. Foreigners and immigrants in an early modern port city

In the early 17th century, the Genoese writer and politician Andrea Spinola (c. 1562–1631) recalled to rulers how in contexts characterized by a constant, intense influx of strangers, such as port cities, it was necessary to regularly monitor the arrivals of people through pervasive surveillance. This activity should be carried out in an effective but non-invasive way since he considered it crucial to not give the impression that foreigners were harassed by formalities and controls, as this would be detrimental to the economy. In this regard, he deemed it desirable for the government to pay special attention to foreigners who decided to settle in the city to conduct their business. These strangers – as Spinola explains – should be always considered warmly welcome, and the government would grant them special incentives and fiscal benefits since this is in the public interest (BCB, m.r.XIV.1.4.3: 379–380). At the same time, in another passage of his writings, Spinola (1981: 266) reminds the importance of keeping away from cities the poor, beggars, and vagrants, stating that "in the already well-inhabited cities, other people should not be allowed to settle there, except to foster the development of trade or agriculture."

Therefore, from the point of view of the state, aliens could be considered a valuable asset or a possible threat, depending on the situation. As a result, four centuries ago, Spinola suggested a policy of selective openness toward immigrants, opening the doors wide to those capable of contributing to the economic development of the state, such as merchants or skilled workers, considered as desired people, but keeping away all others who, for several reasons, fall into the category of the unwanted.

Following these guidelines, from the end of the 16th century, the government of the Republic of Genoa adopted numerous interventions to regulate the presence of foreigners and collect information about their economic and professional status (ASG, AS, 1016). Such measures did not always have the desired effect to the extent that, in 1625, a new decree was issued prescribing that foreigners living in the city and the surrounding villages must state their full name, homeland, and profession to local authorities. Violators could be sentenced to three years in prison

(ASG, AS, 1019). Notwithstanding this umpteenth attempt, the government could hardly monitor the situation to the point that a change of pace became necessary.

In 1628, there was an organic attempt to reorganize legislation concerning foreigners and immigration through the establishment of two new public bodies: the *Inquisitori di Stato* – a sort of political police, having extensive powers to investigate anything that might disturb public order and undermine the ruling power – and the *Magistrato della Consegna*. The latter had the task of recording all foreigners arriving in Genoa, thus helping to control immigration flows and ban vagabonds and beggars (Di Tucci 1932: 517; Ferrando 2023: 25–34). Foreigners wishing to enter Genoa had to identify themselves and declare the reason for their arrival, specifying how many days they were planning to stay in the city and where they would be staying. According to the 1628 law, they were classified into four categories. The first one included passing-trough foreigners, who spent only a few days in the city, such as travelers, pilgrims, etc. The second one grouped those foreigners who planned to spend in Genoa a longer period (up to one year) conducting their business. The third referred to craftsmen or workers belonging to specific categories, whose city's guilds were mainly or entirely formed by foreigners (porters, stonecutters, marble and stucco workers…). The latter included a special category of foreigners: Jewish people. Once this obligation had been fulfilled, the Genoese authorities recorded the names of the foreigners and the place where they would be staying in special registers (one for each of the four aforementioned categories) and issued a temporary license, the so-called *bolletta*, authorizing foreigners to stay in the city for a longer or shorter period, depending on the reasons (Piccinno, Zanini 2019: 285–286). To take accommodation in one of the city's inns, foreigners were obliged to show the *bolletta*; moreover, each innkeeper had to compile a daily list of the guests to be delivered to the *Magistrato della Consegna*. The procedure should have made it possible to track down and deport the foreigners who had entered the city illegally. However, this system was far from perfect. On many occasions, the government received complaints concerning abuses of various kinds, among which those of priests, who, under the pretext of housing theology students, actually accommodated foreigners for a fee without permission from public authorities. Nevertheless, because of the privileges arising from their status as clergymen, it was hard for the Genoese authorities to intervene in the matter, as this would have opened tensions with religious power (ASG, SS, 1047).

These measures were added to sanitary controls aimed at preventing or containing the spread of epidemics within the state carried out by a specific body: the *Magistrato di Sanità*, which has broad competencies in the field of public health (Assereto 2011). Moreover, there were specific actions aimed at ensuring police control to maintain public order and security within the city and state. However, these activities were not always able to interact effectively, generating overlapping competencies as well as poorly manned grey areas (Calcagno 2010; Pizzorno 2016; Ferrando 2023).

In the following years, other decrees were issued, among which a series of measures interlinked with each other, showing the emergence of peculiar needs on the part of the state concerning the city's population, not only foreigners, and control over it. In 1656, the city was divided into several districts, carefully described in their respective delimitations, within which five commissariats and different minor offices were established. The purpose of this intervention was to create an organizational structure capable of exerting control over the urban population and its movements inside and outside the city walls. The fact that the mapping of Genoa was introduced right in 1656, the first year of a devastating plague (1656–57), suggests that the original aim was to improve sanitary control, precisely in light of the spread of the disease. However, once the epidemic emergency was over, this structure was not dismantled, but, on the contrary, was enhanced and used essentially to implement tighter control over the urban population. In 1663, district commissioners were ordered to record "…all the persons living in their respectable commissariats with the names, ages of the head of the family, wife, children, and other people living in the house, including servants and maids, and the apartment, or garret where they lived…" (ASG, AS, 1041) Nothing was excluded from the record, even the ownership of the building, and whether the occupants had a source of income, or they were beggars. This situation should have been updated, keeping note of temporary departures and returns of people, as well as their deaths. Therefore, it was extensive monitoring aimed at recording the various aspects relating to individuals and the composition of households, their mobility, as well as keeping note of whether they were born in the city or within the state boundaries, or were foreigners. There is no lack of indication on the condition of begging, an element that links together economic and social elements, as will be better seen shortly (Ferrando 2023: 34–37).

Nevertheless, the district commissioners were not always diligent in fulfilling their tasks. Despite this, thanks to the data acquired, new fiscal

controls were carried out in 1663, and in 1674 the new regulations of the city's district, "useful to the public service" – as it was written – highlighted the various areas in which commissioners should operate and, above all, what were the goals of the city government. Although the initial impetus derived probably from health reasons, such as the tight deadline (10 days) within which the commissioner must provide news on departures and deaths suggests, over time the measures followed the already mentioned approaches: the control of foreigners, but also the poor and the perpetrators of riots that exploded in the neighborhoods. Therefore, the government's approach moved from the issue of knowing the population and its composition, where "normal" people were distinguished from the "low and vile," to economic and social control (ASG, AS, 1023 and ASG, SS, 144).

In the following period, further measures were issued on various aspects related to counting and monitoring the urban population, but nothing was like what has been reported so far. As a result, there is no systematic survey concerning aliens. Demographic sources – specifically the government censuses of 1607, 1680–81, 1744, and 1762 – are also heterogeneous and incomplete, whether based on ecclesiastical sources or the result of surveys carried out directly by civil servants. For example, although original documents suffer from some bias, we can roughly guesstimate that on the occasion of the 1680–81 census, the foreigners residing in Genoa accounted for about 3.5–4 percent of the urban population of 65,000 inhabitants (ASG, SS, 1092).

In some cases, a *status animarum* (state of the souls) compiled by parish priests has been preserved. However, they are too fragmented and discontinuous to allow a reconstruction of the foreigners living within the city walls. Another problem deriving from these sources is that, at best, they recorded the presence of non-Catholics. It should be pointed out that during the early modern age, like in other Catholic countries, people did not enjoy religious freedom. Despite this, Genoa could not be considered a hostile environment for people of other faiths. Although they were not allowed to profess their religion in public, forced conversions or episodes of explicit bigotry were rare, allowing, *de facto*, the coexistence of people with different religious beliefs (Do Paço, et al. 2010). This is confirmed by the existence of private places of worship, such as the Anglican chapel in the house of the English consul, opened to all Protestants of the city (Grendi 2004: 252). Despite this, some priests were worried that these people could corrupt the faithful of their flock, and so decided to keep note of their presence to preserve the religious integrity of the urban

population. For example, in 1711 the parish priest of Saint Lawrence (the city's cathedral) recorded 22 Jews, 12 Lutherans, 7 Calvinists, 3 Huguenots, and one Turk. On the whole, there were 45 non-Catholics, corresponding to one percent of the parish population (Revelli 1933: 61). However, in most of the city's parishes, priests did not mention non-Catholics, as they were not responsible for the care of their souls. Whatever the criterion adopted, the number of Catholic foreigners, such as the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and citizens of other pre-unification Italian states, was missed, and so these sources offer only a very partial picture of the foreigners living in Genoa.

3. Poor people, wayfarers, and foreigners: a marginal population

From the point of view of the government, the main issues of urban living were old people, men unfit to work, illegitimate children, and abandoned women. To assist them, in 1539 the *Ufficio dei Poveri* (Office for the Poor) was founded. Other problems were connected with beggars coming from the inland areas of the state, specifically villages in the outskirts of Genoa: starving mountaineers, especially in the years of famine, but also refugees from war zones (e.g., in conjunction with the war between the Republic of Genoa and the Duke of Savoy in 1625), sometimes vehicles of infection for epidemics, or even subjects looking for a job in the city's manufacturing plants. However, the crisis of silk production throughout the 17th century gradually reduced urban labor demand (Sivori 1972). As a result, there was a frequent sequence of famine, starvation, and plague, resulting in higher morbidity. More generally, policies implemented in this regard aimed at maintaining a sort of "optimal" level of the urban population, encouraging migration after a demographic shock (typically a plague) when the urban labor force was insufficient to meet the demand, but expelling population in excess, as well as unwanted inhabitants (beggars, vagrants, etc.) when unfavorable economic conditions occurred (Oddo, Zanini 2022: 520).

To the plebs – all those connoted by poverty – were thus added foreigners, both joined by being in a condition of foreignness with regard to a specific place (Cerutti 2012: 9–30). These categories shared the characteristic of not owning real property and not having specific productive skills suitable for the economic context of the city: it was perhaps a nascent urban proletariat that developed in later centuries (Geremek 1992: 128). Nothing to object to,

in fact, if foreigners traditionally employed as porters in the city's harbor arrived, as is the case with the *Caravana*, from Bergamo, in present-day Lombardy (Piccinno 2002). Other categories of welcome migrants were highly skilled workers, e.g., jewelers, silversmiths, booksellers, architects, master masons, artists, etc., who could make important contributions to the city's economy (Piccinno, Zanini 2019: 287–288). Moreover, in particular circumstances, such as in the aftermath of the plague of 1656–57, which reduced the city's population by 50 percent, to overcome labor shortage, foreign apprentices and workers were exceptionally allowed also in artisan guilds traditionally reserved for citizens. However, this partial liberalization of the Genoese labor market was only a short parenthesis, dictated by the particular situation (ASCG, PC, 226: 24, 465, 568). Last but not least, there were soldiers, above all the Swiss and Germans, who formed a vital component of the Republic's army (Beri 2023).

In other cases, after careful checks of arrivals by land and sea, if a connection between a foreigner's status and an economic function was not identified, a defensive process of rejection was triggered: expulsion or even denying the permit to enter the state. It was a practice carried out not in the name of a particular ideology but following a strictly pragmatic approach. This was the case, for example, in the early 17th century, with the Republic's refusal to take in the Moriscos fleeing Spain, which, at that time, was a close ally for Genoa and linked together by relevant financial interests (Zanini 2020: 9–10). Behind this refusal were motives not of a religious nature, but of mere economic convenience: it was not worthwhile for Genoa breaking good relations with the Court of Madrid to welcome a few hundred refugees, who could certainly have taken shelter elsewhere (Pomara 2020 and 2023).

Coming back to the poor, in Genoa, as in much of Europe, they were considered "strangers in their city": control and confinement in poverty institutions were institutionalized for them. As the historian Edoardo Grendi (1987: 237) wrote: "And how better to eliminate mendicity than by locking it up." In the capital of the Republic, during the 16th and 17th centuries, several charitable institutions were founded, and, at the same time, the institutions aimed at repression and imprisonment of the poor, who, if they were able to work, were employed in forced labor, flourished.

An exception is represented in the mid-seventeenth century by the birth of the *Albergo dei Poveri*, an initiative started by a nobleman, Emanuele Brignole (1617–1678), and supported by a large private charity (Tachella 2018). In the document drafted to indicate the nature of this institution

(Grendi 1987: 273–276), there appears a very broad and generous vision in its reception and, at the same time, it reflects the complex humanity that founded a shelter in the *Albergo*, which also offered temporary recovery for the "starving poor of the Rivieras and the mountains" who "descended in turmoil in the city" and protested creating social disorder. Having overcome the temporary downturn, all of them had to return to their villages.

The doors were also opened to aliens: poor pilgrims, for example, but also "all Jews, Turks, heretics and other infidels," but only "if they intend to be catechized to receive baptism." This great openness, albeit conditioned by religious conversion, found a stumbling block at the very end of the century, coinciding with the outbreak of a severe food crisis and a sharp increase in the number of housed people. Actually, in 1694 it was demanded that the obligation to welcome foreigners should no longer be binding (Grendi 1987: 265). Once again, it was not an ideological decision but a pragmatic one, aimed at counterbalancing the impact of a heavy economic recession.

4. A peculiar group: the Jews

In general terms, the openness toward foreigners of the Republic of Genoa was subject to the observance of some basic principles: "To remain strangers to political life and to be commercially honest and solvent." (Vitale 1955: 300) This approach contributed to attracting aliens from various places of origin – France, Spain, Portugal, England, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Armenia, Greece, Ragusa, etc. – who operated as merchants, shipmasters, artisans, seafarers, etc. (Ceccarelli 2022; Ferrando, et al. 2023). That very same logic was applied also to Jews, who, like in many other Catholic countries of the time, were the focus of specific attention, especially from the mid-17th century.

Specifically, after the 1656–57 plague, when the city's population dropped dramatically, the government decided to fully implement the law concerning the *Portofranco* (free port), which was issued in 1654 and encouraged the presence of foreign merchants, primarily Jews, to take advantage of their international network of relations (Trivellato 2009; Roitman 2011). This policy was aimed at facing competition from the Tuscan port of Livorno and improving trade with the Ottoman Levant (Calafat 2012; Iodice 2016). As a consequence, in 1658 the Republic approved specific

Capitoli e privilegi (rules and privileges) for Jews who decided to settle in the city (Zappia 2021). This was the beginning of a systematic policy towards this minority having the character of permanent ambivalence, whose main feature was being an instrumental relationship, depending on changes in the state's economic needs: the alternating of different conjunctures due to demographic trends or downturns and upturns in trade and financial activity determined greater or lesser oppression and rigidity of the government. However, while for the native population, the census and control of the status of resident households over time had vanished, this did not happen for the Jewish minority, to whom the government paid special attention, especially during critical moments (Rollandi 2021: 121–130).

As a result, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the Jewish community in Genoa was rather small, in both absolute terms and compared to other port cities such as Livorno. Moreover, it was highly mobile, with a small stable core, and a much bigger fluctuating population, most of them coming from Livorno or Piedmont, especially Alessandria and Casale (Urbani, Zazzu 1999; Rollandi 2021). Basing on the few specific sources available, it is possible to report that Jews accounted for between one and four per thousand inhabitants in Genoa, depending on the period (see Table 1).

Table 1
Jews resident in Genoa (selected years)

Year	Jews	Share of the urban population (‰)
1662	204	4.28
1663	128	2.66
1667	182	3.39
1707	86	1.16
1710	210	2.80

Source: Canepari 1959; Urbani, Zazzu 1999; Zappia 2016.

In terms of social stratification, middle-class members were prevailing. Some of them were engaged in wholesale trade; they were not specializing in any single commodity, but rather preferred to deal with a variety of goods, above all textiles, spices, coral, jewels, precious stones, etc. There were also some retailers and petty artisans (Rollandi 2021; Zappia 2021); the latter, in particular, were often accused, sometimes speciously, of causing

great harm to the city's guilds by competing unfairly with them (Zappia 2023). Therefore, from a socioeconomic perspective, most of them belonged to the lower classes and had modest jobs. As was written in an internal document of the Jewish Congregation, there were also "beggars, servants or wandering Jews," and for this very reason, the Community itself did not want them to be part of the *Massari* (administrators) (Rollandi 2021: 128).

However, there was a small group of affluent Jews, who lived in houses rented by Genoese patricians and had business relations with the city elites (Urbani, Zazzu 1999: 589–591, 771–773), such as Abram Rosas, Finale and Lazzaro Sacerdote. It is no coincidence that in a list of taxpayers of the early 1730s, they were ranked among the 25 wealthiest foreigners living in Genoa (see Table 2), having a fortune of 193,750 and 150,000 Genoese lire respectively. On the whole, the six Jewish firms included in the list had total assets amounting to approximately 500,000 Genoese lire, corresponding to one-third of the total. As a result, in that period Jews were the most affluent group among Genoa-based foreign businessmen. To provide a term of comparison to commensurate the value of such amounts, it should be observed that, in those years, a skilled worker earned about two Genoese lire per day.

With regard to the above-mentioned Abram Rosas, who in another coeval report was defined as "ricco sfondolato" (rolling in money), he was deemed to be a distinguished man and had good connections with the city's top economic and social milieu. Not surprisingly, in 1723, when his daughter got married, the most prominent Genoese noblemen attended the event (Levati 1910: 4). This proves, once again, that wealth and shared economic interests had the power to overcome religious barriers among people (Trivellato, et al. 2014).

Even the wealthiest Jews were not fully integrated into the local society but retained a distinct Jewish identity and endogamy. However, the most prominent of them would always enjoy some special social status, granting them important privileges: they were free to live in the city wherever they wanted, without restriction, even when the government attempted to confine Jews in a ghetto (Zappia 2020). They also enjoyed special concessions regarding the duration of their permit to stay in Genoa and were exempted from wearing the badge: a yellow ribbon or a yellow hat (Staglieno 1876a and 1876b; Urbani, Zazzu 1999).

The peculiar condition of the wealthy Jews stood out in the 1730s, when protests advanced by the population, especially the lower classes, due to a supposed unfair competition in the textile trade, together with

Table 2
Most affluent foreign businessmen residing in Genoa in 1731 and their wealth (in Genoese lire)

Name	Nationality	Estimated wealth
Abram Rosas	Jew	193,750
Finale and Lazzaro Sacerdote	Jews	150,000
Giovanni Boissier	Huguenot	105,000
Giovanni Sadelin e Leonardo Lecandel	Netherlands	92,500
Gio. Batta David	French	85,200
David and Guglielmo André	Huguenots	79,000
Francesco David	French	67,200
Moise Alvares	Jews	57,000
Paolo Maystre	Huguenot	47,833
Giuseppe Lovat	French	46,600
Giovanni Ons	Catalan	44,500
Francesco Delon	Huguenot	42,500
Giuseppe Bouvier	French	42,500
Giuseppe Antonio Zanatta	Milanese	41,166
Nicolò Rei	Franch	41,000
Gabriel Fonseca	Jew	38,750
Orazio Bensa	Milanese	37,500
Angelo Maria Rey	French	37,000
Pietro Manuel	Portuguese	35,333
Giacomo Brover	Netherlands	35,250
Adriano Van Noort	Netherlands	35,250
Filippo Della Casanuova	Huguenot	34,500
Emanuele Regondi	French	32,250
Angelo del Mare	Jew	30,500
Abraam Racah	Jew	30,000

Source: Zanini 2023: 53.

a sharpening of positions of greater rigidity on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, paved the way to the expulsion of those who were considered "harmful" to the interest of the Republic. In 1737, under pressures of religious and business origins, the government issued a proclamation ordering the expulsion of Jews from the territory of the state within six years (1743). This sanctioned the expulsion of all poor Jews from Genoa and the state, while a few wealthy Jewish merchants, whose services were considered important by the government, were exempted from this forced removal (Staglieno 1876b: 411). A few years later in 1746–47, during the war of the Austrian succession, the government ordered the immediate expulsion of the Huguenots, accused of having conspired against the Republic (Felloni 1971: 481).

Once the waters calmed down, only a few Jews returned to Genoa, while, on the contrary, a growing number of Huguenots and Genevans (Calvinists) decided to settle in the city, acquiring a growing relevance in the Genoese trade and financial milieu (Felloni 1971: 482–483; Codignola, Tonizzi 2008: 156–159).

5. Conclusions

The measures adopted by the Genoese government during the 17th and 18th centuries were not very different from the policy of control and containment implemented in many parts of Europe. Anyone from outside or within the city itself who constituted an element of "anomaly" for good governance was deemed a subject to be controlled, rejected, or contained. In the background of this logic, there were economic, social, and to some extent religious elements, although, in this regard, an attitude of coexistence prevailed.

The demographic crises of the mid-17th century, as well as the evolution of international trade and commercial networks, resulted in a hitherto unusual openness to Jews, who arrived in small numbers, in absolute terms, but more substantial than in the previous period. Since the reception of this minority was mainly conditioned by economic trends, as well as changes in the geopolitical context (War of the League of Augsburg, 1689–1697 and War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1714), along with domestic protests, it was on the basis of these elements that the government issued laws of reception or rejection.

However, one sticking point remained: affluent Jews, tax subjects important for the state revenues and able to provide useful services to the state, continued to be exempt from the restrictive and coercive measures imposed from time to time, including expulsion.

Poverty, in all forms in which it occurred, was thus a fault, a disruptive element to good governance. Beggars, wayfarers, poor women, lonely and perhaps with children, and madmen represented a marginal population, who, as noted above, came to be considered foreigners in their homeland. Towards them, even based on the principles of Christian pietas, since expulsion was not possible, in line with the orientations prevailing in Europe, systematic containment was carried out.

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