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Expenditures and food consumption of a patrician family in nineteenth-century Trentino: the Bossi Fedrigotti*

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the expenditure and consumption of a noble family from Trentino, the Bossi Fedrigotti, in the nineteenth century. The origin and evolution of the family assets are traced from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century as they shifted from transport to trade, from trade to finance, and finally from finance to agriculture. The research is based on the household budgets and investigates the type, composition and variations in expenditures during two benchmark decades, 1835-44 and 1855-64. The relatively small share of expenses for food as compared to leisure, cultural activities, charity and conspicuous consumption reflects the family's quest for social status and reputation, leading to the obtainment of a noble title in the eighteenth century. The Bossi Fedrigotti represented a pillar in the economic system of Rovereto, which they actively supported through a variety of economic and non-economic actions, helping the city to prosper and advance.

Keywords: Household budgets; 19th century; Tyrol; Italy; living standard; wellbeing; economic history.

JEL classification: R2, D14, D64, E21, M41, N00.

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1 Introduction

In the past two decades a growing line of research has focused on estimating living standards and levels of poverty and wealth from a historical perspective.¹ Recent studies in Italy have pioneered a new approach to analysing these pivotal questions (Rossi, Toniolo and Vecchi, 2001; Vecchi, 2017; Alfani and Barbot, 2009). The novelty of these studies consists in examining new data sets which allow an original method of investigation. In the past, research on living standards has been based on data that were incomplete or fragmentary, forcing a qualitative analysis. In recent years, however, thanks to new technologies that enable the creation of massive datasets, also drawing on archival records, significant progress has been made, yielding new and surprising results. Population censuses, which have been available since the mid-nineteenth century, along with household budgets, and more recently statistics produced by ISTAT and by the Bank of Italy, provide more complete and homogeneous records which make it possible to compile large databases and to apply a quantitative approach to studying phenomena such as trends in wealth, poverty and inequality. The outcomes of this new research challenge traditional literature, which maintains that the century-long process of growth was coupled with a fall in living standards among the poorest part of the population as compared to the affluent (Somogy, 1959). In this view, inequality rises during period of growth. However, the most recent studies argue that this is not always true: for instance in Italy in the period 1881-1961, the trend in income distribution showed this gap decreasing.

Family budgets in this case proved to be both an innovative and an indispensable source of analysis for estimating income inequality and absolute poverty. More specifically, household incomes and expenses are reckoned as the most suitable monetary indicator of well-being, a summary index whose evolution over time reveals how benefits of economic development are distributed among the population (Chianese and Vecchi, 2001).

Moreover, household budgets provide income and expense information, which is fundamental in investigating secular trends in income inequality and poverty (Chianese, Vecchi, 2001: 388), even if consumption versus income as a means for assessing the

¹ A historical view of wealth distribution and poverty levels is becoming pivotal in economic studies, Piketty and Saez, 2011: 3-71; Piketty, 2014.

evolution of inequality is still a matter of debate. If some economists maintain that income represents the best indicator, others are more inclined to favour the lens of consumption and expense²: ‘Income is a good measure of the command that people have over resources and it is an important determinant of their standard of living, but it cannot capture all the diverse dimensions of human well-being’ (Brandolini and Vecchi, 2011:5). In addition, ‘high or low income may exaggerate the true position of the household when borrowing or saving is allowed to smooth the stream of consumption (Blundel and Preston, 1998: 628).³ Conversely ‘consumption expenditure may better reflect expected lifetime resources (Blundel and Preston, 1998: 603-604). Nowadays, studies on developing countries show that ‘household characteristics play a crucial role in explaining consumption behaviour, identifying the poor and measuring welfare. Since nationwide food expenditure surveys consider households as the consuming units, welfare measures must be adjusted for differences in household composition to allow for an improved classification into poor and non-poor’ (Perali, 2003). Between consumption and expenses, food expenditure proves a reliable proxy which makes it possible to predict the total expenditure when other household budget data are lacking (Chianese and Vecchi, 2001:364).

Interest in the expenditures of aristocratic families has also been shown by economic historians, who have recognized the fundamental role played by consumption among the elites in changes in the economic structure (Pinchera, 1999: ix). Conspicuous consumption in particular has had a symbolic function as the expression of a specific lifestyle and social distinction, and had a critical impact also on the productive system (Veblen, 1899). The increase of luxury or cultural products was brought about by growing demand from nobility, who thus stimulated the economy. However, the expenditures of aristocratic families have long been neglected in much of the literature,

² Two are in effect the methodologies adopted to estimate inequalities. Atkinson, in particular, points out that ‘the subject of income inequality had become marginalised in economics. For much of the twentieth century the topic had been ignored, whereas I believed that it should be central to the study of economics’ (Atkinson, 2015:14-15).

³ In studying developing countries, Federico Perali pointed out that ‘measurement errors in estimating income arise from the imputation of values to non-objective sources of income and from the mechanism adopted in the questionnaire to provide incentives to the respondent to ensure a truthful revelation of their earnings. In the case of Colombia, total income has been measured following the guidelines given’. Moreover, citing Slesnick’s studies, the author maintains that ‘A large proportion of their total expenditures is spent on necessities such as food and energy. On average, they do not exhibit substantial dissaving. The evidence described by Slesnick reinforces the important fact that the households most in need are better identified using consumption rather than income as a metric for welfare measurement’ (Perali, 2003: 286-87).

which deems them to be of no impact on the economic system. ‘Their role in stimulating the overall economy has been obscured by a sort of classical prejudice, which sees discretionary consumption as unproductive consumption, tending to signal crisis rather than wealth. This prejudice is not shared by those historians who underscore its effect on stimulating market dynamics and empowering social mobility’ (Clemente, 2004: 571).

Against this backdrop, the paper focuses on one case study: the household budget of an aristocratic family from Trentino in the nineteenth century, the Bossi Fedrigotti, and in particular their expenditures and food consumption. This information is used in a comparative analysis with other coeval families in order to better determine living standards and levels of wellbeing.

The forefather of the Bossi Fedrigotti settled in Rovereto in the mid-fifteenth century after fleeing from Milan for political reasons. The first descendants were rafters who transported and traded wood, and later goods from Bolzano fairs, on the stretch of the Adige River from Bronzolo (near Bolzano) to Verona. Along with a small group of other local families they were granted a monopoly over this activity by the Habsburg emperors. They maintained this monopoly until the Napoleonic era, when the *Magistrato mercantile*, which had always opposed monopolies, finally won the battle to abolish them⁴. Profits obtained from this privilege, coupled with booming trade in the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, enabled the family to accumulate considerable wealth, chiefly consisting of movable assets. The capital was invested in different activities, which helped to diversify the portfolio and thus risk. The investments included agriculture and manufacturing but were principally focused on financial assets, through which they created a wide and intertwined credit network. The household’s property increased further and the family members gradually climbed the social ladder, becoming earls of Oxenfeld in the eighteenth century and finally entering the Habsburg aristocracy. However, their new noble status did not deter the Bossi Fedrigotti from carrying on their commercial activities, which they further expanded.

Thus, from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century the Bossi Fedrigotti were at the apogee of their wealth, living standard, and prestige. As the economic system changed in the mid-nineteenth century, with traditional trade – along the Brenner axis -

⁴ On the Napoleonic age in Trentino (Garbari, 2000: 13-165).

losing its attractiveness due to falling profits, the Bossi Fedrigotti began shifting their investments from commerce and finance to agriculture, gradually specializing in wine production (**App. 1, Fig. 1**).

This study begins by outlining the origins of the family and its assets, and how it developed and transformed over the centuries. It provides an estimate of the living standard and level of wellbeing they had achieved in the mid-nineteenth century. Drawing on the household budgets found in the family's private archives, the paper analyses the expenditure records for two specific decades: 1835-1844 and 1855-1864. These time periods were chosen because of the availability and homogeneity of the records for these years, and the possibility of comparing them with other coeval Italian families.

The paper is organized as follows: Section II is concerned with reconstructing the assets of the Bossi Fedrigotti and how they transformed over four centuries, from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. It traces the intense commercial activity by which they increased their holdings and improved their social position. A significant discontinuity in this trend – a great leap upwards – is seen in the mid-eighteenth century, when the Bossi Fedrigotti evolve from simple wood transporters to some of the most influential financiers in Rovereto and surrounding and gain membership in the Habsburg nobility. Section III is devoted to the analysis of the family's expenses in 1835-44 and 1855-64. Expenditure indicators are fundamental factors for estimating wellbeing and standard of living. A comparative analysis of these data allows us to identify the household's position within the Italian population of those years and to define their level of wealth. In Section IV, I compare and discuss the data and draw conclusions.

2.1 Origin and evolution of the family assets

The Bossi Fedrigotti were a patrician family from Rovereto, in the southern area of Tyrol, who played an important role in the economy of the region. Originally wood

traders, over the course of three centuries they were able to climb the social ladder and acquire a noble title, entering the Habsburg aristocracy⁵.

The forefather was Nicola Del Buoso, who became embroiled in political conflicts with the Visconti, forcing him to flee the Duchy of Milan. He moved to Sacco, near Rovereto, where he lived until his death in 1434⁶. Little is known about Nicola, except that he had a son, Fedrighello, who was granted the right to collect the tithe of Sacco by the Serenissima (Republic of Venice), a privilege that the family retained into the nineteenth century⁷. From 1416 to 1509 Rovereto was in effect under the dominion of the Venetian Republic⁸. This relatively short period had some impact on the inhabitants of Rovereto, such as the exemption from excise duties, for which the city fought for preserving it also in the following centuries. The people of Rovereto, and the Bossi Fedrigotti as well, maintained these privileges and mindset when the city became part of the Habsburg Monarchy, distinguishing them from their neighbours in Trento, for instance. Rovereto, which had half of the population of Trento in the mid-eighteenth century (5,000 compared to 9,000) was one of Europe's most important silk manufacturing and trade centres⁹.

In his will, drawn up in 1461, Fedrighello bequeathed the tithe along with a relatively small amount of real estate, comprising 11 plots of farmland, whose area is not precisely defined, and a house that he had bought in 1450 and that would become the

⁵ Trentino Alto Adige became part of Italy after WWI. During the years of this analysis (1835-65), Rovereto was still part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The family's descendants currently own a winery in Rovereto, in Trentino Alto Adige, where the family originally came from.

⁶ The precise date of Nicola's flight from Milan is unknown. Only the date of his death is currently known. His surname is recorded in the documents in different ways, Bossi, Del Buoso and De Bossis.

⁷ Archivio Storico Comunale di Rovereto (henceforth Ascr), Fondo Bossi Fedrigotti (henceforth Fbf). Archival references here follow Giovanni Adami's inventory, f. XXVIII, II, 'Decima di Sacco, Istanze e rinnovazione speciale 1820-36. Copia della partita catastale Decima Fedrigotti in Sacco'. The document states: 'Giuseppe Maria, Gio.Pietro, Gio.Batta, Antonio, Giacomo de Fedrigotti possiedono 8 caratti di 32 della decima di frumento, segala, orzo, formentone e della campagna di Sacco, li quali sono calcolati sopra anni 10'. The revenue is 12 moggi (228 kg, 1 moggio = 19 kg) of grain (wheat, rye, barley and mais), equal to 498 f. of 'importo capitale nobile' (Andreazza, 1989: 9).

⁸ In 1510 Rovereto became part of the Habsburg dominion as a consequence of the war between the Republic of Venice and the Cambrai League, where Venice was defeated during the Battle of Agnadello (1509).

⁹ Compared to Trento, Rovereto's economic performance was strikingly different. If one looks at the cash flow produced by the private credit network, one finds that the value of the transactions in Rovereto amounted to about 315,000 florins, which was more than three times as much as Trento's, 90,600 florins (M. Lorenzini, 2018:109). In the nineteenth century the demographic difference reduced: in 1854 Trento had 13,868 inhabitants and Rovereto 11,115; (Grandi, 1978: 28).

family palace and place of residence for future descendants. All the assets were equally divided – ‘*item dimidiam partem*’ – between his two sons Pellegrino and Antoniolio¹⁰.

It was with Giovanni at the end of the sixteenth century that the family’s property and prestige began to increase. Giovanni founded the Fedrigotti-Baroni, a firm of rafters. Rafts were built with local wood and once they reached their destination they were disassembled and the wood sold. Once the Bolzano fairs began to develop, also goods from the fairs were transported and traded¹¹. With the *Floss Ordnung* decree issued in 1584 by the Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, the enterprise obtained a monopoly on transport from Bronzolo (near Bolzano) to Verona along the Adige River¹². This meant that nobody could transport goods along that stretch of river except the Fedrigotti-Baroni (Bonoldi, 2016: 229-230)¹³.

*The transporters from Sacco are allowed to create partnerships with the assistance of our officials of duties. Nobody will be permitted to transport wood or goods except the members of those partnerships. The penalty will be 10 florins.*¹⁴

Despite the opposition of merchants from other cities, this privilege was regularly confirmed by Maximilian III (1605), Leopold Archduke of Austria (1684) and Maria

¹⁰ Ascr, Fbf, f., XLII, I (1461).

¹¹ Exchanged goods were: wool and cotton from England, Germany and Switzerland, silk draperies and wood from Amsterdam, Hamburg, Trieste, Venice, Livorno and Marseille, leather and oil from Venice, Lake Garda, Tuscany, Genoa, writing paper, copper and brass from Schwaz, and the Pustertal and many others (Andreazza, 1989:50-51).

¹² The members of the company were: Melchiorre and Bonfiol Baroni, the brothers Abrami (Albrecht, Francisch and Battista), Francesco Soldino, Antonio Bonfioli, Batta Pegolatti, and Giovanni (Hans in the document) Fedrigotti. Ascr, Fbf, F. I, I, ‘Società Fedrigotti Baroni e Comp. per la spedizione delle merci sull’Adige. Privilegi del 1584, 1605, 1684, Copia dei privilegi concessi dal I. Ferdinando alla comunità di Sacco, l’anno 1584’. (Andreazza, 1989:98).

¹³ This privilege referred to the stretch of river downhill, not uphill. The journey by raft from Bolzano to Verona took two days. One day was employed to go from Bronzolo to Sacco, where the rafters stopped for the night, because travelling by night was forbidden. The following day they continued to Verona, where the rafts were untied and the wood was sold. The journey back to Bronzolo, against the current, took about fifteen days (Andreazza, 1989:40).

¹⁴ Original text: ‘Possano i conduttori di Sacco, far e crear compagnie tra loro con l’assistenza e saputa dei nostri officianti, del datio e che niun altro possi condur legname, meno sopra quelli caricare merce, se non gli arruolati in dette compagnie’, Ascr, Fbf, f. I, I, Società Fedrigotti Baroni e Comp. per la spedizione delle merci sull’Adige. Privilegi del 1584, 1605, 1684 and ff. Wood was used for fire and for building. Large quantities were required by the cities of the Po Valley, including Venice with its arsenal and building activity, Verona, Mantua and Brescia. Water routes, and in particular the Adige River, played a pivotal role in this commercial network. According to the balance sheets of 1790 and 1801, the Tyrol earned 936,000 f. a year from the export of wood, which was equal to 13.5% ‘of total assets of the Land’s trade balance’ (Bonoldi, 2016: 224).

Theresa of Austria (1744)¹⁵. On the other hand, the *Hofkammer* at the time of Maria Theresa collected the considerable sum of 53,564 florins (abbreviated ‘f.’), which the partnership paid as *laudemio* (Andreazza, 1989:152)¹⁶.

Trade increased particularly thanks to the expansion of the Bolzano fairs, which were held four times a year. This led to the development of a very active, broad commercial network, especially between Germany and the Italian regions¹⁷. The Adige River forms a bight near Rovereto that facilitated navigation and control of commercial exchange. On the left bank of this bight lies the town of Sacco (literally ‘sack’ but also ‘bight’ in Italian). Thanks to its strategic position, it became an important river port, and there an emporium of goods was built. Sacco began levying duties on river trade as early as the Middle Ages, and a guild was founded there: the *Arte degli Zattieri*, (The Rafters Guild)¹⁸. Merchants often attempted to eliminate monopolies and complained in particular about the inefficiencies of the Fedrigotti-Baroni firm. In the 1790s they suggested creating an alternative service in the form of weekly ship service along the Adige River providing regular transportation from Bolzano to Verona and from Verona to Chioggia (near Venice). But the government responded by reaffirming ordinances that prohibited sending goods via land or water without the Fedrigotti-Baroni’s authorization¹⁹. The partnership maintained this privilege until 1806, when the *Magistrato mercantile*, a strong opponent of monopolies, finally succeeded in abolishing it in spite of strident opposition from the Fedrigotti. The *Magistrato* argued not only that monopolies were detrimental to commerce, but also cited the conflict of interests of the Bossi Fedrigotti, given their family ties with the officials of the Italian Tyrol (Bonoldi, 2016: 232-233)²⁰.

¹⁵ Ascr, Fbf, F. I, I, Società Fedrigotti Baroni e Comp. per la spedizione delle merci sull’Adige. Privilegi del 1584, 1605, 1684 and ff.

¹⁶ Rafts were 12 metres long and could transport up to 18 thousand *libbre* (10 tons) (Bonoldi, 2016: 227). 1 florin is equal to 60 *carantani*, (Grandi, Leonardi, and Pastori Bassetto, 1978:10).

¹⁷ On the fairs held in Bolzano in the eighteenth century, see Bonoldi, 1999.

¹⁸ In 1691 a new partnership was constituted: the ‘Compagnia Fedrigotti, Baroni e C’ . The partners, who represented ten families of Sacco, were: Giovanni Fedrigotti, Geronim Fedrigotti, Giovanni Maria and Felice Baroni, Francesco Gielmini, Carlo Baroni, Cristoforo Baroni, Giovanni Vicentini, Fedrigo q. Antonio Fedrigotti, Bartolomeo Fedrigotti and Graciol Gracioli. Only the first four had been practicing partner rafters prior to the founding of the partnership. The enterprise eventually ceased activity and three years later a new one was created: the ‘Fedrigotti e C. and the Fedrigotti e Baroni’. Again, in 1699 the firm closed and two others emerged, ‘Fedrigotti, Baroni e C’, and Fedrigotti e C’, with equal capital and shared ownership, (Andreazza, 1989: 53, 132-33).

¹⁹ The penalty would be 4 times the cost of transport by water.

²⁰ In 1743 the chancellor of the *Magistrato mercantile* was Francesco Giuseppe Rosmini. Ibidem, p. 235. Pietro Modesto’s daughter Margherita married a member of the family, the nobleman Gio. Antonio

Massive importation of foodstuffs like grains and manufactured products such as cotton or wool draperies, were offset by the export of wine, wood, salt, minerals, silk and livestock. The incomes generated by this shipping, through duties and the income of local operators, merchants, transporters, and artisans, were a major factor in re-establishing a balance between assets and liabilities of Tyrol deficit trade (Bonoldi, 2016: 236).

Along with the intense and highly profitable commercial activity, Giovanni Fedrigotti purchased some plots of land that amounted to about 8,000 square metres (0.8 ha). While not a significant real asset, the acquisition indicates the concern for diversifying the portfolio and along with it the risks.

The household's landholdings were located in Sacco and the nearby villages of Lizzana, Volta, and Prà. It was partly pasture and partly planted with grains, vineyards and mulberry trees. The latter, normally cultivated at the margins of the farmlands, were used to raise silkworms, an activity that would shortly become the one of the most productive sectors of the Trentino economy, as in many northern Italian regions of early modern age²¹. Giovanni owned the house in Sacco, the '*domus veteris*'²² with a vegetable garden, which was what he bequeathed to his five sons along with a capital of 1,663 f.: '*et cum sua parte lucris et capitalis circa negotium mercatorum*'²³. As stated above, Giovanni was able to significantly improve the economic condition of the family and also its social status, obtaining in 1592 from Ferdinand II of Austria the acknowledgment of his lineage from the Milan aristocratic line, the Bossi²⁴. This would be the first step towards the full achievement of nobility, obtained only in the eighteenth century.

Rosmini Serbati. So did his granddaughter Giuseppa, who married Angelo dei Rosmini. Ascr, Fbf, Genealogy.

²¹ The Venetian mainland was one of the greatest producers of silk of Italy, see: Lanaro (ed), 2006; Demo, 2001; Molà, 2000; Panciera, 1996.

²² In the eighteenth century the house was transformed by Gianpietro into a palace that hosted influential politicians and governors, such as Napoleon.

²³ Ascr, Fbf, f. XLII, 309-310 (1603) Giovanni had 8 children; 5 sons and 3 daughters.

²⁴ The Bossis of Milan were an aristocratic family who played an important political role in the Duchy of Milan. Some of its members earned various distinctions: Bocasio Bosso in 1258 was one of the captains' delegates to the treaty of St. Ambrogio Peace; Gionsello Bosso was involved, along with Gaspare Visconti and Venzio Crivelli, in reforming the Statutes of Milan in 1277; in 1279, Uttavio Bosso was made Earl of the Palatine by the Emperor Iacopo and eventually by Gabriele Bosso; Gabriele was Nicola's brother, the one who fled to Sacco and gave rise to the Bossi Fedrigotti in Trentino.

Giovanni married twice and the sons he had from his two wives gave rise to two different family branches. Girolamo – from his second wife, Susanna degli Antonelli – sired the Bossi Fedrigottis from Belmonte. Giovanni – from his first wife, Elisabetta dei Madernini – fathered the other branch: Bossi Fedrigotti from Oxenfeld (in Italian *Campobovio*), who continued the family line in Rovereto (Tabarelli De Fatis A and L. Borrelli, 2005:61-62). The family enjoyed long and continuous growth in the economic, political and social domains thanks to a fruitful mercantile and financial activity and strategic marriages with the local and Habsburg aristocratic households. In 1717, Giovanni (Giovanni's nephew) and Federigo officially obtained the coveted title of earls of Oxenfeld from the Emperor Charles VI, and in 1790 they were included in the book of the Austrian nobility.

2.2 The great leap forward: business, wealth and status in the 18th-19th century

The decisive surge in the family's wealth and living standard was overseen by Pietro Modesto (1698-1763), Giovanni's son²⁵. After the untimely death of his brother, Giovanni Antonio, Pietro Modesto became the only male heir, inheriting the entire estate²⁶. He distinguished himself for his marked entrepreneurial spirit and his ambition to expand wealth and social honour. His father, as stated, had already obtained a noble title (1717); however, the newly conquered social status did not prevent Pietro Modesto from carrying on the family's commercial activity, and extending business to other sectors, from trade to agriculture, manufacturing, postal service and finance.

The landholdings were increased in various ways: new purchases, *permuta* (exchanges of plots of land instead of buying/selling) and *datio in solutum*²⁷. The land was almost all cultivated with grain, vineyards, or mulberry trees to produce raw silk. This activity spread widely throughout the countryside and among peasant families, who could thus supplement their incomes, which barely exceeded the subsistence level²⁸.

²⁵ Giovanni had 3 children: Giovanni Antonio, who died before his father, Marina, who married Pancrazio Campi, and Pietro Modesto, who on 3rd February 1719, married Caterina Aurelia, the daughter of an aristocratic family, the Barone Abramo Fedrigazzi, thus ensuring continuity of nobility.

²⁶ He had also a sister, Marina.

²⁷ Acceptance in lieu. See De Luca and Lorenzini, 2018: 9.

²⁸ For the putting-out system used in silk production, see Lorandini, 2006: 200-204.

Besides raw silk, Pietro Modesto extended the activity to manufacturing and in 1753 built a spinning factory in Valle Lagarina in a period when²⁹ silk industry, introduced to Trentino in the late-fifteenth century, was growing rapidly towards its zenith³⁰. In parallel, Pietro Modesto also expanded his vineyards and increased wine production, which was destined not only for self-consumption and local taverns, hotels or pubs, but also for foreign markets. In 1743 he obtained from Maria Theresa of Austria permission to trade wine also in the Austrian territories: specifically, he was allowed to export 50 orne, equal to 40 hl a year '*fuori dal circondario*'³¹. From 1785 to 1795, the family produced an average of around 465 hl of wine per year, a figure that would progressively increase in the following century (**App.1, Fig. 1**)³².

On the whole, land assets were located in Rovereto and its surroundings, more precisely Sacco, Rovereto, Isera, Lizzana, Pomarollo, Sant'Antonio, Terragnolo, Trambileno, Vallarsa, Villa Lagarina, Marano, and Brancolino³³, which show the estate had progressively expanded over the years to an area of 22.6 hectares, which is not a particularly large amount of land, but Trentino was predominantly a mountainous region and arable land was rather limited³⁴. However, it is a rather modest estate if compared, for instance, to the landholdings of another important household, the Wolkenstein Trostburg. This household was divided into two branches. The Trento branch owned 183 hectares of land in different parts of the region, apportioned as follows: 35% was farmed (grain, vineyards, and mulberry trees); 30% was meadow;

²⁹ Sacco, where the family lived, was settled geographically in Valle Lagarina. The spinning mill was sold in 1830 for 4,000 f. to Fortunato, formerly Francesco, Marsili from Rovereto. See G. Adami, *Inventario*, 1927, p. 6. In the mid-nineteenth century, silk production in the entire region amounted to 20,750 quintals, Leonardi, 1976: 7.

³⁰ The Rovereto silk industry was highly specialized in the early phases of the manufacturing process: reeling, throwing, and to a lesser extent dyeing. The special privileges enjoyed by the city, which was exempt from duties, attracted many foreign operators, coming from the Venetian State and the German territories, in particular from Nuremberg. At the beginning the success of the silk industry was mainly due to the presence of these foreign merchant-entrepreneurs rather than to local merchants, A. Leonardi (ed), 1988:8-11.

³¹ Outside of the district. Ascr, Fbf, f. XXXIX, II, 2 (5 December 1743). 1 orna was equivalent to 0.785 hl.

³² Before 1785 precise data are not available. Prices per eimer (1 eimer equalled 56.6 litres) ranged from 21 lire of high tax, 17 lire of medium tax, and 14 lire of low tax; Ascr, Fbf, f. 5. If we calculate an average price of 17.3 f. per eimer, this means an income of 8,060 f. on average per year.

³³ Ascr, Fbf, f. 3 (1766), '*Inventario dei beni mobili ed argenteria di casa fatta subito dopo la morte del fu padre Pietro Modesto (1698-1763), cioè sino li 29 luglio 1766, exclusive, doppo il qual giorno li beni qui aggiunti furono acquistati successivamente e così pure li capitali sino li 21 suddetto*'.

³⁴ Almost 18% of the territory lay below 750 metres above sea level, comprising level ground, valley floor, and hills. This was the area that was effectively suitable for grain cultivation. Around 40% of the land was between 750 and 1,500 metres a.s.l., and the rest was over 1,500 metres a.s.l., Coppola, 2000: 233–258.

some 19% was forested and regularly logged; the rest was pasture (Leonardi, 1983:85-86).

Across the generations, the Bossi Fedrigotti had purchased buildings in the city, which they rented out. They owned twenty-three houses, three shops, and one building with a spinning works, saw-mill, and grain mill³⁵. In addition they still had an income from the tithe of Sacco, a privilege, as mentioned above, that they had inherited in the fifteenth century.

In 1750 Pietro Modesto obtained a licence to operate the postal service³⁶ in the area between Calliano and Torbole, which the family maintained until WWI³⁷. In his *post-mortem* inventory the value of the postal concession was calculated at 54,000 f., with revenues of 3,458.5 f. (6.4%). The competitiveness of the postal service, and revenues deriving from it, then decreased with the introduction of the railway in the second half of the nineteenth century³⁸.

In any case, the lion's share of the Bossi Fedrigotti assets in 1766 consisted of capital, mostly invested in interest-rate loans³⁹. Credit amounted to a total of 462,229.5 f., while the value of the real estate was 129,974 f. On the whole the value of its asset (capitals, real estate and postal service) amounted to 592,204 f. To gain an idea of this value, trade of goods sold at the fairs in Bolzano yielded a profit of 450,000 f. a year (Bonoldi: 2016:228). A large portion of the loans (116,756 f.) was for thirteen local communities⁴⁰, another quota was addressed to private citizens, who included artisans, merchants, members of the aristocracy and a share (8,500 f.) to the Emperor.

When Pietro Modesto died⁴¹, his estate was divided equally between his two heirs, his son Giuseppe Maria (1728-1817) and his nephew Gianpietro (1759-1834), son of

³⁵ Pietro Modesto was also Protector of the Fine Arts.

³⁶ Becoming farmer of the Post required payment of a considerable sum. Ten years earlier (1740) Mattia Giuseppe Cresseri de Breitenstein spent 25,000 f. in order to assume a stretch of the Post of Rovereto, (Lorenzini, 2018: 116).

³⁷ It was the advent of the railway that robbed the postal service of its competitiveness. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Tyrol witnessed a fall in its relative importance in transalpine transport. The incentives offered by the port of Trieste, the extension of Austrian prohibitions into the Tyrol – which forbade the importation of various categories of goods and generally stiffened duties both for imports and for transit –, and the failure to reach an agreement with the German Zollverein in 1834 displaced a great deal of trade traffic from the region, (Bonoldi, 2016: 239).

³⁸ On 20 April 1855, the expropriation of land for the building of the southern railway took place.

³⁹ Ascr, Fbf, Atti ereditari, f. 3, 1766.

⁴⁰ At 4% interest rate.

⁴¹ Pietro Modesto had 5 children: Giovanni, Domenico, Pier Francesco, Margherita and Giuseppe Maria.

Giovanni (Pietro Modesto's other son) who died at age 37 (See family tree in Appendix). Together they carried on the family's business, greatly increasing the family's holdings. They also worked to consolidate their aristocratic position and gain official entry into the book of Tyrol nobility. Giuseppe Maria and Gianpietro maintained an intense correspondence with Gio. Antonio Rosmini – Giuseppe Maria's brother-in-law –, who was in the service of the imperial government at the time⁴². On 16 August 1790, a new letter from Gio. Antonio Rosmini stated the amount of the tax that the family's members had to pay in order to confirm their status as nobles:

*...since Giuseppe Maria lacks evidence of two generations of nobility, he shall pay a double tax of 845 f. and 46 car. Gio. Pietro, lacking evidence of one, shall pay 633 f. and 19 car. The total amount is therefore 1,479 f. and 3 car.*⁴³

The household assets were divided as follows: Giuseppe Maria's share comprised moveable and immovable assets with total value of 460,796 f., as shown in Table 1. The inheritance also included three calashes, eleven horses, two carts, and harnesses (bridles, saddles, etc.) used for the postal service⁴⁴. The real estate yielded a revenue of 4%, while capital produced almost 9% (**Table 1**).

Gianpietro's share of the inheritance likewise comprised moveable and immovable assets whose total value was somewhat more than that of his uncle Giuseppe Maria, i.e., 483,445.42 f. Based on an estimate of capital value and revenues, immovable assets yielded a revenue of 4%, while credit produced up to 6% (**Table 1**).

The value of total assets in 1785 indicates a remarkable increase in the family's wealth in twenty years (since 1766). The nominal value of assets rose from 590,000 to over 944,000 f.

When Giuseppe Maria died in 1817, his nephew Gianpietro (1759-1834) inherited the entire estate: landholdings, credit, the Feudo Postale (with a value estimated at 86,500

⁴² 44 On 15 June 1790 the family sent a petition to Lieutenant Marshal of Tyrol: 'The undersigned present ... their pleas to Count Leopoldo lieutenant marshal of the Province of Tyrol to obtain aggregation to the matriculation of the Tyrolean nobility, to which effect they also present the necessary evidence of prior Austrian and imperial nobility, with the offer to pay the customary fees to achieve the sought-after diploma. The noble Gio. Antonio Rosmini Serbati married Margherita, Pietro Modesto's daughter, hence Giuseppe Maria's sister. Ascr, Fbf, f. XXXVII, IV, 'Matricola della nobiltà tirolese 1790'.

⁴³ '...perché li mancano due nobili generazioni tassa doppia: fiorini 845:46. Gio. Pietro mancante di un grado di prova tassa e mezza fiorini 633:19, summa 1.479:03 fiorini'. Ascr, Fbf, f. XXXVII, IV, 'Matricola della nobiltà tirolese 1790'.

⁴⁴ 4Ascr, Fbf, 'Atti ereditari, f. 319 (1785)'.

Table 1 – Giuseppe Maria and Gianpietro’s share of inheritance, 1785 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Heirs</i>	<i>Immoveable assets</i>				<i>Moveable assets</i>				<i>Post⁴⁵</i>	<i>Total share</i>	
	<i>Revenues</i>		<i>Capital</i>		<i>Revenues</i>		<i>Capital</i>			<i>F</i>	<i>car</i>
	<i>F</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>car</i>			
Giuseppe Maria	6,269	45	150,111	32	24,676	9	267,475	13	43,250	460,796	32
Gianpietro	5,426	46	135,260	29	18,734	7	307,935	13	43,250	483,445	42
<i>Total assets</i>										944,241	74

Source: Ascr, Fbf, ‘Atti ereditari’ (1785), f. 319

f.), the Tithe of Sacco and the ‘*negozio sete*’ (silk business) (1794-1821)⁴⁶. The latter, ‘Melchiorre Baroni and Co.’, was a limited partnership, founded in 1794 with a capital of 40,000 f., managed by Melchiorre Baroni that traded in silk and to which the Fedrigotti provided financial backing. It prospered greatly until 1806, in coincidence with the flourishing of the Bolzano fairs. In parallel with the trade in silk products, they also practiced a fruitful credit activity. Based on partnership records, on 14 August 1817 the Fedrigotti alone made loans amounting to 105,840 f.⁴⁷

The partnership definitively closed in 1821, which also marked the end of the Bolzano fairs. Those were the years following closely on the Napoleonic wars (1799–1815), which upended the old European establishment and deeply transformed its social and economic structure. It was in particular the *Prohibitivsystem* (prohibitionist politics) introduced in the restoration period in Austria that played a critical role in limiting transit trade and the fairs.

In the late eighteenth century land had begun to play a central role, representing a common unifying element for social elites (Angiolini, 1978:41; Società italiana degli Storici dell’economia, 1998). Gianpietro, who became the sole heir of the family estate, had married an aristocratic woman, Giovanna, who was the daughter of Giuseppe, Earl of Bortolazzi of Wattardorf and Brunnenberg. By this marriage the family estate expanded to include 35.43 hectares of land in Vigolo Vattaro⁴⁸. Giovanna distinguished herself for her charitable activities, leaving all at once 10,000 f. to the House of the Poor of Sacco and Rovereto.

⁴⁵ ‘half of the revenues from the Post’.

⁴⁶ Ascr, Fbf, f. XLVII, I, ‘Scioglimento definitivo del negozio Melchior Baroni e Comp. (1821)’.

⁴⁷ Ascr, Fbf, f. XLVII, ‘Conto Cassa e Utili Ditta Melchiorre Baroni, 1803-1823’.

⁴⁸ Ascr, Fbf, f. XI, ‘Capitali censi Vigolo Vattaro, Bosentino e Centa (1756-1830)’.

After almost one century, the estate recorded in the official land registry (the cadastre) had further expanded. Investments progressively shifted from trade to agriculture, from moveable to immovable assets. Wealth underwent a process of ‘reification’ as shown by the land registry data. Although this document is incomplete, lacking the portion of liquid assets, it turns out to be of particular importance because it provides a comprehensive overview of the landholdings, their areas, and their estimated value in florins⁴⁹ (Table 2).

Table 2 – Distribution, area and value of landholdings, (1893).

<i>Locations</i>	<i>Area</i>		<i>Value</i>	
	<i>Pertiche</i> ⁵⁰	<i>Piedi</i>	<i>Florins</i>	<i>Car</i>
Rovereto			26,093	31
Lizzana	13,236	6	11,968	177
Sacco	31,446	4	29,880	80
Isera	415	3	450	
Other	8,093	4	6,004	203
Marano	3,671		14,130	421
Paton	4,137	14	140	341
Folas	22,399	3	14,028	95
Brancolino	10,160	18	8,846	24
Pomarollo	2,226	2		
Mori	960		761	
Foppiano	67,972		2,009	
St. Antonio	20,398			
Other	1,225	5		
Isera	18,915	18		
Total	205,253	77	88,216	1,383
Total 2	205,265.83		88,239.05	

Source: Bcr, Fbf, f. XXXIV, 237, Cadastre (1817-1893)

Total landholdings amounted to 73.69 hectares with a value of 88,239 f. This means that landholdings more than tripled from 22.6 to 73.6 hectares.

As for liquid assets, in the mid-eighteenth century the Bossi Fedrigotti owned a large share of capital invested in interest-rate loans (4% to 5%) taken out in the previous

⁴⁹ Ascr, Fbf, reg. XXXIV (1817-1893), f. 237 (land registry).

⁵⁰ Six *piedi* equal one *pertica*. One *pertica* (as unit of area) equals 3.59 square metres.

century. All told, there were sixty-three loans amounting to a total of 87,420.55 f. We can get an idea of how much this was by bearing in mind that one of the first banks in Rovereto, the Cassa di Risparmio di Rovereto, founded in 1841 by the most important merchants of the town, had a turnover of 252,817 f. in the 1870s and net profits of 25,226 f. (Leonardi, 1976:22). Forty-six percent of the moveable assets owned by the Bossi Fedrigotti were *censi* (loans)⁵¹ to the local communities (Pomarolo, Terragnolo, Volano and Rovereto)⁵². These credit contracts were characterized by the absence of a repayment deadline, as written in the documents: '*rispettabili a piacere*', to be paid off '*quandocumque*' or '*con libertà di francazione e piacere*'. The average size of loan amounted to 1,387 f.⁵³ Calculating average interest rate of 4.5%, such credits yielded annual revenue of 3,934 f. However, we do not know whether debtors (especially the communities) continued to pay interest to the family through the centuries.

Gianpietro, who inherited the entire estate, had seven children: Giuseppe Massimo Marco (1787-1788) and Giuseppe Ferdinando Paolo (1798-99), both dying soon after birth; Giovanni (1794-1828), who lived abroad; Giuseppe Fedele (1799-1837); Luigia, referred to as 'Aloisia' in the documents, (1792-1879); Antonio (1797-1871); and Ludovico (1799-1842).

In 1821, at the age of 24, Antonio became officially 'adult' and could enter the administration of the household patrimony. His father Gianpietro let him

join the company and the administration ... and entrusted to his benefit a branch of the family economy and administration ... the father must demand from him that he shall be legally liable for any damages he causes the company and administration that harm his father or his brothers, all having equal right to their father's estate'.⁵⁴

⁵¹ On loans, named differently in different zones - *censi*, *livelli* or *fitti* -, see De Luca and Lorenzini, 2018: 181-204.

⁵² Ascr, Fbf, f. XXX, XI.

⁵³ The average is relatively high because it includes the large loans to the communities and also to the Sicharts (probably merchants). The latter amounted to 19,722.35 f. If we subtract these figures, the average – much more truthful - was 487 f. on average per loan. These sums had been given to private citizens for different purposes, for buying houses or plots of land, or for mercantile purposes. As mentioned above, Rovereto was one of the greatest European centres of raw silk production and silk manufacturing, and private credit market played in this context a fundamental role in boosting the local economy, (M. Lorenzini, 2018: 105-132).

⁵⁴ Ascr, Fbf, f. XXXIX, (1820).

If we consider taxes levied as an indicator of wealth, the Bossi Fedrigotti occupy a middle position among the elites. In 1848, Antonio paid 350 f. and 59 car. for his property in Sacco. His brother Ludovico paid 132 f. and 37 car. for the real estate in Villa Lagarina. These figures are not particularly high when compared to other aristocratic families. The earl Andrea Giovannelli was taxed 1,048 f. and 46 car.; the noble Thun 1,283 f. and 34 car.; the earl Wolkenstein 895 f. and 7 car. The Bossi Fedrigotti were thus not among the highest taxpayers of Tyrol⁵⁵.

In order to have a detailed picture of the family's living standard and level of wellbeing, the analysis shifts in the next section to household expenditures under Antonio and his brothers and sister.

3 Household expenditures and food consumption (1835-64)

3.1 Archival sources

The analysis of Bossi Fedrigotti expenditures draws on the household budgets contained in the family's private archives⁵⁶.

The archives contain ledger books providing rich and detailed information about the family's expenditures for food, salaries, medical care, donations, theatre rents, newspapers subscriptions, etc. They cover a span from 1792 to 1867⁵⁷ and are basically of two types. One type – *Libro Giornale* – contains information exclusively regarding food. They provide a detailed description of the food bought by the family, but do not include data on quantity, prices or unit costs. There is also no information concerning the number of family members. The other type of ledgers are labelled *Conto cassa. Spese famiglia* [Cash accounts: family expenses] and *Libro spese di famiglia* [Family expenditure ledger] and are much more complete, recording all household expenses: wood, salaries, maintenance costs, medical care, charity, leisure, and, of course, food.

⁵⁵

⁵⁶ The Bossi Fedrigotti archives, which had been donated by the family to the Municipality of Rovereto in 2013, is composed of two parts: the family's private archives; and the Feudo Postale (the Post) archives. The former comprises 121 registers and 74 folders and covers a span of four centuries, from the 17th to the 20th century. The Post archives comprises 19 folders, 2 registers, and one box, and covers the same period.

⁵⁷ Ascr, Fbf, f. 9, *Giornale*, (19.8.1792-15.8.1795), f. 10, *Uscite* (1.7.1797-1.12.1807), f. 11, *Giornale* (1799-1801), f. 22, *Giornale di famiglia* (1817-1829), f. 37, *Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia*, (1835-1845), f. 46, *Libro spese di famiglia*, (1854-1867), *Haushaltung Bücher* (1890).

Our analysis draws upon this second kind of documents and focuses on two decades, 1835-44 and 1855-64. Recording and thereby controlling expenses, even minor ones, was a fundamental pillar of proper household administration among the wealthiest social classes since the sixteenth century, when treatises on good *oikonomia* were published and gradually spread among the aristocracy. The practice was still common in the nineteenth century.

The ledgers recorded what the family consumed. Some products, such as wine, grains and wood, were privately produced and we may assume that they came from the family's own property and were recorded at their market price⁵⁸.

The ledgers are organized as follows: on the right page, *Avere*, all the expenses accrued by the family members are recorded, with prices and in some cases unit prices and quantity. On the left page, *Dare*, the sums of money outlaid by the family members are listed. Profits from the sale of agricultural products produced on the family's land were also sometimes recorded. The totals on the two pages normally match exactly or closely (**App. 1, Figs. 1 and 2**). The money paid out (*Dare*) was in effect a sort of advance payment, pooling money to cover future payments.

Expenses were recorded per day, per month and per year. Every three months (called I, II, III and IV *Quartale*⁵⁹) a partial summary was calculated, and after the last *Quartale*, titled: *Prospetto generale delle spese di famiglia dal 1 gennaio al 31 dicembre*, all the detailed sums of the previous four *Quartali* were added, giving the expenses for the entire year. We have grouped items into macro categories and further subdivided them into micro categories. The former comprise: food, salaries, wood, medical care, leisure and culture, charity, maintenance work, hired labourers, and miscellaneous expenses.

3.2 The decade 1835-1844

In the decade 1835-1844 the family consisted of five members: Antonio (38-48 years old), Luigia (43-53), Giuseppe Fedele (36-38), Giuseppe's wife Augusta (they had a

⁵⁸ Self-consumption products are usually rarely registered in household budgets and hence difficult to estimate (Pánek, 1997: 703).

⁵⁹ *Quartale* is one quarter of a year, 3 months.

child who died when he was adolescent), and their mother Giovanna. In 1837-41 the number dropped to four after Giuseppe Fedele's death in 1837, while Augusta continued to live with them. Their mother died in 1842, leaving only three people in the period 1842-44. The data presented below, essential to estimating per capita consumption, are drawn from the *Dare* side of the ledger, where the outlay from each family member was recorded. The household budget was managed by Antonio, as is stated on the last page of the document:

*We undersigned entirely approve the expenses recorded in this book, which we bore for maintaining the family, starting on 22 February 1835 and continuing through December 1844, and as a consequence we release our respective brother-in-law and brother Antonio Fedrigotti, household administrator, from obligation to return any money, and renounce our right to any reimbursement should the partnership be dissolved. Rovereto, 8 January 1845.*⁶⁰

When also Antonio's brother Giuseppe Fedele died, the family estate was in the hands of Antonio, Ludovico, and Aloisia.

The family annual expenditure ranged from a minimum of 2,864 f. (1835) to a maximum of 5,612 f. (1843), for an average of 4,039 f. over the period. In per-capita terms it ranges from 572.5 (1835) to 1870.6 (1843) f. for an average of 1,507.8 f. In terms of wages, a master bricklayer, shoemaker or carpenter earned 1 florin a day, while an unskilled labourer earned 30-36 car. (Grandi, 1978:66). In 1828 1 soma of wheat (152 lt) cost 16 florins and 13 carantani (1 kg cost 5.2 car.)⁶¹; in 1836 with 3 carantani you could buy from 455 to 490 gr. of rye bread⁶².

Both per-capita and total expenditure showed an upward trend, while the number of family members decreased. Both types of expenditure showed an overall upward trend in 1841-43, when the number of family members declined (**Fig. 1**).

This increase is explained by growth in expenditures for food, wood, salaries and charity. Miscellaneous expenditures, which we will describe below, also rose significantly.

⁶⁰ Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, 'Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia, (1835-1845)'.

⁶¹ Ascr, 'Registro dei mercati delle granaglie e dei prezzi correnti di altri generi venduti nel Comune di Roveredo', Ar.C. 3.3. From 100 kg of wheat, 80 kg of bread was made, Guenzi, 1982:77).

⁶² Archivio storico del comune di Trento (henceforth Asctn), Ordinamento austriaco, Esibiti politici del Magistrato politico economico e del Comune, Categoria I, ("Annona"), unità 3.8-I.1836.

Figure 1 – Total and per capita expenditure,1835-1844 (florins, nominal value).

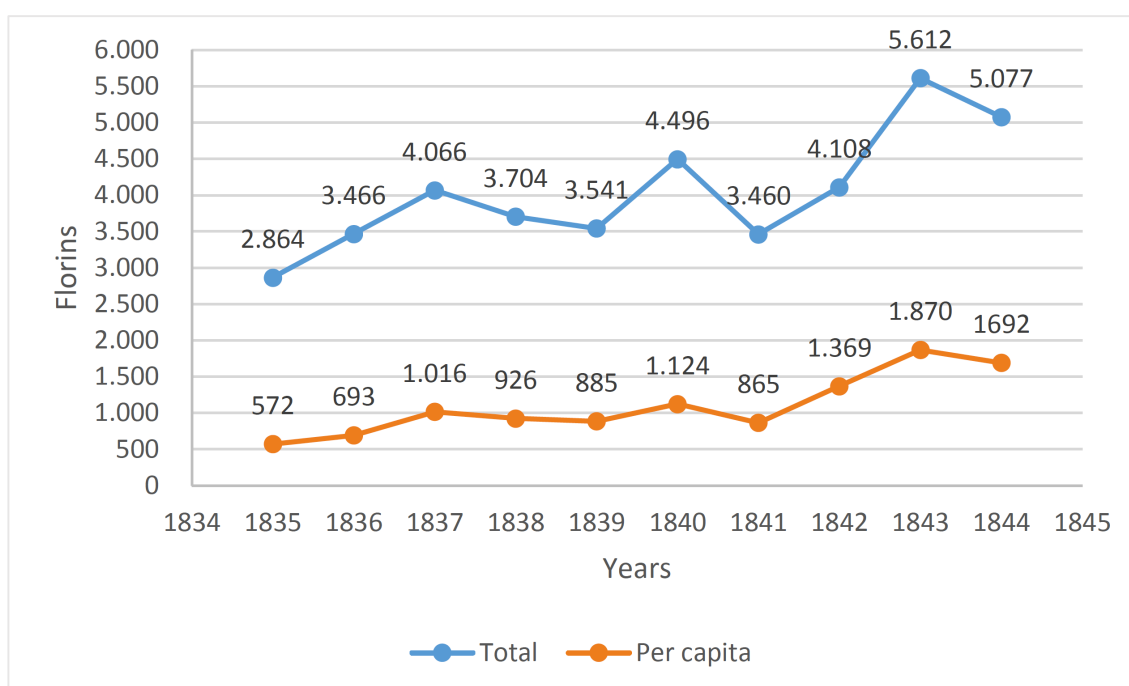


Table 3 – Total and per capita expenses, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Medical care</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Charity</i>	<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>Hired labourers</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Family members</i>	<i>Per capita</i>
1835	1,158	6	121	239	299	76	27	3	935	2,864	5	572.5
1836	1,712	50	153	260	37	3	56	11	1,184	3,466	5	693.2
1837	1,496	132	499	290	346	18	132		1,154	4,066	4	1,016.5
1838	1,456	27	580	231	343	59	63		944	3,704	4	926
1839	1,365		454	299	417	5	91	3	908	3,541	4	885.2
1840	1,338		393	517	422	18	42	23	1,743	4,496	4	1,124
1841	1,288	127	451	455	29	110	162	11	827	3,460	4	865
1842	1,079	17	449	558	244	131	82	19	1,528	4,108	3	1,369.3
1843	1,253	208	455	524	432	945	113	30	1,652	5,612	3	1,870.6
1844	991	42	378	621	98	324	124	5	2,496	5,077	3	1,692.3
Average	1,314	76.13	393.3	399.4	266.7	168.9	89.2	13.13	1,337.1	4,039		1,101.5

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, 'Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia, (1835-1845)'.

Table 4 – Expenditure shares (%), 1835-44

<i>Year</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Medical care</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Charity</i>	<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>Hired labourers</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Total</i>
1835	40.4	0	4	8	10	3	1	0	33	100
1836	49.3	1	4	7	1	0	2	0	34	100
1837	36.7	3	12	7	9	0	3	0	28	100
1838	39.3	1	16	6	9	2	2	0	25	100
1839	38.5	0	13	8	12	0	3	0	26	100
1840	29.7	0	9	12	9	0	1	1	39	100
1841	37.2	4	13	13	1	3	5	0	24	100
1842	26.2	0	11	14	6	3	2	0	37	100
1843	22.3	4	8	9	8	17	2	1	29	100
1844	19.5	1	7	12	2	6	2	0	49	100
Average	33.9	1.5	10	10	7	3	2	0	32	

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, ‘Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia, (1835-1845)’.

Food expenditures represented the highest percentage of household expenses, ranging from 19.5% (1844) to 49.3% (1836) for an average of 33.9% (Tab. 4). They showed an overall decreasing trend over this period (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 – Total expenses and food share (1835-44).



Food

Food as a proportion of household expenditures is a good indicator of living standard. According to some estimation, in the 1880s it amounted to some 80% of total family expenditures for most of the Italian population⁶³. According to the Engels model, food expenditure is negatively correlated to social status, the wealthier the family the lower the proportion of expenses for food. According to Carlo Maria Cipolla, a proportion of 35-50% was typical for well-off families, 20-35% for the wealthiest (Cipolla, 1980: 35-36). Based on these figures, the Bossi-Fedrigotti stood at the borderline between the well-off and the richest families, moving into the latter territory as the decade progressed. Their landholdings in those years do not imply higher income or revenues. Neither their trade nor their transport business was improving during this timespan. As stated above, in those years the Bossi Fedrigotti withdrew from mercantile partnerships and, with the elimination of the monopoly of the *Società degli zattieri*, transit trade ceased to be a source of profits. As with many patrician and affluent families, their main activity shifted to agriculture, which did not provide the level of revenues they once enjoyed. Yet this should not be interpreted as a retreat or a change towards a *more nobilium* lifestyle. Rather, the Bossi Fedrigotti entered the primary sector as entrepreneurs, enlarging their landholdings and introducing new technologies in order to increase productivity and thus goods to be sold, particularly grains, wine, hay and mulberry leaves for silkworm farming. Considering the modest rate of inflation at the time in the decade (**App. 2**), we are inclined to state that although there was a decline in the number of mouths to feed, fixed costs remained stable.

As aforementioned, food expenses recorded in the ledgers regarded food purchased on the market. Some of the food was quite likely self-produced on their own estate, and calculated according to a fair market price. Recurrent items were bread, butter, meat, grains (*grasce*), semola, wine, sugar, coffee, salt and sometimes freshwater fish from rivers or Lake Garda.

Bread, was usually paid once a month⁶⁴. The average expense was 172.3 f. a year, 13% of total food expenditure. This is quite low if we consider that for most households bread could be as much as 50% of food expenditures (Betri, 1998:7). Bread, and

⁶³ Maria Luisa Betri argues that analysis of the changes of popular nutrition in nineteenth-century Italy still has to use the interpretative key of the long nineteenth century (Betri, 1998:7-8).

⁶⁴ In 1836, for instance, the family spent 232 f., which means 46.4 f. per-capita per year.

especially white bread, was predominantly consumed by the upper social classes, while it was almost absent from the diet of peasants, who usually ate polenta made of ground maize soaked in milk⁶⁵. The per-capita expense was 45 florins a year (2,700 car.)⁶⁶, which means 7.4 car. a day per person. The price of white bread – we presume that they consumed white bread - varied from 13.2 to 14.4 car. per 1 kg; which means that they ate from 504 to 546 gr of bread a day per person. This value matches with the estimation made by Massimo Montanari, who calculated a consumption from 500 to 700 gr. a day per person (Montanari, 1994). Rye bread was cheaper and its priced varied from 6 to 6.5 car. per 1 kg⁶⁷.

Estimating the per-capita consumption of individual food items,⁶⁸ we note increases in: butter from 6.4 to 23.3 f.⁶⁹; bread from 43.6 to 46.6 f., grains almost doubling from 62.8 to 100.2 f., sugar from 6.4 to 8.4 f., and coffee from 8.5 to 21.2 f. On the other hand, wine decreased from 119.8 to 62.6 f. and meat from 116.1 to 114.7 f. (**Table 5**).

Meat made up the largest portion of food expenditures⁷⁰ (31%). The family spent an average of 414.7 florins a year; and per capita 115 f. A wide variety of meat was consumed: beef, veal, poultry, sometimes lamb, goat, guineafowl, roe deer, quail, woodcock, other game⁷¹.

Meat was considered for centuries a sort of status symbol food, which was ‘influenced not only by prices or by its scarcity on the market, rather by the conviction that it was the best nourishment, the food of warriors, nobles, and in general virile individuals, *par excellence*’ (Nada Patrone, 1981:442).

⁶⁵ The cultivation of maize spread in Italy during the eighteenth century, despite the original scepticism of peasants in introducing it as a crop. However once rooted in Italian agriculture it rapidly expanded to most of the population. In some cases, it came to constitute the principal or sole food consumed, causing a pellagra epidemic due to the lack of Vitamin PP (Messedaglia, 1927; Coppola, 1979; Fagiani, 1985:79-116).

⁶⁶ Asctn, Ordinamento austriaco Esibiti politici del Magistrato politico economico e del Comune, Categoria I, (“Annona”), 3.8-I (1836).

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ The calculus has been made on the average of the first 2 years, in which 5 were the family components, and on the average of the last 3 years, in which 3 were the components.

⁶⁹ If we consider that the unit price of butter was on average of 24.5 car. per 1 libbra (1 libbra Viennese = 560 gr), it means that they consumed from 15.3 libbre (8,5 kg) to 58.2 libbre (32,5 kg). In pro-capite terms this means that the consumption per capita per day rose from 23.4 gr to 90 gr.

⁷⁰ Meat was almost completely absent in the peasants’ diet. The most common food, beside polenta, was beans, turnip and potatoes (1978: 43).

⁷¹ 1 hare cost 1 f. 40 carantani. 1 guinea-hen cost 1 florin.

Table 5 – Number of family members and food expenditures, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Components</i>	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	
<i>Years</i>	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	Average
<i>butter</i>	61.2	4.7	392	97.6	741	51.2	64.3	78	78.9	53.1	60.2
<i>pc</i>	12.2	0.9	9.8	24.4	18.5	12.8	16	26	26.3	17.7	
<i>bread</i>	204.0	232.1	175.0	180.0	169.6	155.5	186.8	120.5	152.4	147.2	172.3
<i>pc</i>	40.8	46.4	43.7	45.0	42.4	38.7	46.7	40.1	50.8	49	
<i>wine</i>		383.6	374.3	363.0	317	281.5	226	181.5	234.3	148.3	278.8
<i>pc</i>		76.7	93.5	90.7	79.2	70.3	56.5	60.5	78.1	49.4	
<i>grains</i>	294.4	334	363.0	353.9	303.8	314.5	339.3	337	337.1	228	320.5
<i>pc</i>	58.8	66.8	90.7	88.4	75.9	78.6	84.8	112.3	112.3	76	
<i>semola</i>	22.9		37.5	33.3	27	20.8	22.9	18.8	18.8	16.7	24.3
<i>pc</i>	4.5		9.3	8.3	6.7	5.2	5.7	6.2	6.2	5.5	
<i>meat</i>	520.0	641.2	420.6	421	348	351	412	343.5	379	310.5	414.7
<i>pc</i>	104.0	128.2	105.0	105.2	87.0	87.7	103	114.5	126.3	103.5	106.4
<i>sugar</i>	45.4	19.4		7.6	37.2	126.5	24.5		52.9	23	42.0
<i>pc</i>	9.0	3.8		1.9	9.3	31.6	6.1		17.6	7.6	
<i>salt</i>	10.4	12.2	13.4			37.5	12				17.1
<i>pc</i>	2.0	2.4	3.3			9.3	3,0				
<i>coffee</i>		85.1	73.3		88					63,8	77.6
<i>pc</i>		17	18.3		22.0						
Tot food	1,158	1,712	1,496	1,456	1,365	1,338	1,228	1,079	1,253	991	
Tot exp	2.864	3.466	4.066	3.704	3.541	4.496	3.460	4.108	5.612	5.077	
%	40,4	49,3	36,7	39,3	38,5	29,7	37,2	26,2	22,3	19,5	

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, 'Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia, (1835-1845)'.

After meat, the second most consumed product was grains, which include *grasce* and *semola*. The yearly average expense amounted to 344.8 f. (**Table 5**), accounting for 26.2% of total food expenditure. Grains and wine were very likely produced on the family's land and calculated at market price. The expense of wine was 278.8 f. a year. The lowest figure was in 1844, when the family spent 148.3 f. (**Table 5**). This may be due to low production that year as a result of the Adige flood, which may have damaged the crops⁷². On the other hand, data in the ledger refer to the payments and sometimes the family recorded or paid afterwards, the following years. The per-capita expense was

⁷² The other year in which the family spent the lowest sum was 1841, when the river flooded in Sacco (Trener, 1904).

71.5 f. a year. If we consider a cost of 12 f. per eimer⁷³, we may estimate that the family consumed one litre of wine per day.

Modest sums were spent regularly on certain items such as sugar, salt and coffee. Despite their limited share of total expenditures, these products indicate a varied, refined and costly menu, that identifies the high social status⁷⁴.

In general, throughout this decade the total costs for food decreased from 1,158 to 991 f. while per-capita rose from 231 to 330 f. (**Table 5**).

Salaries

The family was helped by an entourage of servants composed of a coachman, a valet (famiglio), two maids, one cook and one person whose role was not defined in the documents and that could be the butler. They were usually from Rovereto or nearby villages such as Ala, Noriglio, but sometimes hailed from more distant towns such as Brunico or Bressanone. There was a frequent turnover in some positions, with replacements generally coming from the same family (daughters, sons, brothers or sisters) (**App. 1, Table 1**).

Compensation included salary, possibly room and board, uniforms, and clothes. Salaries varied by position. The coachman earned 150 f. a year, including his uniform; the valet earned 60 f., but this did not include clothing; the cook earned 45 f.; and the maid 40 f. The cook, valet and maids were very probably provided with room and board. There were fewer family members in the last three years (1842-1844) while salaries for the coachman, valet, and cook tended to increase (**Table 6**).

The total expenses ranged from a minimum of 257 f. to a maximum of 382 f. (**App. 1, Tab. 1**), making up approximately 10% of total expenditures on the average with an overall increasing trend during the period in consideration (starting at 8% and ending at 12%, **Table 4**). The family spent the most on staff salaries in 1835 and 1836, when they

⁷³ Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, 'Conto cassa. Spese di famiglia, (1835-1845)'. 'Bucket' in German. One eimer was equal to 56.6 litres.

⁷⁴ Nobles and patricians were not the only ones whose high standard of living could be deduced from their diet. The same is true of religious institutions. In eighteenth-century Verona the Dominicans of St. Anastasia consumed 3 types of sugar, verzin, mascabà and fino; in addition they used cinnamon, 10 types of fish, 15 types of vegetables and 6 kinds of meat, (Lorenzini, 2017: 93-107). These foods can be included in conspicuous consumptions, a marker of social class.

paid 180 f. for Antonio Cavaliere, whose role is not specified. The coachman's salary increased sharply from 72 f. (1835-39), to 96 f. (1839) and to 150 f. (1840-44) (**App. 1, Tab. 1**).

Table 6 – Yearly personnel salaries, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Personnel</i>	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
<i>Family members</i>	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
<i>Cook</i>	40	40	40	45	45	45	40	40	50	50
<i>Valet (famiglio)</i>	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	80	80	80
<i>Maid</i>	30	30	30	35	40	40	40	40	40	
<i>Coachman</i>		72	72	72	72	96	150	150	150	150
<i>Sister-in-law's maid</i>		40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, 'Conto cassa, (1835-1845)'.

Wood

Wood was a significant cost item. It included firewood (*legna da passo*) for heating and cooking, and timber for construction. Woodcutter labour (*boschieri per taglio legna*) and transport costs were also included. The average expenditure was 393 f. a year, amounting to approximately 10% of total expenditures. This cost peaked in 1838 at 580 f., or 15.5% of total expenses. This is not to be explained by an increase in wood consumption but by payment of the balance of wood consumed in the previous 3 years (1834, 1835 and 1836). Costs in specific encompass the cutting of 1,450 logs⁷⁵, 10 shipments,⁷⁶ and the associated loading costs. Additional sums (over 100 f.) incorporated payment of more than 100 f. to the wood cutters Gasparo Dal Dosso and Antonio Mattasson for 'firewood delivery'⁷⁷; 112 f. were put 'in the household account for firewood from woodcutters Dal Dosso and Mattasson, including 22.25 f. of wood from family land'⁷⁸; 12.5 f. for cutting 1,500 logs; 52.5 f. as an advance payment to woodcutters; 102.5 f. for 20.5 units of firewood; 2.5 f. per day of firewood wood transport by ox cart⁷⁹; and 30 car. per day per labourer to load logs.

⁷⁵ The cutting of each log cost 50 carantani.

⁷⁶ Each shipment cost 10 carantani. Transport was from the Leno river to the bridge of St. Colombano.

⁷⁷ 'a saldo della loro tangente di legna da passo consegnata', Ascr, Fbf, f. 37, Conto cassa, (1835-1845).

⁷⁸ 'in cassa comune per legna da passo ai boschieri Dal Doss e Mattasson 22.25 di porzione dominicale'.

⁷⁹ 'per una giornata da bovi a condur legna da passo'.

Wood costs increased significantly in the last four years, when it amounted on average to 433 f. with a concomitant increase in per-capita expenditure from 24 to 126 f.

Medical care

The family bore regular medical costs, that consisted of visits to the doctor, medicine, and home care. In 1835 they paid 6 f. and 15 car. for fifteen days of nurse home care for a family member. In 1836 they paid Giovanna Zambelli 7 f. and 30 car. for 18 days of home care during Lisetta's⁸⁰ illness (25 car. per day). The same year almost 43 f. were paid to Pietro Cristofori for medicines administered throughout the entire month of September⁸¹. They paid sums varying from 87 f. in 1841 to 148 f. in 1842 to doctor Baroni for his medical care. Recurrent amounts were paid again to Pietro Cristofori for medicines, an average of 27 f. per year. Medical expenditures amounted to 76 f. on average per year (1.5%). There are no significant variations during this decade, in absolute and in percentage terms.

Leisure and culture

The Bossi Fedrigotti spent regular amounts of money on vacations, playing cards, subscriptions to newspapers and rent for a theatre loge. We have classified these expenses into the category of leisure and culture. The highest costs within this group of expenses derive from holidays in their country house in Vigolo Vattaro, where the family vacationed once a year between August and September. Their stay amounted from 100 to 300 f., to which other costs had to be added such as luggage rental, servants' wages, and sometimes the cost of guests⁸².

The Bossi Fedrigotti's frequently played cards (*tarocco*)⁸³ and went to the theatre, for which they paid an annual rent of 22.5 f. for a loge. They also paid for annual newspaper subscriptions: Panorama dell'Universo (5 f.), Foglio (8 f.36 car.), Panorama

⁸⁰ Their maid.

⁸¹ 'per medicinali somministrati sino a tutto settembre'.

⁸² The documents often refer to Don Bettini, whose relation with the family is not specified, but the family paid for his vacation in their country house.

⁸³ One deck of cards cost 50 carantani, which was almost like the one-day income of a master bricklayer, Grandi, 1978: 65.

(16 f. 88 car.), *Messaggero* (8 f. 36 car.), *Gazzetta* (8 f.), *Almanacco di Gotha* (1 f. 15 car.), *Ape* (2 f.) and *Corriere delle Dame* (f. 16),

Overall, money spent on leisure and culture ranged from 1% (1836, 1841) to 12% (1840) of total expenditures, or a yearly average of 267 f. during the period in question.

Charity

Antonio distinguished himself for his particular attention to education, that may be derived from the fact that he had a high level education. He attended the lyceum (university-prep secondary school) and went on to earn a university degree. Charitable actions were also quite important to him. He made donations to local religious institutions, such as the *Istituto dei Sordomuti*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, *Casa di Ricovero*, *Congregazione di Carità*, and *Propagazione della Fede*. Other smaller sums of money were donated regularly to their staff and hired labourers in the form of tips. Donations, bequests and other form of philanthropy as a form of wealth transfer have been fundamental elements in medieval and early modern societies, giving rise to institutions such hospitals, orphanages, houses for the poor, *monti di pietà* (pawnshops), etc.⁸⁴ These organization have operated in Europe thanks to the funding provided by private benefactors, representing different strata of the population, not only the aristocratic or wealthy middle-class families, but also the common folk (Cipolla, 1980: 3). Charity and the spirit of mutual benefit was a fundamental element in pre-industrial societies and persisted into modern times⁸⁵.

The Bossi Fedrigotti distinguished themselves, and were much appreciated by their fellow citizens, for their systematic donations to pious institutions, convents, monasteries and chaplains, and for those given on a more sporadic basis for specific purposes. For instance, after Pietro Modesto's son joined the Order of the Capuchins in the mid-eighteenth century, Pietro Modesto paid the costs for rebuilding the convent in Condino and putting it at the disposal of the Order. He then left 3,400 f. to the *Congregazione di Carità* of Sacco, and another 1,000 f. to the Augustinian nuns of

⁸⁴ See for instance the creation of the first pawnshops, Carboni, 2014; Fornasari and Carboni, 2004: 308-324; Fornasari, 2008:119-162. For the role of charity linked to social reputation and honour, see Mandeville, (1724 1st ed.) 1987: 171-227.

⁸⁵ A marked philanthropic activity was already widespread during the ancient Roman Age. It was called euergetism, and had allowed major public works to be built: roads, bridges, aqueducts, fountains, etc.; see De Luca, 2016: 39-60.

Sacco. At Giuseppe Fedele's death (1837), their mother Giovanna Bartolazzi donated 1,284 f. to the *Congregazione* (Andreazza, 1989: 200).

With Antonio as head of the family, sums of money were constantly devoted to charity albeit varying from one year to the next. However we may note an upward trend over the years. Charity and other forms of free gifts to social bodies, organizations, churches, and other kinds of pious institutions were also a strategic means for obtaining social acknowledgement and maintain a high reputation. Investments here promoted recognition of the beneficial role of the aristocracy and generated social support. The greatest amounts were given to the *Congregazione di Carità* (200 f.) and the *Casa di Ricovero* (200 f.), while smaller sums were given to celebrate Mass, 10 f. were donated to the *abbrucciati di Pejo*, and 5 f. for the purchase of puppets for the oratory. The proportion of charitable donations rose and was accentuated in the following years, as we will show below. The average amount spent for donations was 169 f. (3%).

Maintenance

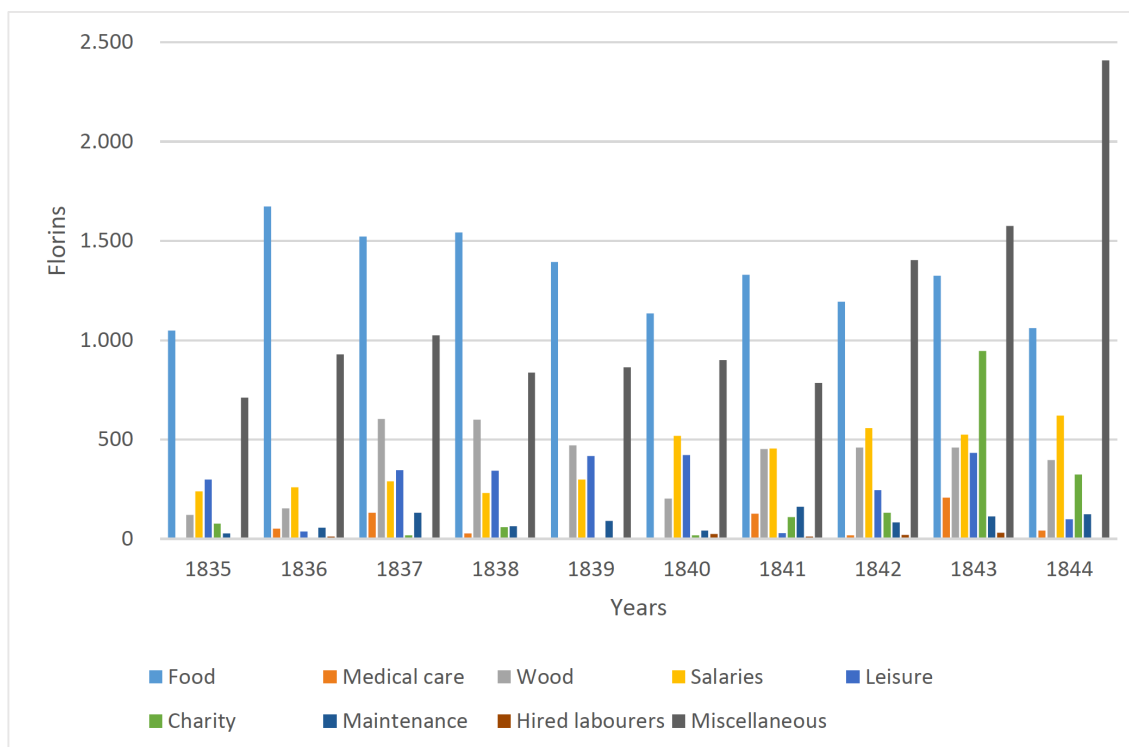
The costs for household operation and maintenance made up a small portion of the overall household budget, generally in the neighbourhood of 2%. Sums ranged from 27 f. to 162 f., with the largest outlays in 1841, including sweeping the chimney, fixing the window shutters (147 f.) and repairing the roof (**Table 3** and **Table 4**).

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous expenses consist of both fixed and variable costs. Fixed costs include: wax, candles and torches for lighting, costing 80 f.; and also variable costs like letters and messenger service, around 20 f. a year; gardener works in the vegetable garden; occasional jobs, travel, and petty expenses for their mother Giovanna, their sister Luigia, and their butler Cavalieri and later Zomer. The family spent for this category an average of 1,337 f. (32%) a year. The highest amounts occurred in 1836, 1837 and 1841 due to the petty expenses for their mother, their sister and their butler (50% of miscellaneous expenditures, 15% of total expenditures). In 1842, 1843 and 1844 the most expensive items were travel: to Vicenza (226 f.), Munich (538 f.) and Genoa (1,235.5 f.). The miscellaneous group encompassed expenses that were not for

maintenance nor primary goods, rather for luxury items and conspicuous consumption in general. Hence these type of expenses, which covered a relative high share, were employed for preserving their high social status.

Figure 3 – Expenditures, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value).



3.3 The decade 1855-1864

In the second decade analysed in this paper, 1855-64, the surviving members of the household were the siblings Antonio (58-68 years old over the period) and Luigia (63-73 years old). The expenditure structure and the methodology in recording the data are the same as used in the previous decade.

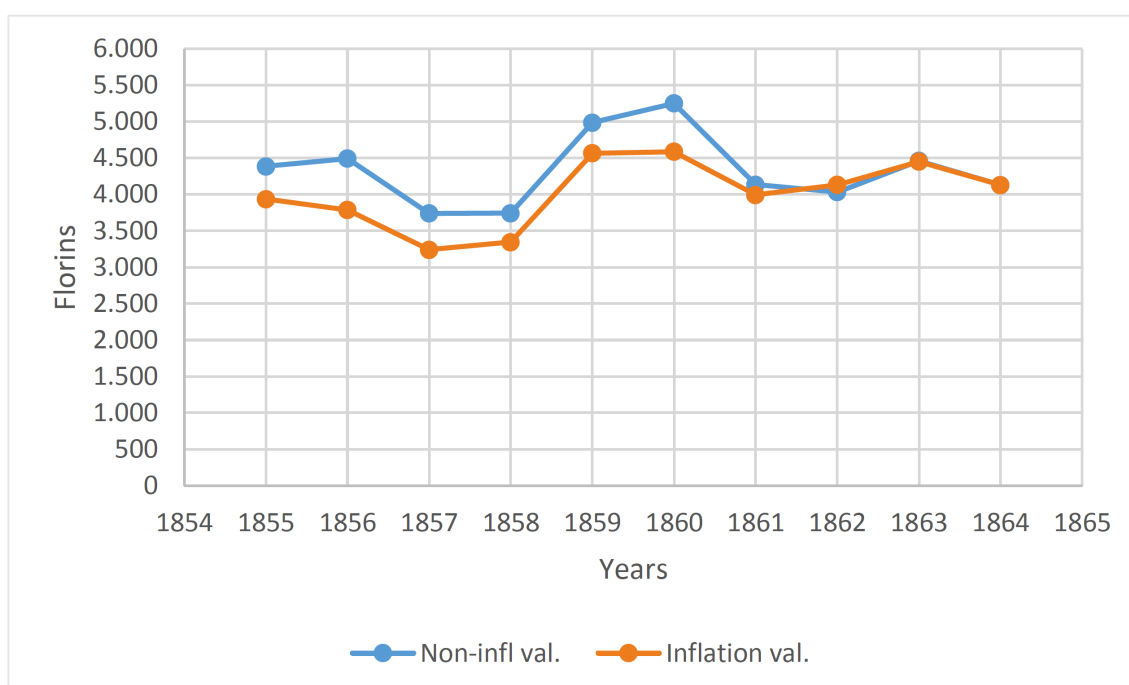
Expenses ranged from a minimum of 3,740 f. (1857) to a maximum of 5,251 f. (1860), for an average of 4,335 f., which is slightly higher than the previous decade in consideration (average 4,039 f.). In per-capita terms the 2,167.5 recorded in 1855-1864 is almost double the 1,101.4 f. recorded in 1835-1844 (Tables 7 and Table 3, respectively).

Table 7 – Total expenses, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Medical care</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Charity</i>	<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>Hired labourers</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Family members</i>
1855	1,561	173	482	217	23	387	68	313	1,163	4,386	2
1856	1,359	9	564	436	306	401	30	205	1,181	4,491	2
1857	1,018	22	389	393	458	409	7	272	772	3,740	2
1858	1,328	12	237	173	389	221	192	227	962	3,741	2
1859	1,808		416	287	253	405	20	161	1,637	4,987	2
1860	1,832	481	394	348	297	256	63	242	1,338	5,251	2
1861	1,434	23	315	315	31	158	24	182	1,651	4,133	2
1862	1,143	13	510	313	466	322	19	235	1,011	4,032	2
1863	1,434	8	228	233	424	183	52	253	1,645	4,460	2
1864	1,179	40	405	312	296	215	38	197	1,447	4,129	2
<i>Average</i>	<i>1,410</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>303</i>	<i>294</i>	<i>296</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>229</i>	<i>1,281</i>	<i>4,335</i>	<i>2</i>

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 46, 'Libro spese di famiglia. (1854-1867)'.

Figure 4 – Total expenditures, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value).



The highest portion of expenditures went for food, varying from 27.2% (1857) to 36.3% (1859) for an average of 32.3%, almost two points less than in the previously analysed period (33.9%) (**Table 8** and **Fig. 5**).

Table 8 – Expenditure shares (%), 1855-64

<i>Year</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Medical care</i>	<i>Wood</i>	<i>Salaries</i>	<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Charity</i>	<i>Maintenance</i>	<i>Hired labourers</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Total</i>
1855	35.6	3.9	10.9	4.9	0.5	8.8	1.5	7.1	26.5	100
1856	30.3	0.2	12.5	9.7	6.8	8.9	0.6	4.5	26.3	100
1857	27.2	0.5	10.4	10.5	12.2	10.9	0.1	7.2	20.6	100
1858	35.5	0.3	6.3	4.6	10.4	5.9	5.1	6	25.7	100
1859	36.3	0	8.3	5.7	5	8.1	0.4	3.2	32.8	100
1860	34.9	9.1	7.5	6.6	5.6	4.8	1.2	4.6	25.4	100
1861	34.7	0.5	7.6	7.6	0.7	3.8	0.5	4.4	39.9	100
1862	28.3	0.3	12.6	7.7	11.5	7.9	0.4	5.8	25	100
1863	32.2	0.1	5.1	5.2	9.5	4.1	1.1	5.6	36.8	100
1864	28.6	0.9	9.8	7.5	7.1	5.2	0.9	4.7	35	100
Average	32.3	1.6	9.1	7	6.9	6.8	1.2	5.3	29.4	

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 46, 'Libro spese di famiglia. (1854-1867)'.

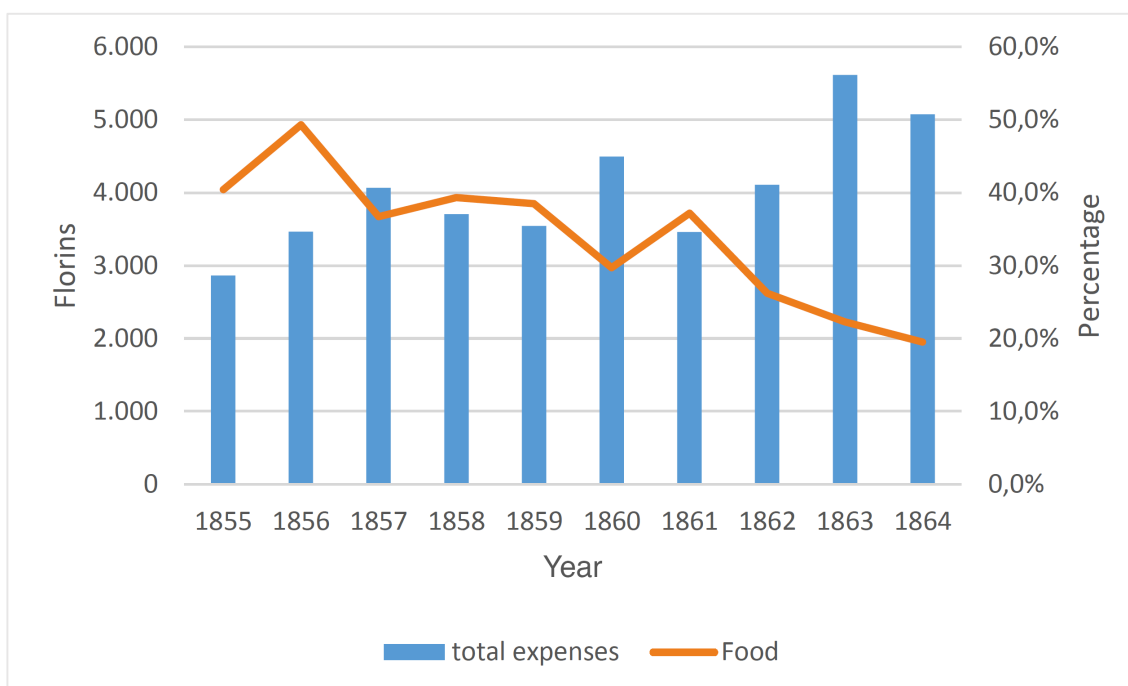
Food

The Fedrigottis food expenditures do not follow a regular trend. There are peaks in 1855 (1,561 f.) and 1859 (1,808 f.), and troughs in 1857 and 1862. The peaks are attributable to a general increase in purchases of all foodstuffs: butter, bread, wine, meat, grains (including semola) and sugar. Champagne and a relatively large amount of coffee were significant items in 1859 (**Table 11**).

The troughs correspond to years in which wine expenses, a significant share of total food expenditures, were not listed in the accounting books. This may be due to omission or because the family consumed wine left over from previous years (**Table 11**).

Regularly purchased food items were: bread, meat, grains, semola, butter, wine, and occasionally sugar, salt, oil, and for the first time chocolate and champagne⁸⁶. The largest portion of food expenditures was for wine, 485.8 f. (34.4%), followed by meat, 465 f. (33%), and grains 306.1 f. (21.7%). Bread was consumed regularly and represented an average cost of 214.8 f. a year (107.4 f. per person), amounting to 15.2% of food expenditures⁸⁷.

Figure 5 – Total expenditures, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value).



Annual food expenditures ranged from a minimum of 1,018 f. (1857) to a maximum of 1,832 f. (1860), while the annual per-capita expenditures ranged from a minimum of 509 f. (1857) to a maximum of 916 f. (1860) (**Table 9**).

Comparing the two decades, in 1835-44 the average total expenditures were 1,314 f. and per-capita expenditures were 324 f., while in 1855-64 the average total expenditures were 1,409 f. and the per-capita expenditures were 706 f. Hence, despite the fewer number of mouths to feed – from 5 down to 2 – the overall costs for food did not vary significantly. Conversely, per-capita expenditures nearly doubled in the latter decade

⁸⁶ 1 bottle of champagne cost 4 f. 10 car., If compared to simple wine, that cost 1 carantano per 1 litre, champagne represented a luxury good. Ascr, Fbf, f. 46, 'Libro spese di famiglia, (1854-1867)'.

⁸⁷ The percentages have been calculated based on data in **Table 10**.

(Fig. 5, Table 9). The increase in the expenses especially related to food, may be attributed to the increase of price from one decade to the other (App. 2. Tab. 1).

Table 9 – Food expenditures per item, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Components</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
<i>Years</i>	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	<i>Average</i>
<i>butter</i>	17	10	10	8	9	6		8	8	22	10,7
<i>pc</i>	9	5	5	4	4,5	3		4	4	11	5,3
<i>bread</i>	228	200	199	184	241	272	205	198	207	213	214,8
<i>pc</i>	114	100	99,5	92	120,5	132	102,5	99	103,5	106,5	107,0
<i>wine</i>	507	464		403	717	533	390		387		485,8
<i>pc</i>	253,5	232		201,5	358,5	266,5	195,0		193,5		242,9
<i>grains</i>	207	151	272	285	309	383	353	405	313,5	382	306,1
<i>pc</i>	103,5	75,5	54,4	142,5	154,5	191,5	176,5	202,5	156,7	191,0	144,9
<i>semola</i>	70	18	57	37	18	27	14	17	38	40	33,5
<i>pc</i>	35	9	29	19	9	14	7	9	19	20	16,8
<i>meat</i>	495	430	395	402	450	600	451	491	446,5	497	465,8
<i>pc</i>	247,5	215,0	197,5	201	225,0	300,0	225,5	245,5	223,2	248,5	232,9
<i>sugar</i>	31	29	51		30	7	14		27	9	24,8
<i>pc</i>	15,5	15	26		15	4	7		13,5	4,5	12,4
<i>salt</i>	5	5	5	5	6	6	7	6	6	6	5,6
<i>pc</i>	2,5	2,5	2,5	2,5	3	3	3,5	3	3	3	2,9
<i>oil</i>		38	26								31,5
<i>pc</i>		19	13								16,0
<i>champagne</i>		9			18			18		11	13,9
<i>pc</i>		4,5			9,0			9,0		5,5	7,0
<i>coffee</i>		7	4	4	10						6,1
<i>pc</i>		4	2	2	5						3,1
Tot food	1561	1359	1018	1328	1808	1832	1434	1143	1434	1179	1410
Tot exp	4386	4491	3740	3741	4987	5251	4133	4032	4460	4129	4335
%	35,6	30,2	27,2	35,5	36,3	34,9	34,7	28,3	32,2	28,6	32,3

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 46, 'Libro spese di famiglia. (1854-1867)'.

In relation to the ratio of food expenditures to total expenditures, the Bossi Fedrigotti spent an average of 32% of their total expenditures on food. This places them at the top of the category of moderately wealthy families, even though not among the wealthiest.

If we compare the Fedrigotti food expenditures to those of other coeval aristocratic families, i.e., the Dionisi of Verona and the Crivelli of Milan, we find the Bossi Fedrigotti placing in the middle of the wealth hierarchy. In the 1850s the Dionisi household was composed of Lucrezia Giustiniani, widow of the marquis Ottavio Dionisi, and her five children. Food made up 46.4% of their total expenditures (Ferrari, 2012: 388-390). For the Crivelli of Milan, on the other hand, this proportion was much less. The Crivelli were members of the feudal nobility, holding the title of marquess since the Middle Ages. In the nineteenth century they still held a prestigious position in the city and a large estate, including vast landholdings. The largest share of the property was located in Inverigo, Pagazzano, and Frascarolo in the province of Milan, and they also owned numerous houses in the city⁸⁸. The marquis Luigi Crivelli, who lived with his wife the marquise Carolina Medici and their son Paolino, spent a mere 17% of their total expenditures on food in this period⁸⁹.

Wood

The second largest share of the household budget was spent on wood, with amounts ranging from 228 f. (1863) to 564 f. (1856), for an average of 394 f. (the range may be attributable to variations in climate, i.e., cold or mild winters).

If we compare the average wood costs in the two decades, they did not vary: 393 f. vs 394 f. This means that wood was a fixed cost (used mainly for heating the residence and maintenance works).

Wood constituted 7% on average of total expenditures, three points lower than during the period 1835-1844. Meanwhile, per-capita expenditure amounted to 197 f. almost double that in the earlier decade (87.3 f.). Being a fixed expenses, it did not vary significantly.

Salaries

⁸⁸ These data are part of research in progress. Archivio di Stato di Milano, (henceforth Asmi), Folder Crivelli-Giulini, reg. 7, Mastro centrale della sostanza ed amministrazione del signor Luigi Crivelli 1846-1855; reg. 81(1854-1856), reg. 9 (1857-1864).

⁸⁹ This figure is similar to that for the Riccardi family, one century earlier, whose food accounted for 17% of household expenditures (Malanima, 1977:255). The same percentage was spent in the same period by the Salviati, also from Florence (Pinchera, 1999:249).

As for personnel salaries, the Bossi Fedrigotti had four servants in the latter period. This means that although there were only 2 family members (down from 5), the number of staff remained relatively constant: one coachman, one cook, one maid, a *barale* and one valet. As stated above, salaries varied depending on role and whether room and board were included. Some staff – the cooks, maids and the valet – very likely lived in a detached house or apartment on the family estate. The lowest salary, which remained unvaried through the years, was for Augusta’s maid. From 1835 to 1863 it remained unchanged at 45 f. a year, finally increasing in 1864 to 50 f. The cook earned 50 f. a year until 1859, when her salary was raised to 60 f. The family had also a valet, whose salary did not vary (100 f. a year), as well as a coachman (**Table 10**).

Table 10 – Yearly personnel salaries, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value)

<i>Personnel</i>	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864
<i>Cook</i>	50	50	50	50	50	60	60	60	60	60
<i>Valet (famiglio)</i>		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Coachman</i>	100	100	100	100	100	110	110	110	100	100
<i>Augusta’s maid</i>	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45
<i>Primo barale</i>	100	100								
Total	295	395	295	295	295	315	315	315	305	305

Source: Ascr, Fbf, f. 46, ‘Libro spese di famiglia. (1854-1867)’.

The total expenditures for staff salaries varied from a minimum of 295 f. to a maximum of 315 f. These higher costs are attributable to an increase in the salaries of the coachman and the cook.

The ratio of salaries to total expenditures did not change significantly with respect to the earlier decade, remaining around 7% on average (**Table 8**). If we compare this to the Crivelli family, we get a similar result, with Crivelli spending 7.4% of their household budget on personnel salaries.

On the other hand, staff expenses accounted for 14.1% of the Dionisi household budget. In this case, the family nucleus, as stated above, consisted of 6 people: Lucrezia, a 32-year-old widow, and her 5 children (Ferrari, 2012:349).

Medical care

The percentage of expenses devoted to medical care remained more or less unchanged at 1.7%. However the actual sums differed somewhat. During the decade 1835-44 the family spent an average of 76 f. a year on medical care, while in 1855-64 they spent 87 f. The higher amount is due to exceptional expenses in 1860, when the family paid 268.5 f. to Domenico Sartori for medicine, 130 f. to doctor Cofler for medical visits to Luigia, Antonio, and their nephew Giuseppe⁹⁰, 70 f. to doctor Aberle for medical care provided to their nephew Giuseppe, and another 12.5 f. for medical visits made in the previous years (1858 and 1859). If we factor out this exceptional expense, the average is 38 f. a year. Antonio and Luigia were at an advanced age at that time, respectively 63 and 68 years old, and this may explain the higher costs.

Maintenance

The family had to bear regular costs for household repairs and maintenance. The largest costs were borne in 1860: 23.8 f. for demolishing the boundary walls in the courtyard; 54 f. for replacing 1,800 roof tiles; 21.5 f. for planting carnations; 12.5 f. for pruning the citrus trees; and other minor sums for such things as caring for the vines in the vegetable garden. These expenses were a rather modest share of total expenditures at around 1%, somewhat less than the 2% in 1835-1844.

Leisure and culture

The Bossi Fedrigotti tended to maintain certain family traditions, especially as regards how they spent their leisure time. As in the earlier decade, their expenditures in this category regarded vacations, newspaper subscriptions, theatre rent and playing cards. Leisure expenses made up an average of 6.8% (294 f.) of the yearly household budget, which is comparable to the period 1835-44. Again, the greatest expense in this category was vacations at the country house in Vigolo Vattaro, ranging from 250 to 400 f. a year. This included staff salaries, cleaning and repairs, luggage rental and hosting friends. The family also dedicated time to cultural activities, particularly the theatre, for which

⁹⁰ Giuseppe was 30 years old at that time. He was very likely one of the 11 children of their brother Ludovico. Giuseppe died in 1866 at the age of 36.

they paid an annual rent of 15 f. Other expenses included newspaper and magazine subscriptions (from 12.5 to 16.5 f.) and occasionally the cost of purchasing a deck of cards, another favourite recreational activity.

Charity

The Bossi Fedrigotti continued to provide charitable donations on a regular basis to pious institutions in Sacco and Rovereto: *Istituto dei Sordomuti*, *Civiltà Cattolica*, *Casa di Ricovero*, *Congregazione di Carità*, and *Propagazione della Fede*. They donated an average of 295 f. (6.8%) a year, much higher than in the period 1835-44 (169 f., 3%). The institutions receiving the largest amounts were the *Casa di Ricovero*, 100–200 f. a year, the *Congregazione della Carità*, 100 f. a year, the *Istituto dei Sordomuti*, 40 f. a year, and the *Incendiati del borgo*, 35.5 f. a year. They also paid tips to the personnel and hired labourers, provided bread to convents and monasteries, and bought lottery tickets. In addition, 100 florins were donated for the *Confraternita di San Giuseppe*, and the family sponsored the young painter *Caracristi*, who was studying in Venice at the time, providing a regular stipend of around 14 f. 40 car⁹¹.

Antonio was notable for his commitment to local charitable institutions as we see in his post-mortem inventory. He bequeathed a total amount of 61,250 f. to pious institutions, which yielded him a revenue of 4%, or 2,450 f.⁹²

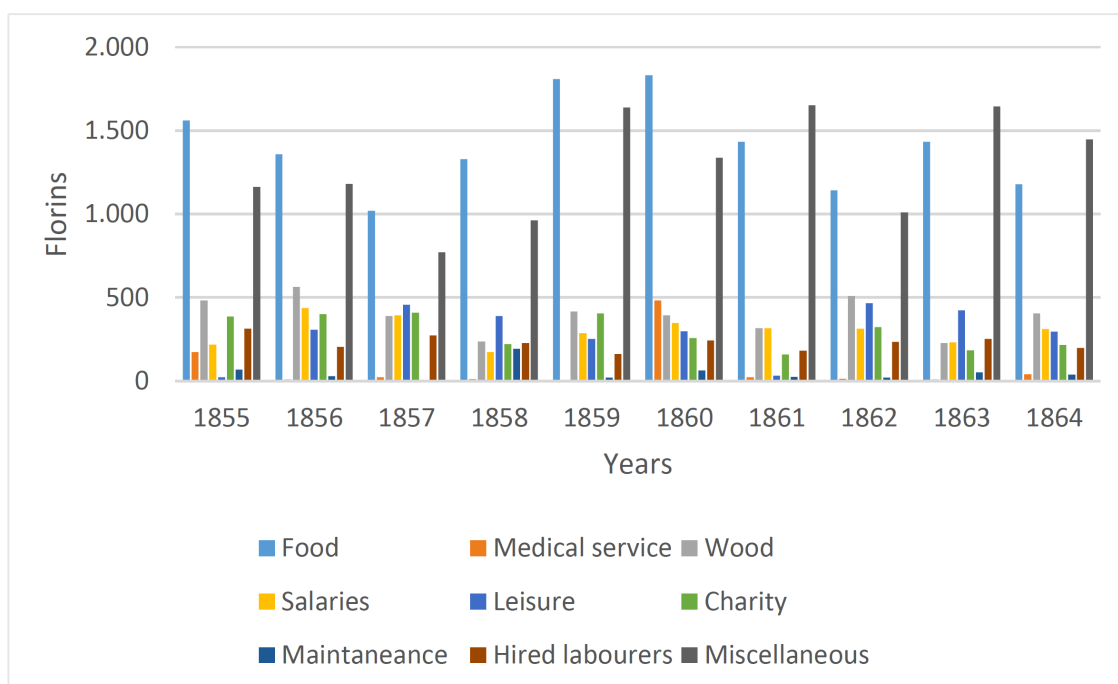
Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous expenditures still makes up the largest single portion of the household budget, ranging from 25 to 39% of total expenditures. The composition of this category reflects that of the first decade. It includes both variable and fixed costs: candles, wax and torches for lighting; stationery and messenger services; tips to personnel and hired labourers; travel; and above all (50%) for petty expenses accrued by Luigia and the butler/coachman.

⁹¹ ‘Al signor prelado per il mantenimento del giovane pittore Caracristi a Venezia, ultimo anno 1862, 14 fiorini e 40 carantani’.

⁹² To the priest from Rovereto he had bequeathed 21,875 f.; to the Charity Organization 13,125 f.; to the Recovery House 8,750 f.; to the Orphans’ Home 8,750 f.; to the Cappellania of Sacco 8,750 f.; Ascr, Fbf, XLVIII, f. 7, ‘Sostanza lasciata dal fu Antonio, conte Bossi Fedrigotti e sue passività (1871)’.

Figure 6 – Expenditures by item, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value).



4 Concluding remarks

Drawing upon a new line of research that analyses well-being, poverty levels and inequality based on household budgets, this paper focuses on a patrician family from Rovereto, northern Italy, in the nineteenth century, the Bossi Fedrigotti, and their expenditures in order to estimate their living standard and level of wellbeing compared to other Italian families.

The first member of the Bossi Fedrigotti family, Nicola, settled in Rovereto in the mid-fifteenth century after fleeing Milan due to political conflicts with the Visconti. His first descendants were rafters. Together with other families from Sacco (near Rovereto) they founded a partnership which gained a monopoly on transport and trade of wood from Bronzolo (Bolzano) to Verona via the Adige river. The privilege lasted almost four centuries, until early nineteenth century and the arrival of Napoleon’s troops, along with the prohibitionist politics of the Austrian government. At that point, with the support of *Magistrato mercantile*, monopolies were abolished. For three centuries, the partnership of rafters developed and expanded thanks to growth in the transit trade. With the success and expansion of the Bolzano fairs, goods transport became a very attractive and profitable activity.

The family entered a constant and progressive ascending phase. They began to extend their enterprises, from transport to commerce, from commerce to finance, and finally to agriculture. In the eighteenth century they reached their social and economic pinnacle. With the capital accumulated over the generations, the family interwove a wide and thick credit activity, financing trade, agriculture and especially the silk industry, which was entering its golden age in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Loans were extended to merchants and artisans but also to nobles and local administrations, particularly the communities that suffered from chronic indebtedness.

The financial activity was very lucrative, they made loans at interest rates ranging from 4% to 6% and in some cases – when operating at the fairs – much higher. However the family's wealth was redistributed through credit and charity.

Along with their economic success and improved level of wellbeing, the Bossi Fedrigotti also boosted their social status and prestige, eventually obtaining a noble title. In 1717 they became earls of Oxenfeld and entered the book of Tyrolean nobility in 1790. As aristocrats they did not abandon their commercial activity, but rather extended it progressively into other sectors. They set up a new yarn mill in Valle Lagarina, began operations in the silk industry, obtained a monopoly on the Postal Service from the Habsburg Monarchy – which provided reliable profits prior to the introduction of the railway –, and expanded their landholdings, developing agriculture activities and specializing in wine production. In the mid-nineteenth century, the family had just reached its economic and financial apogee and started concentrating on agriculture, which then became their main activity. This shift to the primary sector should not be interpreted as a retreat, or a change to a passive lifestyle, living off their capital *more nobilium*, but rather as a new arena of entrepreneurship in which the family invested to reap new profits. The Bossi Fedrigotti represented the kind of mercantile aristocracy that was emerging in many Italian states during the early modern age⁹³. Changes in the management of their portfolio paralleled the structural transformations in the productive system of the time. Major operations of wealth transfer from one sector to another affected not only the economic and social characteristics of the aristocratic class, but also of the cities and broader context in which they operated (Angiolini, 1978:38-39).

⁹³ On the Italian aristocracy (Donati, 2007: 286-321).

This paper has focused on the analysis of household budgets during this phase, when the family's main income derived from agriculture. It is difficult at the moment to estimate the income yielded by land. Drawing upon the data provided by the cadastre up to 1893, the entire family owned 205,000 *pertiche* or 73.6 hectares, with a value calculated at 88,200 f. Part of their landholdings were dedicated to vineyards, in which they progressively specialized, but they also produced other agrarian products such as grain, hay, and mulberry leaves for silkworm breeding (the silk industry was still one of the economic leaders in the nineteenth century). They consumed some of these products directly and sold the bulk on the market.

Our analysis has focused on the household's expenditures during two benchmark decades 1835-44 and 1855-64. As stated above, this choice is based on the homogeneity and comparability of the data, as well as their availability.

At the beginning of the first decade (1835-44), the family was composed of two brothers, one sister, their mother, and a sister-in-law. The structure of the family changed over the years and in the second decade (1855-1864) there were only two family members: Antonio and Luigia (brother and sister), who died at an advanced age.

The composition of their household expenditures and the percentage share of individual items in the total budget reveal much about the family's economic and social status. Total average yearly expenses during the first decade amounted to 4,039 f., while in the second they were slightly higher at 4,335 f. If we take into account the low level of inflation over those years, this increase was almost null. There was a bigger difference if we look at these figures on a per-capita basis: 1,101.5 f. as compared to 2,167.5 f. Thus, while the number of family members declined their per-capita expenses rose, indicating that they engaged in spending to conserve their social status.

Two categories in particular underwent significant change: food and charity, the first decreasing while the second grew. Even though the change was not exceptionally marked, these two elements indicate an improvement of the family's living standard and the need to maintain social recognition and approval through charitable and philanthropic actions.

The family diet was particularly varied and refined, including bread and different kinds of meat: beef, calf, lamb, game, roe deer, guinea-hen, etc. They also consumed modest quantities of fish— mainly freshwater fish from rivers and Lake Garda. They used

different types of grains: wheat, barley and rye, with an increase in the use of *semola* observed in the latter years. They also regularly drank wine. As with grains, it is quite likely that the wine was produced on their own estate and recorded in their accounting books at market price, although this money was not effectively spent. They also consumed foods that did not have a great impact on the total expenditure. These represented conspicuous and prestigious consumption that identified their social status and aristocratic lifestyle: butter, coffee, sugar, salt, chocolate and champagne.

Food expenditures changed over the years, rising from an average of 1,314 f. to an average of 1,410 f. Expenses that rose significantly include bread (+24%), meat (+12%) and wine (+74%). The rise of the expenses may be attributed to the rise of prices from the first to the second decade. In addition new items indicating an appreciation for rare and refined foods were added to the diet in the second decade (1855-1864): oil, champagne and chocolate.

Food diminished as a share in total expenditures from 34% (average of 1835-44) to 32% (average of 1855-64). Although this is a slight decrease, it shows, according to Engel's theory, an improvement in their living standard. This may be attributed to an effective improvement in their standard of living or to the reduction in the number of family members rather than to an actual increase in income (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**)⁹⁴.

According to Carlo Maria Cipolla's estimation, food's 32% share in total expenditures would place the Bossi Fedrigotti among the wealthiest families. The Italian Tyrol was home to much more affluent families, such as the earls of Thun, Wolkenstein, Giovannelli or Castelbarco. Also in Milan the marquis Crivelli and the earls Biumi placed higher in the hierarchy of wellbeing. However, unlike these dynasties, the Bossi Fedrigotti did not belong to a feudal nobility, but rather to a mercantile class. Starting as wood transporters, they were able to climb the social ladder and to achieve an aristocratic standard of living, along with a noble title.

⁹⁴ As stated above, at this moment of the research it is difficult to estimate with precision the total income of the family. The structure and organization of their assets and wealth underwent significant changes and documents recording the entire income are lacking. The only document summing up their ownership is the cadastre. However this only includes the area and value of landholdings and real estate. Other important economic activities and associated revenues and profits had been excluded, such as the revenues from the Post, of the Tithe of Sacco (which was a modest sum at that time), the revenues from the houses and shops in the city, and the profits from their wine production and from their lending activity that was quite bountiful in the eighteenth century, finally declining in the nineteenth. However the private archives do not provide an overall view of assets.

Figure 7 – Expenditure per food items, 1835-44, (florins, nominal value).

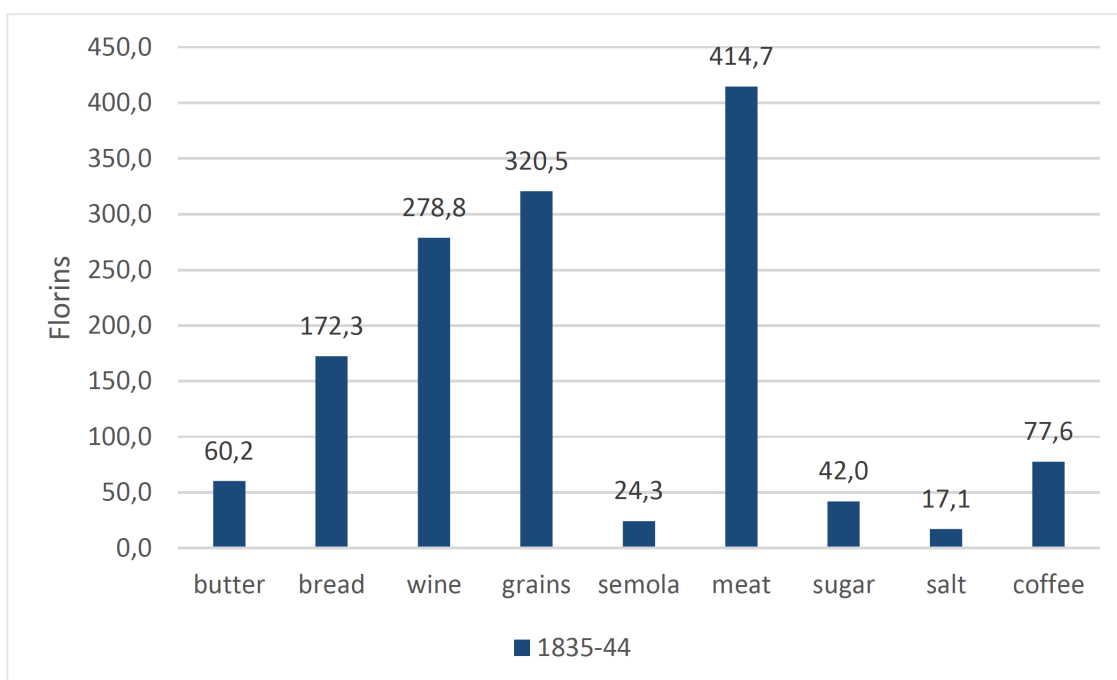
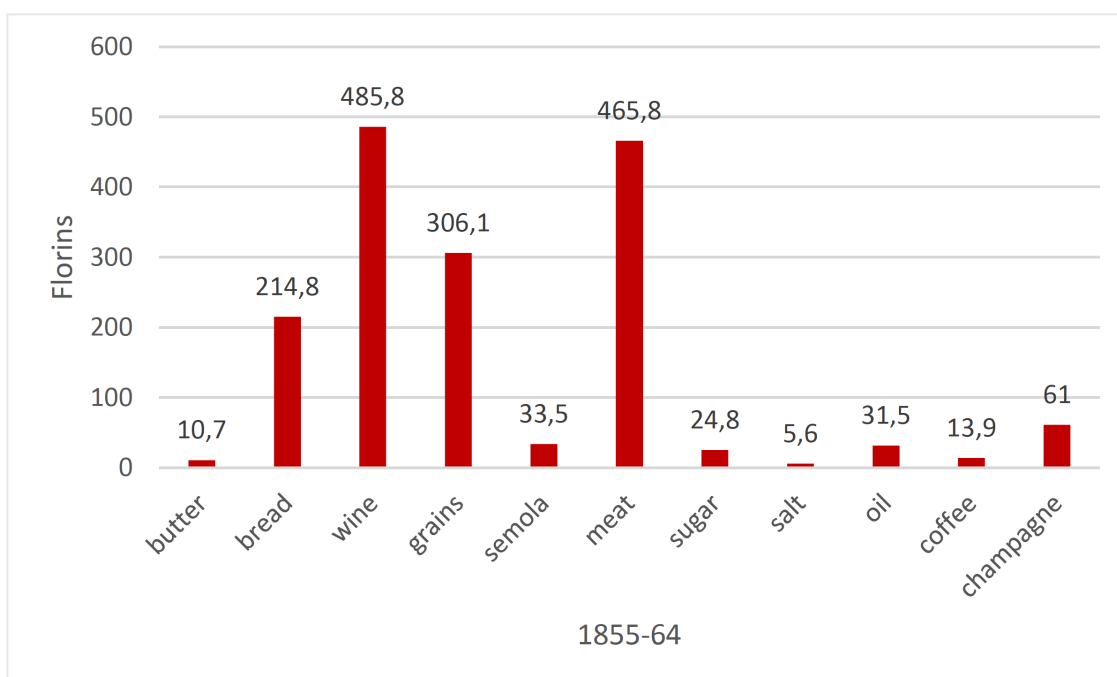


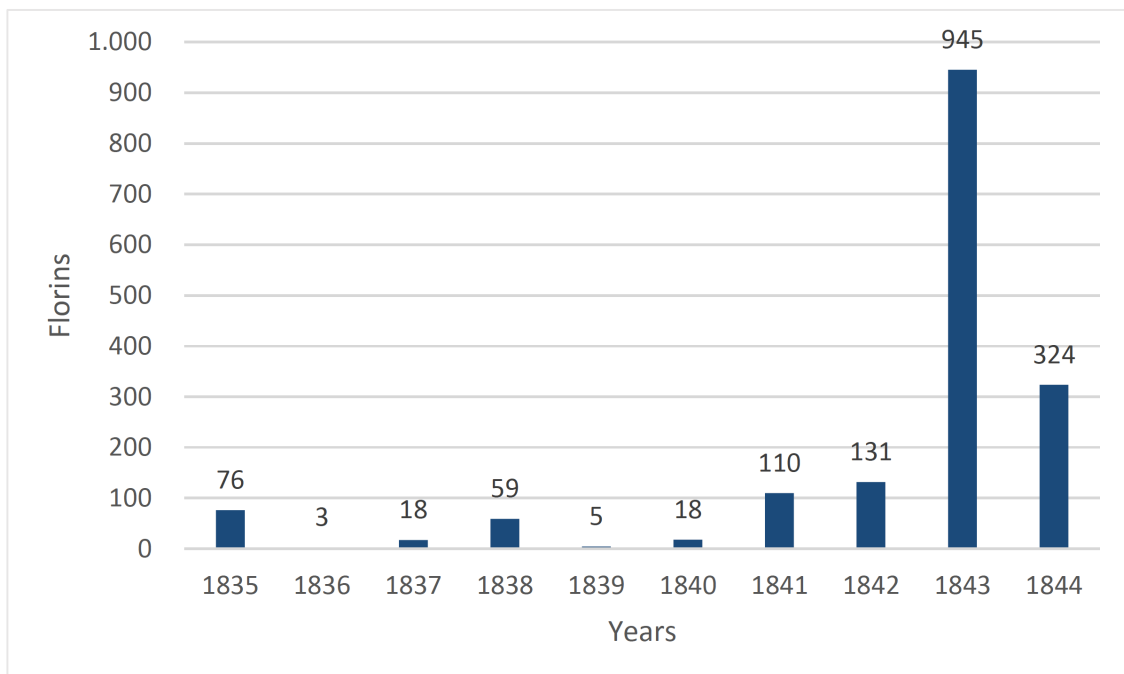
Figure 8 – Expenditure per food items, 1855-64, (florins, nominal value).



The second category witnessing significant changes was charity, which rose from a yearly average of 169 f. (3%) to 296 f. (6.8%) (Figures 9 and 10). As Antonio and Luigia grew older—neither of them married or having children—they began donating

greater amounts. The increase in the share of expenditures attributable to charity was due both to donations to a larger number of organizations and also to more generous offerings. Donations, bequests and other forms of charitable contribution represented a form of redistribution of wealth which in the past has enabled the creation of important pious institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, institutes to help the poor, and others. This philanthropic attitude has persisted into modern times and the Bossi Fedrigotti were always champions in this respect. As pointed out above, charity had a dual function: on the one hand it helped found and finance social welfare institutions; on the other it was a means for garnering social recognition and approval.

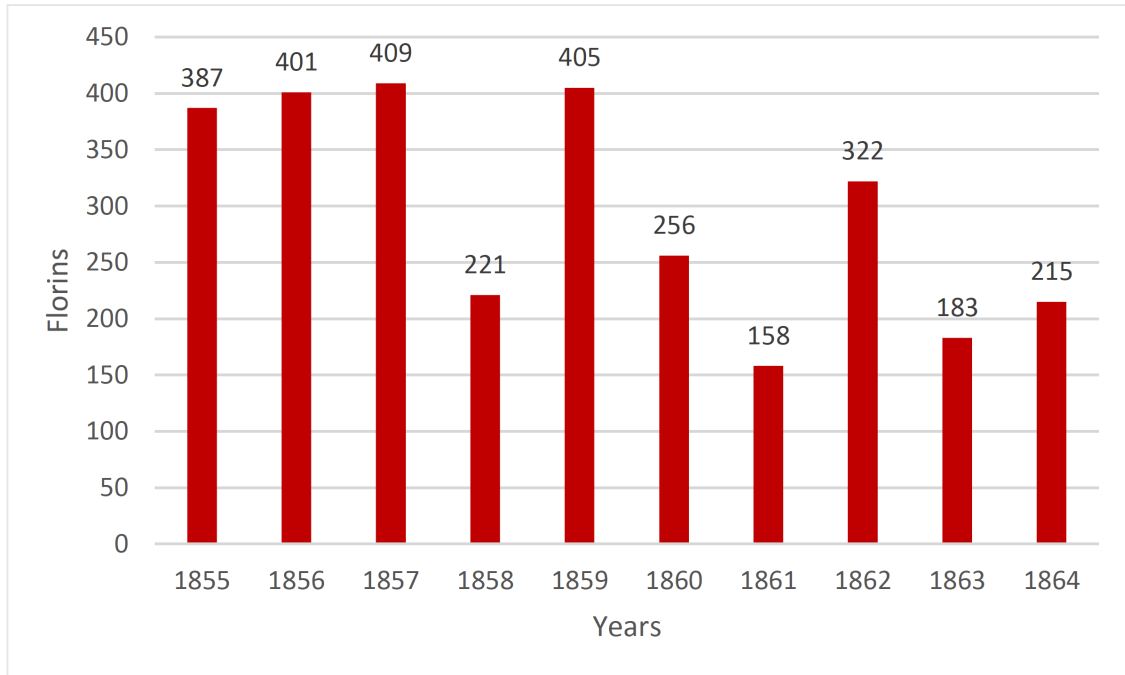
Figure 9 – Charity expenditures, 1835-1844 (florins nominal value).



The Bossi Fedrigotti did not represent the richest household of southern Tyrol, but it was surely among the most well-off families in that area in the nineteenth century. It was predominantly distinguished by its dynamic entrepreneurial spirit and acumen in trade and business that allowed it to improve its economic status and social prestige. The analysis of its household budgets represents an important lens through which we can infer the family's living standard and lifestyle. The nature of their expenditures reveals a varied, refined and conspicuous consumption typical of aristocratic families, but also their particular attention to the lower social classes and to pious institutions

which they financed through regular or occasional donations. The household budgets also tell us something of their preferences and choices, especially their concern for hospitality, education and culture. The Bossi Fedrigotti represented a pillar in the economic system of Sacco and Rovereto, which they actively supported through a variety of economic and non-economic actions, helping the city to prosper and advance.

Figure 10 – Charity expenditures, 1855-1864 (florins nominal value).



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Appendix 1

Table 1 – Names and roles of the personnel. Period of service and yearly salary, 1835-1844 (florins nominal value)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Salary</i>	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Ending</i>	<i>Yearly salary</i>	<i>Total salary expenses</i>	<i>Note</i>
1835	Cavalieri Antonio	?	180	22/03/1835	22/06/1836	180	180	
	Cavalieri Giuseppe	Valet	60	14/05/1834	31/08/1836	60	60	
	Gottardi Rosa	maid	30	15/05/1834	15/11/1836	30	30	
	Anna Heimann	cook 1	40	21/01/1835	21/10/1835	40	40	
	Anna Alexander	cook 2	40	07/11/1835	07/04/1837	40	40	replaced Maria Steinmann
							350	
1836	Giuseppe Michelli	coachman	72 (clothes included)	07/10/1836	7/10/1838	72	72	
	Cavalieri Nicolò	valet	60 (clothes excluded)	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60	replaced his brother, Giuseppe Cavalieri
	Beyrer Francesca	sister-in-law's maid	40	04/11/1836	26/07/1837	40	40	
	Cavalieri Antonio	?	180	22/03/1835	22/6/1836	180	180	
	Cavalieri	valet	60	14/05/1834	07/09/1836	60		replaced by his brother

	Giuseppe Gottardi	maid	30	15/05/1834	15/11/1836	30	30	Nicolò
	Rosa Petronilla Toniati	maid	30	20/10/1836	20/10/1937	30		replaced Rosa Gottardi
	Anna Alexander	cook	40	7/11/1835	07/04/1837	40		
							382	
1837	Beyrer Francesca Giovanna Maistrelli Giuseppe Michelli	sister-in-law's maid sister-in-law's maid coachman	40	04/11/1836	26/07/1837	40	40	
	Cavaliere	valet	40	26/07/1837	26/07/1839	40		replaced Beyrer Francesca
	Nicolò	(clothes included)	72	07/10/1836	07/10/1838	72	72	
	Petronilla Toniati	maid	60	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60	
	Crescenza Wieseneg	maid	30	20/10/1836	20/10/1837	30		
	Anna Alexander	maid	40	04/11/1837	04/11/1838	40	40	replaced Petronilla Toniati
	Giuseppa Oettel	cook	40	07/11/1835	07/04/1837	40		
	Giuseppa Lenner	cook	45	02/11/1837	18/03/1841	45	45	replaced Giuseppa Lenner
		cook	40	01/04/1837	26/07/1837	40	40	replaced Anna Alexander
							297	

1838	Giuseppe Michelli	coachman	72	07/10/1836	07/10/1839	72	72
	Cavaliere Nicolò	Valet	60	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60
	Giovanna Maistrelli	sister-in-law's maid	40	26/07/1837	26/07/1839	40	40
	Crescenza Wieseneg	maid	40	04/11/1837	04/11/1838	40	40 replaced Petronilla Toniati
	Fleride Francescati	maid	35	12/11/1838	12/06/1839	35	replaced Crescenza Wieseneg
	Giuseppa Oettel	cook	45	02/11/1837	18/03/1841	45	45

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1839	Giuseppe Michelli	coachman	72	07/10/1836	07/10/1839	72	
	Cavaliere Nicolò	valet	60	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60
	Giovanna Maistrelli	sister-in-law's maid	40	26/07/1837	26/07/1839	40	40
	Irene Isnenghi	sister-in-law's maid	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40	replaced Giovanna Maistrelli
	Fleride Francescati	maid	35	12/11/1838	12/06/1839	35	
	Giovanna Friz	maid	40	12/06/1839	12/04/1841	40	40 replaced Fleride Francescati
	Giuseppa Oettel	cook	45	2/11/1837	18/03/1841	45	45
	Giuseppe Heidl	coachman	96	8/11/1839	24/05/1840	96	96 replaced Giuseppe Michelli

							281	
1840	Cavalieri Nicolò	valet	60	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60	
	Irene Isnenghi	sister-in-law's maid	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40	40	
	Giovanna Friz	maid	40	12/06/1839	12/04/1841	40	40	
	Giuseppa Oettel	cook	45	2/11/1837	18/03/1841	45	45	
	Giuseppe Heidl	coachman	96	8/11/1839	24/05/1840	96		
	Franchi Gio Batta	coachman	300	29/05/1840	29/10/1840	300		replaced Giuseppe Heidl
	Giuseppa Fortner	coachman	120	19/11/1840	31/12/1844	150	150	replaced Gio.Batta Franchi
			(clothes excluded)					
			(plus 30 f. for laundry)					
							335	
1841	Cavalieri Nicolò	valet	60	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60	60	
	Irene Isnenghi	sister-in-law's maid	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40	40	
	Giovanna Friz	maid	40	12/06/1839	12/04/1841	40		
	Cecilia Galvagni	maid	40	1/05/1841	1/05/1843	40	40	replaced Giovanna Friz
	Giuseppa Oettel	cook	45	2/11/1837	18/03/1841	45		
	Giuseppa	cook	40	8/06/1841	8/06/1842	40	40	replaced

	Zeiller Giuseppe Fortner	coachman	120+30	19/11/1840	31/12/1844	150	150	Giuseppa Oettel
							330	
1842	Cavalieri Nicolò	valet	60 (clothes excluded)	01/09/1836	25/06/1842	60		
	Luigi Rossi	valet	80 (clothes excluded)	19/09/1842	19/09/1843	80	80	replaced Cavalieri Nicolò
	Irene Isnenghi	sister-in-law's maid	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40	40	
	Cecilia Galvagni	maid	40	1/05/1841	1/05/1843	40	40	
	Giuseppa Zeiller	cook	40	8/06/1841	8/06/1842	40		
	Maria Hockner	cook	40	9/07/1842	9/07/1844	40	40	replaced Giuseppa Zeiller
	Giuseppe Fortner	coachman	120+30	19/11/1840	31/12/1844	150	150	
							350	
1843	Cecilia Galvagni	maid	40	1/05/1841	1/05/1843	40	40	
	Giuseppe Fortner	coachman	120+30	19/11/1840	31/12/1844	150	150	
	Luigi Rossi	valet	80	19/09/1842	19/09/1843	80		
	Tomazzoni Angelo	valet	80	20/09/1843	20/09/1844	80	80	replaced Luigi Rossi
	Irene	sister-in-law's	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40	40	

	Isnenghi	maid						310	
1844	Giuseppe Fortner	coachman	120+30	19/11/1840	31/12/1844	150		150	
	Tomazzoni Angelo	valet	80	20/09/1843	20/09/1844	80			
	Francesco Barberi	valet	80	20/09/1844	1/01/1845	80		80	replaced
	Irene Isnenghi	sister-in-law's maid	40	15/07/1839	15/07/1844	40		40	Tomazzoni Angelo
								270	

Table 2 – Names and roles of the personnel. Period of service and yearly salary, 1855-1864 (florins nominal value)

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Salary</i>	<i>Beginning</i>	<i>Ending</i>	<i>Yearly salary</i>	<i>Total salaries expenses</i>	<i>Note</i>
1855	Prenner Maria	cook	50	12/03/1846	20/05/1856	50	50	
	Zadra Luigi	First barale	100	27/06/1854	21/03/1855	100		
			(clothes excluded)					
	Volcanaglia Vincenzo	First barale	100	21/03/1855	3/05/1856	100	100	replaced Luigi Zadra
			(clothes excluded)					
	Bombiero Rosa	maid	45	7/02/1852	22/07/1856	45	45	
	di Rovereto Tommasi Antonio	coachman	100	3/11/1854	1857	100	100	
							295	
1856	Tommasi Antonio	coachman	100	3/11/1854	1857	100	100	
	Volcanaglia Vincenzo	First barale	100	21/03/1855	3/05/1856	100	100	
			(clothes excluded)					
	Bombiero Rosa	maid	45	7/02/1852	22/07/1856	45		
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	replaced Bombiero Rosa
	Prenner Maria	cook	50	12/03/1846	20/05/1856	50		
	Bachlechner Clara	cook	50	23/05/1856	13/04/1859	50	50	replaced Prenner Maria
		Tamburini Antonio	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100
			(clothes excluded)					
							395	

1857	Chiesa Domenico	coachman	100		26/11/1860	100	100	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Bachlechner	cook	50	23/05/1856	13/04/1859	50	50	
	Clara							
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio			(clothes excluded)				
	Tommasi	coachman	100	3/11/1854	1857	100		
	Antonio							
							295	
1858	Chiesa Domenico	coachman	100		26/11/1860	100	100	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Bachlechner	cook	50	23/05/1856	13/04/1859	50	50	
	Clara							
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio			(clothes excluded)				
							295	
1859	Chiesa Domenico	coachman	100		26/11/1860	100	100	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Bachlechner	cook	50	23/05/1856	:		50	
	Clara				13/04/1859			
	Tinchauser Maria	cook	60	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60		replaced Bachlechner Clara
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio			(clothes excluded)				
							295	
1860	Chiesa Domenico	coachman	100		26/11/1860	100		
	Amadori	coachman	110	26/11/1860	14/02/1863	110	110	replaced Domenico Chiesa
	Prospero							

	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	867	45	45	
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio				(clothes excluded)			
	Tinchauser Maria di Bressanone	cook	60	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60	60	
							315	
1861	Amadori Prospero	coachman	110	26/11/1860	14/02/1863	110	110	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio				(clothes excluded)			
	Tinchauser Maria di Bressanone	cook	60	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60	60	
							315	
1862	Amadori Prospero	coachman	110	26/11/1860	14/02/1863	110	110	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio				(clothes excluded)			
	Tinchauser Maria	cook	69	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60	60	
							315	
1863	Amadori Prospero	coachman	110	26/11/1860	14/02/1863	110		
	Zoner Giuseppe	coachman	100	20/03/1863	1867	100	100	replaced Amadori Prospero
	Riolfatti Anna	mai	45	22/07/1856	867	45	45	
	Tamburini	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100	100	
	Antonio				(clothes excluded)			

	Tinchauser Maria	cook	60	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60	60	
							305	
1864	Zoner Giuseppe	coachman	100	20/03/1863	867	100	100	
	Riolfatti Anna	maid	45	22/07/1856	1867	45	45	
	Tinchauser Maria	cook	60	7/05/1859	7/06/1865	60	60	
	Tamburini Antonio	valet	100	5/05/1856	1864	100		
					(clothes excluded)			
	Fedriga Filomeno	valet and gardener	100	21/04/1864	1867	100	100	replaced Tamburini Antonio
					(clothes excluded)			
							305	

Fig. 1 – Wine production (1785-1888)⁹⁵

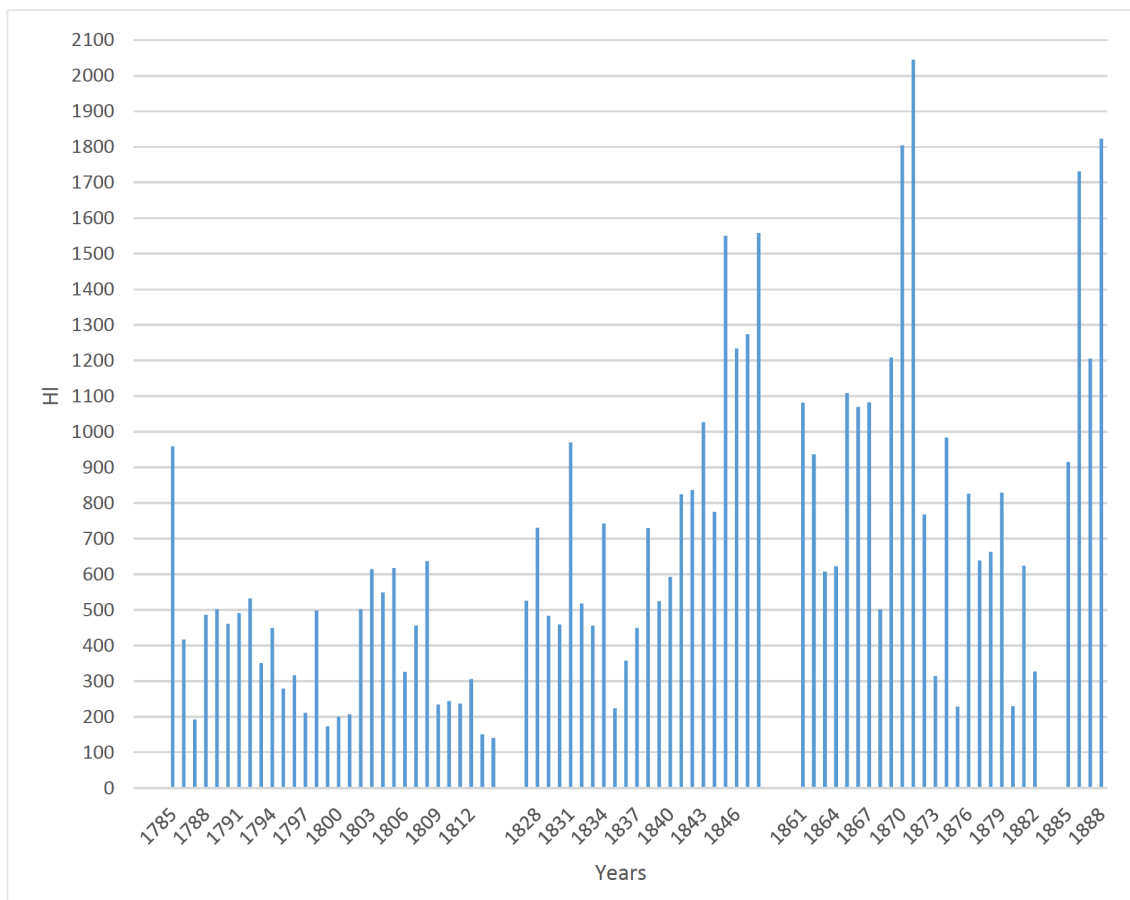
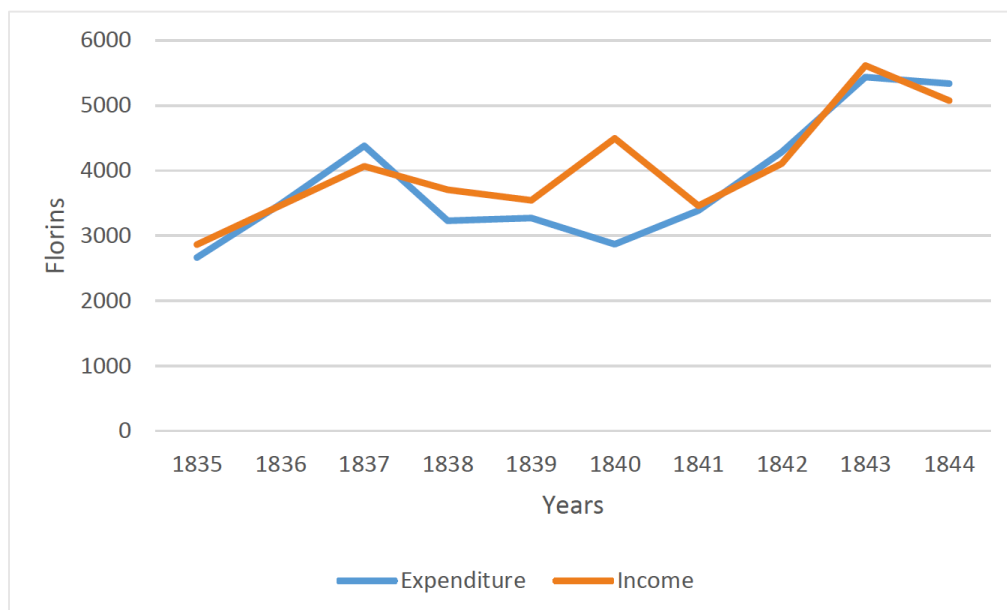
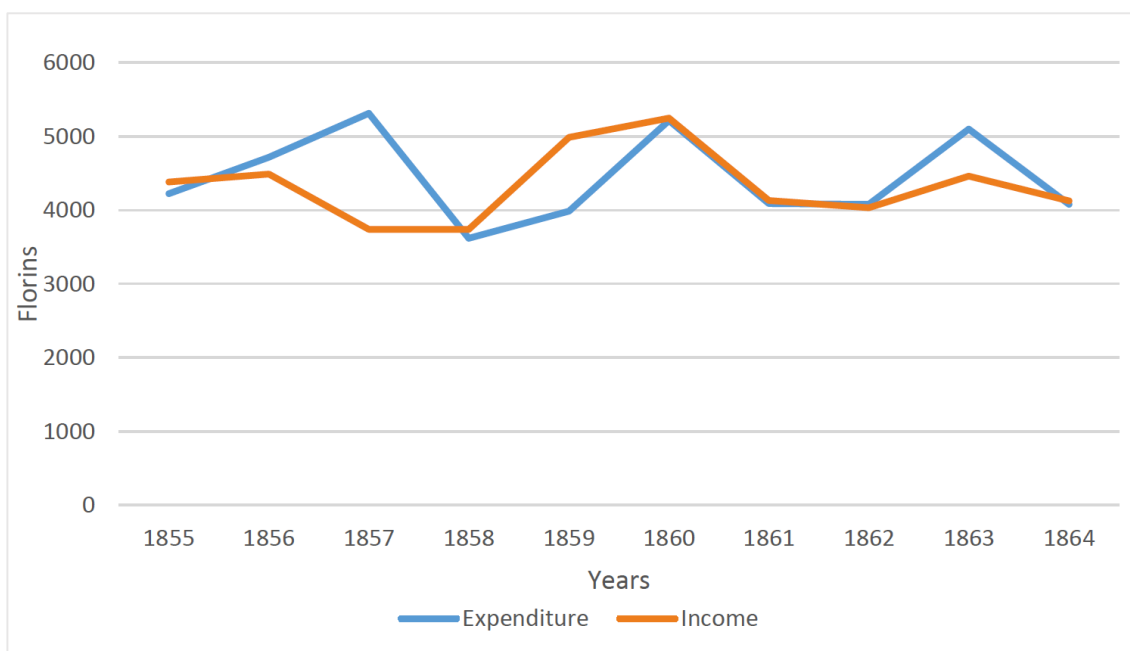


Fig. 2 – Income and expenditure, 1835-1844 (florins, nominal value)



⁹⁵ Some data are lacking because archival sources are incomplete. The figures recorded in eimers have been uniformed in hectolitres.

Fig. 3 – Income and expenditure, 1855-1864 (florins, nominal value)



Appendix 2

Table 1 – Consumer price index and inflation index, 1835-44 (1864=100)

<i>Consumer price Index</i>			
<i>Years</i>	<i>General Index</i>	<i>Innsbruck</i>	<i>Real value of Florin</i>
1835	58,8	56,6	63,5
1836	56,6	50,8	61,1
1837	52,6	49,5	56,8
1838	54,2	51,3	58,5
1839	55,5	51,8	59,9
1840	54,8	51,2	59,2
1841	53,1	52,1	57,3
1842	53,5	50,0	57,8
1843	52,6	48,5	56,8
1844	53,6	50,3	57,9
	Var %	Var %	
1835	-2,2	-5,8	
1836	-4,0	-1,3	
1837	1,6	1,8	
1838	1,3	0,5	
1839	-0,7	-0,6	
1840	-1,7	0,9	
1841	0,4	-2,1	
1842	-0,9	-1,5	
1843	1,0	1,8	
1844			
	Y. average	Y. Average	
	-0,5	-0,6	

Source: Leonardi, 2001: 642-643, tab. 18, 'Indice dei prezzi al consumo in Cisleithania 1800-1914'.

Table 2 – Consumer price index and inflation index, 1855-64 (1864=100)

<i>Consumer price Index</i>			
<i>Years</i>	<i>General Index</i>	<i>Innsbruck</i>	<i>Real value of Florin</i>
1855	83,1	76,9	89,7
1856	78,1	73,3	84,3
1857	80,2	66,7	86,6
1858	82,8	70,2	89,4
1859	84,6	73,8	91,4
1860	80,9	71,7	87,4
1861	89,5	78,4	96,7
1862	94,9	76,6	102,5
1863	92,4	73,2	99,8
1864	92,6	72,2	100
	Var %	Var %	
<i>1835</i>	-5,0	-3,6	
<i>1836</i>	2,1	-6,6	
<i>1837</i>	2,6	3,5	
<i>1838</i>	1,8	3,6	
<i>1839</i>	-3,7	-2,1	
<i>1840</i>	8,6	6,7	
<i>1841</i>	5,4	-1,8	
<i>1842</i>	-2,5	-3,4	
<i>1843</i>	0,2	-1,0	
<i>1844</i>			
	Y. average	Y. Average	
	1,0	-0,5	

Source: Leonardi, 2001: 642-643, tab. 18, 'Indice dei prezzi al consumo in Cisleithania 1800-1914'.

Fig. 4 - Family tree (since XVIIth c.)

