

rate survey in 1704); or the students and teachers at the city's two academies; or the soldiers quartered in the city; or the Jewish population (which we know from a separate census totaled about 770 people at this time); or the homeless poor and the floating population of transients, although it does enumerate close to a thousand refugees who had fled from the advancing French armies. Nor does the census cover the industrial suburbs, inhabited by a workforce employed in the tanneries, ropeworks, metallurgical plants, fulling-mills and silk-spinning mills located outside the walls. From other sources we know that the suburbs clustered north of the city, or around the bridge over the Po – the Borgo Dora and Borgo Po as they were now called – had between one and two thousand inhabitants at this time, representing a significant sector of manufacturing activity not included in the census.

Several basic demographic patterns are immediately apparent. The population was young: more than 60% of those enumerated were under thirty years of age. Most families were small. Well over half of them had only one or two children; big families were the exception, because couples married late, in their mid- to late twenties, which limited the number of children they were likely to produce. Families with more than three children were more common in the upper reaches of the population, suggesting that family size was to some extent a function of wealth. A very high percentage of Turin's inhabitants were recent immigrants, according to the birthplaces given for them in the census rolls: only about one-third of the heads of households had been born in the city. This demonstrates that Turin's rapid demographic growth was the result of migration rather than the natural increase of its residents. Cities were notoriously unhealthy places, where deathrates exceeded birthrates, so that immigration alone could produce growth. Most of Turin's immigrants were poor artisans and laborers who came from villages within a narrow radius of the city. Immigrants with skills or training, on the other hand, tended to come from much greater distances, sometimes from other parts of Italy, or France. Their skills made them more readily employable and thus more mobile.

The census demonstrates that Turinese society was highly stratified. At the top of the social pyramid were nearly three hundred titled families, about three and one-half percent of all the families listed, generally living in large households with many servants. Another segment of the elite was made up of high state functionaries, some of them titled. Below them was a large middling group of physicians, lawyers and other professionals. This concentration of nobles, state officials and professionals was greater than in a typical provincial city, and is attribut-