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# Occupation, Socioeconomic Status, and Dissidence in Bologna around 1300

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Il saggio esamina il rapporto tra dissidenza, professione, residenza e condizioni socioeconomiche nel registro d'inquisizione di Bologna (1291-1310), confrontando la distribuzione dei sospetti di eresia con quella della popolazione censita nell'*estimo* del 1296-7. L'indagine verifica se la composizione professionale dei sospetti di eresia rifletta gli assetti più ampi del tessuto sociale urbano e se i profili di ricchezza delle parrocchie e dei gruppi occupazionali abbiano influito sul coinvolgimento nella dissidenza. Contrariamente alle letture precedenti, che individuavano in tessitori e lavoratori della pelle i soggetti maggiormente inclini alla dissidenza, l'analisi non evidenzia una loro significativa sovra-rappresentazione. I risultati suggeriscono invece il ruolo determinante della distribuzione professionale e delle dinamiche di vicinato, indicando che la diffusione dell'eresia si articolò soprattutto attraverso legami comunitari, più che in relazione a specifiche classi o categorie economiche.

This article examines the relationship of dissidence to occupation, residence, and socioeconomic conditions in the inquisition register of Bologna (1291-1310). It investigates whether the occupational composition of heresy suspects reflected broader patterns in Bologna's urban social fabric and whether wealth profiles of parishes and occupational groups shaped involvement in dissidence. Comparing the proportions of the occupational groups and parishes among suspects of heresy to their proportions in the general population (using the 1296-7 *estimo*, or tax declaration, as a proxy), the study challenges prevailing scholarly assumptions. Contrary to earlier interpretations highlighting textile and leatherworkers as especially prone to dissidence in Bologna around 1300, the analysis reveals no significant overrepresentation of these occupational groups among heresy suspects. Instead, the findings point to the role of professional zoning and neighborhood dynamics in shaping patterns of religious dissent, suggesting that heresy spread through communal ties rather than being tied to specific economic classes or professions.

Medioevo, XIII-XIV secolo, Bologna, inquisizione, dissidenza, catarismo, professioni, fattori socioeconomici, parrocchie.

Middle Ages, 13th-14th centuries, Bologna, inquisition, dissidence, Catharism, occupation, socioeconomic factors, parishes.

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## 1. *Introduction*

Medieval historians have suggested a potential connection between religious dissent and specific occupations that gained prominence with the urban expansion of the 12th and 13th centuries. Professions such as skilled craftsmen, moneylenders, and merchants – key players in the growing urban economy – have been identified as particularly linked to religious nonconformism.[1] This association could have stemmed from their distinctive social positions, which combined relative economic and professional autonomy with exposure to new ideas and networks. The pressures and opportunities of urban life could have facilitated both material and intellectual conditions that made these groups more open to, or involved in, heterodox cultures.

In the context of medieval Bologna, it was Lorenzo Paolini who identified occupational networks as a significant avenue for the spread of dissent usually known as Cathar in historiography: these networks ranked, in his view, just below family and household ties in importance.[2] Paolini further characterized Bologna's dissident community as predominantly "middle class", attracting particularly prosperous craftsmen. Massimo Giansante, meanwhile, underscored the association between moneylending and heretical activity, a connection that frequently attracted the scrutiny of inquisition tribunals.[3] The growing prominence of Bologna's urban middle class extended beyond economics: as Filippo Galletti demonstrated, guilds emerged as influential players in the city's governance by the late 13th century, integrating into the city council and shaping the political and economic spheres.[4] These findings prompt a closer examination of whether in Bologna, persons suspected of heresy disproportionately included members of the middle class and specific occupational groups, whether because of their genuine affinity to dissent or due to inquisitorial targeting influenced by social biases.[5] We also analyse the socioeconomic profiles of occupational groups on the basis of *estimo* from 1296-7 in order to disentangle as much as possible the contribution of a specific occupational group per se from its economic status, potentially quite similar to that of other occupational groups.

Besides occupational groups, we also pay attention to spatial divisions and their relation to dissidence. The administrative, military and fiscal organisation of the municipality of Bologna appears structured, starting from the beginning of the 13th century, around a system of territorial districts, with about a hundred parishes serving as the foundational units for governance and taxation. These ecclesiastical divisions, deeply rooted in Bologna's urban

[1] Borst, *Die Katharer*, 120-42; Dupré Theseider, *Mondo cittadino e movimenti ereticali*, 435-7; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 121-9.
[2] Paolini, "Domus e zona degli eretici," 385-7.
[3] Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, 9-14; Giansante, "Eretici e usurai."
[4] Galletti, "Le società delle arti a Bologna," 69.
[5] Zbíral et al., "Gender, Kinship," 17-8.

fabric, were adopted as the primary basis for administrative operations. While the broader territorial divisions, or quarters, played a significant role in delineating urban organization, precise boundaries between them often remained fluid and ambiguous. These definitional challenges represent a problem not only for today's historians, but already for the administrators of the time, who faced the difficult task of superimposing a territorial quadrangle with relevant political and administrative meanings on an urban terrain already articulated in ancient, and therefore consolidated, ecclesiastical divisions.[6] Nonetheless, the efforts of contemporary historians have revealed that administrative and fiscal documents, such as tax records, offer critical insights into reconstructing these territorial frameworks. As Elisa Erioli notes, while such sources come with inherent difficulties – such as ambiguities in defining taxable bases and discrepancies in their application across urban and rural contexts – they remain an indispensable foundation for demographic and economic estimates.[7] We thus analyse, with the use of fiscal sources such as the *estimi*, tax records detailing the movable and immovable property and debts of the city's residents, the role of parish communities in shaping patterns of dissident support.

Our study explores these dynamics by analyzing data from the Bologna inquisition register covering the years 1291-1310. We sought patterns of socioeconomic status among heresy suspects to answer questions such as: Were craftsmen, manual workers, traders or other occupational groups over- or underrepresented among Bologna residents suspected of heresy? Does a parish's wealth or the proportion of middle class among its inhabitants correlate with the proportion of heresy suspects? While our findings are inevitably shaped by the fragmentary nature of medieval records, these sources still reveal critical insights into the relations between dissidence on the one hand and occupation, social class, and urban space on the other. The broader question we aim to address is whether religious dissent was associated with specific socioeconomic affiliations and how these patterns of association might illuminate the dynamics of participation in these movements.

## 2. *Previous scholarship*

As already noted, the inclination of specific occupations towards dissidence in Bologna – such as the one observed by Paolini, in relation to textile and leather workers, or by Giansante in relation to moneylenders – reflects a larger scholarly interest in the intersection between social class, occupation, and heresy.

[6] Pini, *Le ripartizioni territoriali*, 7-14.
[7] See Erioli, "Aspetti demografici," 24.

Historical materialism first provided a framework for understanding the connection between crafts and heresy, positing that specific occupational groups – such as weavers and small artisans – were drawn to heresy as a response to their socioeconomic challenges. These grievances emerged amidst the transformations in medieval society, including urbanization, monetization, and shifts in labor dynamics, which led to tensions within the hierarchical structures of medieval communities.[8] Marxist historians have thus been interpreting heresy as a channel for expressing social and economic discontent. Gottfried Koch highlighted the structural tensions in medieval European society, focusing on the role of social stratification in fostering dissent. He argued that the Cathar movement, particularly in regions of economic transformation, resonated with small artisans and craftsmen, who faced increasing precarity due to the commercialization of urban economies.[9] In a similar manner, Ernst Werner and Martin Erbstösser expanded on this framework by emphasising that these marginalised groups found heretical ideologies appealing due to their implicit critique of hierarchical structures, and underscored how Catharism offered a communal ethos that contrasted with the competitive individualism of emerging capitalist economies.[10] This perspective sees medieval heresy, including Catharism, as a reflection of the socioeconomic and political tensions of the period, with its roots in class grievances and economic disparities.[11]

In contrast to socioeconomic determinism (whether mild or harsh), Herbert Grundmann's interpretation, reminiscent of Ernst Troeltsch's view on Christian reformism,[12] attributed the appeal of dissidence to the spiritual ideals of the *vita apostolica*. Grundmann fundamentally reshaped the study of medieval heresy by framing it not as a symptom of material conditions but as a struggle over the authentic understanding of Christianity. He argued that movements such as Catharism resonated deeply with those drawn to a life of poverty, asceticism, and preaching the Gospel – ideals seen as a purer expression of Christian ethics than the wealth and hierarchical structures of the established Church. This perspective framed Catharism not as a movement rooted in material grievances but as an ethical and spiritual response to the perceived moral failings of the Church. The growth of Catharism in economically advanced urban areas could thus be understood as stemming from the stark contrast between the mundane and economically oriented administration of the church and the apostolic ideals of poverty and simplicity that reformistic religious movements espoused.[13] Grundmann's influence

[8] For important references for this framework, see Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum*; Werner and Erbstösser, *Ketzer und Heilige*; Gimpel, *Medieval Machine*.
[9] Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum*, 13-30.
[10] Werner and Erbstösser, *Ketzer und Heilige*.
[11] Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali*, 97.
[12] Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, vols 1-4.
[13] See the works of Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*; Merlo, *Eretici e inquisitori*; Dupré Theseider, *Mondo cittadino*; Borst, *Die Katharer*; Lansing, *Power and Purity*.

extended well beyond his own work; as Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane has noted, his approach, building on the understanding of religious cultures in terms of intrinsic religious terms, permeated European scholarship across multiple generations.[14] Arno Borst, Grundmann's direct disciple, further refined his ideas, and Violante, too, affirmed heresy as an eminently religious phenomenon, arguing that economic and social factors played a significant role not in shaping its core values but in facilitating its diffusion and success. He described heresy as both an individual choice and an expression of a wider cultural and spiritual milieu, shaped by the intellectual and religious dynamism of the High Middle Ages.[15]

Partly building on this understanding of dissidence in terms of personal and ideological tensions, Gabriele Zanella – while rejecting the notion of heresy as a cohesive, organized movement – described a troubled situation in which religious aspirations, political motives, and social demands intersected in the Po valley. He challenged attempts to link heretical tendencies to specific occupations, classes, or professions, arguing that these manifestations cannot be attributed to a single "type", be it social class, occupation, or origin. Rather, he saw heresy as emerging from the confluence of diverse factors such as personal spirituality at odds with orthodox norms, and socioeconomic pressures. He thus emphasised the unease that arose in the face of the incongruities between reality and aspirations, and portrayed a fragmented world imbued with a "heretical malaise", driven by aspirations for poverty, radical Church reform, and greater lay participation in spiritual life. Yet, despite this *malaise* experienced by dissidents, they were not social outcasts but rather deeply embedded within the fabric of urban society – an integration that often made their position all the more fraught with personal discomfort. Despite potentially invoking various penalties, the widespread social acceptance of heretics is evidenced by urban uprisings against the inquisition's conduct in Emilia and Romagna.[16] These tumults protested against the relentless pursuit of heretics by inquisitors and, in some cases, escalated to acts of violence.[17]

Who were, then, people attracted to heresy? Among the historians who have emphasized the presence of heretics across all social classes are Raoul Manselli, and more recently, Francesca Lomastro Tognato and the already mentioned Gabriele Zanella. These scholars outlined the idea that heresy was a phenomenon cutting across social boundaries, counting in its ranks the no-

[14] Deane, "Introduction: Heresy, Inquisition, Literacy," 1-2.
[15] Borst, *Die Katharer*, Faksimile; Violante, "Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales." We refer also to Grado Giovanni Merlo, who describes the medieval heretic not as inherently tending to be a heretic but becoming one through conflict with the institutions of religious conformity; a heretic is a Christian seeking faithful adherence to the Gospel. Medieval heresy is, above all, a form of critical, nonconformist religiosity, shaped by specific historical circumstances and defined through its dialogue with both the individuals and the structures of the dominant Church: Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievali*, 19.
[16] Zanella, "La culture des hérétiques italiens," 360; Zanella, *Hereticalia: Temi e discussioni*.
[17] Zanella, "La culture des hérétiques italiens," 357.

blewoman and the peasant; the merchant, the craftsman, and the banker; the town dweller and the peasant.[18] In his work on the village of Mas-Saintes-Puelles under inquisitorial investigation in the 1240s, Georgi Šemkov reinforced this inclusive picture, where heresy attracted nearly the entire noble household, a significant portion of the rising bourgeoisie, many artisans, and a large yet socially undefined group of peasants.[19] In another study, researching inquisitorial documents from 1240s Florence, Šemkov observed again that support for Cathar dissidence was not limited to the urban nobility and upper middle class; instead, he underscored the presence of adherents among peasants and clergymen as well, further reinforcing the idea that heresy resonated across all social strata.[20]

In partial contrast, Borst, Dupré Theseider, and Paolini saw in the middle classes the most welcoming milieu for the spread of dissidence.[21] Drawing on his study of Bolognese sources, Paolini noticed the absence of salaried workers or *laboratores*; some individuals belonged to liberal arts, several were *domini*, women as well; striking is the absence of scholars, given the presence in Bologna of the *Studium*. Regarding the last point, Parmeggiani has recently emphasized the institutional entanglement between the Dominican *Studium* and inquisitorial structures in Bologna. Lecturers often served as advisors or collaborators of the inquisitors, and the tribunal itself developed close ties with the Dominican convent. This embeddedness suggests that, rather than constituting a potential milieu for dissidence, the *Studium* was firmly integrated into the structures of orthodoxy.[22] The maximum recruitment was, Paolini argues, in the middle class, among people of trade: the most represented were purse makers and other leatherworkers, even more than weavers and textile workers in general. These leatherworkers were individuals with some means: shopkeepers, small business owners, and homeowners – people with financial liquidity, able to engage in trade and transactions. Paolini attributes this engagement on the part of such individuals to a specific mindset, one defined by innovation, social dynamism, and a desire to assert their role in society, shaped by their commercial and profit-oriented endeavors.[23] This interpretation of dissidence as self-affirmation aligns closely with Lester K. Little's theorization of religious poverty and the profit economy. Building on Max Weber's understanding of the ethical orientations of specific social strata, Little highlighted how these emerging urban elites, driven by the profit economy, were not contented with economic success alone, and sought ideological and spiritual justification for their role in society, which

[18] Manselli, "Per la storia dell'eresia catara;" Lomastro Tognato, *L'eresia a Vicenza*, 71-4; Zanella, "La culture des hérétiques italiens," 354.
[19] Šemkov, "Le contexte socio-économique du catharisme."
[20] Šemkov, "Die Katharer von Florenz," 66-7.
[21] Borst, *Die Katharer*, 125; Dupré Theseider, *Mondo cittadino*, 245-59; Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, 162-5.
[22] Parmeggiani, "Studium domenicano e Inquisizione," 127-9.
[23] Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, especially 162-5.

they found in new forms of Christian religiosity, such as mendicant orders and lay movements, these formulating a Christian ethic which, by assuming an attitude of acceptance towards urban professions and money making, created a Christian spirituality suitable for the new townsmen.[24]

The study of heresy in relation to its historical conditions, in particular to its socioeconomic dimensions, was explored at the Royaumont colloquium in 1962 on *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle*, where scholars such as Cinzio Violante, Raoul Manselli, and Philippe Wolff engaged in a broader historical-sociological approach to heresy. Royaumont's significance lies in its recognition of heresy as a constitutive element of European society and culture, and in its understanding of the plurality of economic and social contexts in which heresies emerged, highlighting their integration into broader societal structures. Of particular importance in this context is Violante's analysis, which emphasizes the primarily religious nature of heresy while acknowledging the significant role of economic and social factors in the diffusion and success of dissidence. As Violante concluded in his comprehensive review, while heresy remains fundamentally a religious phenomenon, economic and social elements played a crucial role in its efficient spread.[25]

This point about the diffusion of heresy is central to our analysis. Dupré Theseider emphasised the role of heretical networks within the social fabric of Italian cities.[26] Violante suggested that in the major cities of communal Italy, heretical groups were not only socially cohesive but also exhibited a certain spatial concentration.[27] This implies that there may have been a correspondence between professional affiliations and localized heretical zoning within specific districts. Developing this hypothesis further, Paolini argued that heretical zoning in Bologna correlated with occupational clusters in the city. For example, the parish of San Martino dell'Aposa, home to numerous shoemakers and leatherworkers, emerged as the principal hub for Cathar activity in the city. Similar patterns have been noted in Ferrara and Modena, where heretical presence was concentrated in distinct neighborhoods.[28] Paolini underlined how occupational and environmental factors significantly influenced the spatial distribution of craftsmen in Bologna. Craftsmen often settled with their workshops near resources essential to their trades, such as water streams for tanneries and markets for the distribution of goods. Similarly, textile workers – particularly those involved in wool and linen production – were concentrated in districts where proximity to water and workshops for their trade were available. In Bologna, the Aposa stream, flowing through the city from north to south beneath the Church of San Martino dell'Aposa,

[24] Little, *Religious Poverty*.
[25] Violante, "Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales," 185.
[26] Dupré Theseider, *Mondo cittadino*, 245-51.
[27] Violante, "Eresie urbane," 171.
[28] Paolini, "Domus e zona degli eretici," 376-7.

became a focal point for such activities.[29] This professional zoning was not merely a result of urban planning or authority impositions but was driven by practical needs.

This spatial clustering, particularly among leatherworkers, was thought to coincide with a noted prevalence of heresy within these occupational groups, and it seems to illustrate that the dense, stratified social structure of cities often facilitated the spread of heretical ideas, as these environments provided multiple opportunities for interaction and communication among different social groups.[30] The relationship between Cathar religious practices and their social framework was deeply intertwined with interactions between dissident ministers (known often as *perfecti* in Catholic sources), their adherents, and the broader community. This dynamic was understood through the networks of artisan workshops managed by the ministers, which served a dual purpose: vocational training for apprentices in crafts and spiritual instruction for initiates. These interconnected establishments provided vital organizational support, helping sustain the movement. The eventual decline of Catharism in Bologna during the late 13th century might have been closely linked to the erosion of this support network, demonstrating how its structural foundation was critical to its persistence.[31] It is evident how Kaelber's work underscores the pivotal role of domestic and economic networks within heretical communities. He sees these "houses of heretics" not merely as sites of residence but as hubs that served for clandestine activity and socioeconomic resilience, illustrating how heresy thrived through a dynamic interplay of private and communal spheres. In Bologna's periphery, zones of heretical activity were characterized by clusters of believers' residences and workshops. These homes were often well-integrated into the urban economy, acting as double sites of production and distribution; positioned near markets, they facilitated both trade and community interaction. This proximity to commercial hubs and shared spaces for work and living allowed for tight-knit networks that supported both economic and religious cohesion among heretical groups.[32] As Paolini indeed emphasized, the heretical *domus*, understood as a familial or communal household, played a central role in fostering heretical activity. It functioned as both a site for religious transmission and a space of protection against external threats. Furthermore, these households were deeply embedded within their neighborhoods, often forging networks of solidarity with nearby *domus*, which created a localized support system for clandestine activities, embedding dissent firmly within the professional, social and spatial framework of these communities.[33]

[29] Paolini, 385-6.
[30] Violante, "Hérésies urbaines," 195.
[31] Kaelber, *Schools of Asceticism*, 199.
[32] Kaelber, 126.
[33] Paolini, "Domus e zona degli eretici," especially 380-7.

Such socio-professional embedding was not unique to heretical networks but constituted a broader feature of medieval urban organization. Studies by Johannes Cramer, Gabriela Signori, Matthieu Scherman, and Colin Arnaud highlighted the ways in which occupational patterns shaped the spatial and social dynamics of medieval urban districts.[34] Cramer, in particular, studied the architecture, spatial organization, and social aspects of tanners and their workshops (*Gerberhäuser*) in medieval urban settings.[35]

In Bologna, it was observed that the northeastern and northwestern quarters (Porta Piera and Porta Stiera) were densely populated with craftsmen, a pattern shaped by evolving socioeconomic and political dynamics. From the late 11th century onwards, craftsmen such as blacksmiths, tailors, and bootmakers began to appear more frequently in the city's records, often as providers working for prominent monasteries like Santo Stefano and San Giovanni in Monte. This relationship spurred significant property development, particularly in the eastern part of the city, as artisan families became involved in land and property subdivision operations, fostering a greater concentration of craftsmen in certain districts. The choice of residence for many incoming artisans during this period was influenced by personal connections, such as relatives or acquaintances living within a parish, which further reinforced patterns of occupational clustering. By the 13th century, when the municipality of Bologna implemented a policy of consolidating the locations of markets in the city and the countryside, the choice of residence was closely tied to proximity to these centres of commercial and business interests. Merchants preferred settling close to marketplaces and town squares, where daily exchanges occurred. Meanwhile, skilled craftspeople such as cordwainers, makers of fine leather goods, shoemakers, and members of the *lana gentile* guild (producers of high-quality wool) favoured locations near the guild's *domus* or workshops. These areas were designed for concentrated, organized trade and often had centralized spaces for workshops that were assigned on a weekly basis to artisans.[36] As Pini observes, in the absence of specific geographical or technical constraints, craftsmen based their choices on practical factors such as affordability, familial connections, and accessibility.[37] Visibly, the four quarters did not divide the city into areas of equal size. The administrative divisions, established between 1220 and 1235, reflected underlying economic disparities and demographic distributions across the urban landscape. As Giansante indicates, at the turn of the 14th century, the city's wealth was concentrated in specific areas, and this influenced the uneven territorial and demographic

[34] Cramer, *Gerberhaus*; Scherman, "La Scorzaria de Trévise;" Arnaud, "Mapping Urban Communities."
[35] He discussed how tanners' quarters (Gerberviertel) were typically located near rivers or streams, crucial for the tanning process, and were often situated on the outskirts of urban centers due to the odors and pollution associated with tanning. See Cramer, *Gerberhaus*, 66-9.
[36] Pucci Donati and Rinaldi, "Il commercio al dettaglio a Bologna," 247-8; see also Erioli, "Aspetti demografici," 31-3; Rinaldi, "Denaro privato e denaro pubblico," 62-9.
[37] Pini, *Città medievali*, 169.

distribution among the quarters. While Porta Ravennate accounted for only 15% of the urban territory and 20% of its population, Porta Procola and Porta Stiera each encompassed approximately 30% of the territory and respectively 27% and 28% of the population, with finally Porta Piera contributing 25% territorially and hosting 25% of the population.[38]

Our last point on previous scholarship concerns terminology. We occasionally use the term "Cathars" and "Catharism", whether in summaries of previous historiography or our own text. We are fully aware of the critical debate over the identity of medieval religious dissidence, situated between historical reality, polemical invention, and narrative self-identification. This debate involves different dissident groups – or, perhaps more accurately, milieus or religious cultures – as they appear in polemical and inquisitorial sources as well as in modern historiography. The debate concerns various milieus,[39] obviously including Catharism.[40] Some scholars have connected a large part of these dissidents with the Cathar milieu, but we are fully aware that for most of them (for instance, the participants in the anti-inquisitorial unrest in May 1299), we lack any evidence of involvement in rituals and beliefs typically associated with Catharism. We thus use the term in a broad sense, and do not assume any theologically coherent or institutionally tightly organised movement or church. Our focus remains on the social background of dissidence in Bologna, defined by the presence of individuals recorded as suspects in the inquisition register we have analysed. Although we tend to acknowledge some reality to the dissidence reflected in this source, our study neither seeks to defend nor to deconstruct the concepts of "Cathars" or "Catharism". When we employ these terms, it is primarily for orientation and to connect our work with existing historiography on the social background of dissidence in Bologna.

## 3. *Source material*

The richest source offering insights into dissidence in late 13th- and early 14th-century Bologna is an inquisition register spanning two decades, con-

[38] Our own independent count from the *estimo* of 1296-07 – based on the number of persons, not the number of records – differs slightly from the one given by Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, 148, where he states that 28% of citizens resided in Porta Procola, the same percentage in Porta Stiera, 26% in Porta Piera and only 18% in Porta Ravegnana.

[39] Grundmann, "Ketzerverhöre des Spätmittelalters;" Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit*; Merlo, *Valdesi e valdismi medievali*; Merlo, *Identità valdesi*; Zerner, *Inventer l'hérésie*; Biller, "Goodbye to Waldensianism?."

[40] Zanella, "Malessere ereticale;" Zerner, *L'histoire du catharisme en discussion*; Pegg, "On Cathars, Albigenses, and Good Men of Languedoc;" Jiménez Sanchez, "Catharisme ou catharismes?," Théry-Astruc, "Cléricalisme et hérésie des bons hommes;" Pegg, "Heresy, Good Men, and Nomenclature;" Aurell, *Les Cathares Devant l'Histoire*; Jiménez Sanchez, *Les catharismes*; Zbíral, ""Définir les "cathares";" Taylor, "Evidence for Dualism;" Sennis, *Cathars in Question*; Biget et al., *Le 'catharisme' en questions*.

taining a total of 922 Latin documents dated from 1291 to 1310. While the main bulk of its documentation covers the years 1299 and 1303-5, it also preserves relevant information on previous years, also thanks to the deponent's memory reaching some time back. A critical edition of the register was published in 1982 by Lorenzo Paolini and Raniero Orioli.[41] As a product of a fully developed phase of the papal inquisition against heresy, institutionalized under Pope Gregory IX in 1231, the register reflects the intricate interactions between ecclesiastical authority, dissenting religious cultures, and urban society.

The documents predominantly reflect the activities of supporters of two distinct dissident religious cultures active in North-Central Italy during this period, known usually as the Cathars and the Apostles. Alongside these cases, the register also records instances of other forms of religious nonconformism, with an extensive portion of the text documenting confessions of participation in an anti-inquisitorial tumult on 13 May 1299. This event saw numerous citizens publicly expressing opposition to the inquisitors or solidarity with individuals executed for religious nonconformity.[42] The trials recorded in the register were conducted under various inquisitors, including Florius of Vicenza (1291), Guido of Vicenza (1296-1303), Guido of Parma (1304-5), and Bonifacius of Ferrara (1307). While the first three primarily operated within Bologna, Bonifacius conducted investigations related to Bologna during his tenure as inquisitor in Modena.

Concerning the preservation of the register, earlier hypotheses by Dupré Theseider suggested that most of its documents were later medieval copies rather than the original minutes.[43] However, closer analysis of the notarial handwriting and the structural composition of the texts confirmed that the register comprises original documents. While there are references to a small number of documents now missing, and some trials lack final verdicts, the overall integrity of the register stands out. Unlike several other surviving medieval inquisition registers, it shows minimal evidence of significant losses or duplicate documentation from the same tribunal within this timeframe.[44]

The register provides a rare window into various aspects of social and religious life in late medieval Bologna. Its records offer valuable insights into the intersections of community, occupation, and faith within an urban context. Its contents are not merely confined to the identification and prosecution of heretics but extend to questions about the dissemination of dissent within familial, occupational, and communal networks. They reveal, for instance,

[41] Paolini and Orioli, *Acta S. Officii Bononie*, vol. 1; on the sources on medieval Bolognese Inquisition, see Parmeggiani, "Mendicant Orders," 416-7.
[42] The relevant acts within the register appear between n. 102-561, see Paolini and Orioli, *Acta S. Officii Bononie*, vol. 1, note at p. 135; see for literature on the tumult Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, 63-79; Thompson, "Lay versus Clerical Perceptions of Heresy."
[43] Dupré Theseider, "L'eresia a Bologna nei tempi di Dante," 261.
[44] Paolini and Orioli, *Acta S. Officii Bononie*, vol. 1, xl-liii.

patterns of communal solidarity and interaction within parishes, which often served as key *loci* for religious practice. Specifically, Paolini's work on Catharism highlights parish interactions as a potential medium for communal solidarity,[45] which our study contextualizes by examining occupational profiles and their intersections with parish networks.

In addition to this inquisition register, this study draws on another significant contemporary Bolognese source: the city *estimo* from 1296-7, a record of self-assessed property and debt valuations.[46] These individual declarations (*cedole*) detailed movable and immovable assets and were submitted under oath. Tax officials then reviewed these reports, verifying and adjusting the declared values before determining the final taxable amounts.[47] The original declarations from 1296-7, organized by quarter and parish of residence, are currently preserved in 47 archival folders.[48] The *estimi* provide important insights in the assets, occupational profiles, and fiscal obligations of citizens in medieval communes. The 1296-7 *estimo*, one of the best preserved *estimi* in the Bologna archives, shows visible geographical clusterings of certain professions. For example, 41% of leatherworkers by Laura Righi's count based on this *estimo* and by her definition – but only 34% (180 out of 524 in total) by our count and definition – were concentrated in the Porta Piera quarter, while the rest were distributed across the city's three other quarters, with tanners exclusively located in Porta Piera.[49] These records also show a concentration of wealth in central districts, home to the city's magnate families, while the outer parishes (those external to the *Torresotti* walls - that is, those in the third circle of city walls or outside the city walls), despite housing 60% of the population (47.7% by our count), accounted for only 28% (37.3% by our count) of the total wealth recorded.[50]

## 4. *Data*

This study utilizes two datasets to analyze the socioeconomic and geographical distribution of heresy suspects in late medieval Bologna, collected

[45] Paolini, "Domus e zona degli eretici," 380-1.
[46] Chosen for its coverage of occupations, it is one of the important sources from late 13th century Bologna, together with the Liber matricularum of 1294, which lists artisans inscribed in a guild by parish of residence, the matricole delle armi (registers of arms) and the venticinquine, which collected 25 men per parish who were fit to bear arms. For literature on these important Bolognese sources, Pini, *I libri matricularum Societatum Bononiensium*; Pini and Greci, "Una fonte per la demografia storica."
[47] For a thorough description of the documentation and its survival, see Smurra, "Fiscal sources: the Estimi," 48.
[48] Smurra, *Città, cittadini*, 7.
[49] Righi, "La manifattura del cuoio," 179.
[50] The counts are provided by Pelagalli, 'Origine di Bologna;' for a detailed analysis on wealth distribution, see Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, 151-3.

from the two sets of documents just presented, the register of the Bologna inquisition covering the years 1291-1310, and the 1296-7 *estimo*.

As part of the dataset from the inquisition register, we created a table of suspects alongside their social and demographic characteristics (sex, place of residence, occupation) and kinship relations. Our population for this study consisted of Bologna residents suspected of heresy, a good proportion of whom had a known place of residence (usually at the level of one of the 99 Bologna parishes) and a known occupation (or had a spouse whose occupation is known). Our study population comprised 435 heresy suspects with known residence in Bologna, out of whom 311 (71.5%) were people who took part in the 13 May 1299 tumult after the burning of three convicted heretics, Bompietro, a well-regarded figure in his neighborhood, Giuliano, and Rosafiore (the last one *post mortem*). Furthermore, we compiled a table of locations with name, location type (parish, church, etc.), geographic coordinates, superordinate location (e.g., a Bologna parish belongs to a quarter, and quarter, in turn, to Bologna). We geocoded parishes by their main church.

Data on gender was complete for all 453 individuals (100%), and gender distribution was in fact a notable feature of the study population: women constituted as much as 59.5% (259 individuals). Their prevalence was driven by the presence of unrest defendants, where they accounted for 72.1% of the subgroup, in contrast to only 28.2% among non-unrest suspects. Occupational information was available for 96 individuals (22.1%), 15 out of whom were provided with it through an extrapolation of their spouse's occupation, a process justified by the fact that we were interested in occupation mostly as an indicator of socioeconomic status, which, in married couples, would normally characterize both spouses together. Some residential data were recorded for the entire study population (also because residence in Bologna was our filter, i.e. we did not include suspects without known residence in Bologna); for 391 individuals (89.9%) we have information about their parish of residence within Bologna.

The second dataset is a table of individual taxpayers from the 1296-7 *estimo*, with their occupation (where available) and their property and debt estimates. The original data were acquired from the online database: *Gli estimi di Bologna del 1296-97*.[51] The database contains tables collecting all the documents pertaining to 98 parishes from late 13th century Bologna (23 in Porta Piera, 33 in Porta Procola, 28 in Porta Ravennate, and 24 in Porta Stiera). We integrated the separate online tables into one and added columns denoting the number of persons in a record (because some cover more than one person), parish, quarter, and 4 columns implementing formulas to show values of property (the gross assets declared), debts, net worth (property worth minus debts, which provides a measure of financial standing), and the debt-to-prop-

[51] A project from the State Archives of Bologna and the Centro "Gina Fasoli" per lo studio delle città (Università di Bologna), curated by Rosa Smurra, is available online.

erty ratio (a relative measure indicating the extent of indebtedness compared to property net worth). We retrieved 9,846 records overall, which roughly corresponded to households.[52] To obtain person-level data and thus symmetrize the unit of analysis with our individual-oriented table of suspects, we divided the records covering more people (brothers, with the father's name indicated; widows with children; etc.) and divided the property and debt equally among them.[53] This way, we obtained 11,537 person-level records that we were then able to summarize into taxpayer counts for each parish; we used the proportions of these counts as a relative measure of parish population sizes when assessing the over- or underrepresentation of heresy suspects within parishes.[54] We also went through all the records where occupation was stated in the original database and, to resolve orthographic variation and notations which contained extra words apart from the occupation itself in the *attività* column of the database, we provided each occupation with a unique identifier. We then placed each of these occupations into exactly one broader occupational group. Exactly the same categorization was also applied to the occupations of suspects. We constructed our occupational groups in an effort to classify occupations into categories reflective of broader economic roles and specialised expertise and to balance historical specificity with analytical clarity.[55] Since declarants in the *estimo* had no formal obligation to state their profession, 6,816 of the records do not display the individuals' occupational designation, and thus have no occupational group. We have, however, 3,030 individuals (26.3%) whose occupations were documented. The occupational groups we constructed are characterised as follows:

1. "Textile workers" include a wide range of artisans and laborers involved in textile production and trade, encompassing roles such as weavers (*tessarii*), dyers (*tinctores*), fullers (*gualcitores*), wool processors (*cimatores*, *batarii*, *garzatores*), clothworkers (*bisilerii*), and retailers (*draperii*). This group also includes textile merchants and traders, highlighting the diverse participation in one of Bologna's most vital economic sectors.
2. "Leatherworkers" represent another major occupational category and comprise individuals engaged in the processing and crafting of leather at various stages, from the preparation and treatment of raw hides to the

[52] Smurra, "Direct Taxation," 458.
[53] Whenever the number of persons was not clear, we provided the minimum we could be certain about. For instance, *Vanutius q. Bernardini de Curionibus et filii* we expressed as 3+, and practically treated as 3 in the analysis.
[54] Antonio Ivan Pini estimates, in his demographic analysis, the population of Bologna at 50,000, with households averaging four to five members. The 1296-7 *estimo* records approximately 9,000 entries (representing around 11,000 individuals), a figure that, when multiplied by the average household size, closely aligns with the broader population estimates. Pini, *Città medievali*, 136-7.
[55] For the work on occupations, we used 'Database of Latin Dictionaries - Online'; additionally, the following works have been of great help in assessing some of the professions: Righi, "La manifattura del cuoio"; Del Bo, "Mercanti e artigiani a Vercelli;" Cuomo, "Sul commercio dei panni;" Rivoira, *Le parole dell'agricoltura*; Erioli, "Falegnami e muratori."

production of finished goods, such as tanners (*cunçatores*), curriers (*coriarii*), pursers (*bursarii*), shoemakers (*calzolarii*), footwear repairers (*zavaterii*), and various manufacturers and sellers of leather products.[56]

3. "Craftsmen (other than textile and leatherworkers)" comprise a varied group of skilled craftsmen and laborers engaged in producing goods and tools essential to both everyday life and specialized trades. This category includes metalworkers, woodworkers, jewelers and brooch-makers, arms manufacturers, and other more specific occupations such as spur-makers (*ille qui facit sperones*), coopers (*congiarii*), and basket-weavers (*panarii*), alongside trades linked to book production, such as booksellers and bookbinders.
4. "Production workers other than agriculturalists" primarily include those engaged in food production and the processing of raw materials. This category features butchers, bakers, millers (*mulnarii*), and charcoal workers (*carbonarii*).
5. "Traders" comprise merchants and vendors whose activities facilitated the exchange of goods within and beyond Bologna.
6. "Service providers (other than traders)" encompass a diverse array of occupations, ranging from healthcare professionals and tavern keepers to domestic servants and goods transporters such as carters and porters.
7. "Agriculturalists" encompass individuals whose livelihood was primarily tied to land cultivation and animal husbandry. While their work often took them beyond the city walls, many of these workers resided within Bologna, particularly in its peripheral parishes. This category includes land laborers, tenant farmers, shepherds, field cleaners, and other workers in agrarian and pastoral tasks. These individuals often represented lower socioeconomic strata, with limited property and economic mobility.
8. "Manual workers" represent individuals engaged in tasks that typically require physical effort, such as day laborers other than in agriculture and other menial roles.
9. "Officials" include individuals employed in civic administration, encompassing roles in public service, judiciary, and administrative capacities.
10. "Knowledge professionals" include holders of occupations which require advanced education: scholars, notaries, judges and intellectuals.
11. "Finance professionals" represent significant economic actors such as moneylenders, bankers, and money coiners.
12. "Religious specialists" include clergy and others involved in spiritual roles, ranging from lower clergy such as sacristans and chaplains to members of monastic communities, and extending to high-ranking prelates and leaders of religious houses.

[56] Giansante, "Il quartiere bolognese di Porta Procola," 130; Righi, "La manifattura del cuoio," 61-110.

Of course, occupational data in the two datasets have limitations and are not completely balanced. The limitations often stem from the choices of notaries to omit occupational details, whether for random reasons or because such information was deemed unnecessary when other identifiers were provided.[57] It is also true that this issue disproportionately affected certain groups, such as women, and sometimes appeared systematically in one of our two datasets, as in the case of religious specialists who were well covered in the inquisition dataset but not in the *estimo*, as they were generally exempt from taxation.[58] Generally, however, occupational details in the two datasets enable valid comparisons.

From both datasets, we produced summaries of the data by parish, quarter, city wall circle, and occupational group. For each category, we calculated its share among the register's suspects and among the *estimo*'s taxpayers, several indicators of the given category's wealth from the *estimo* dataset (especially the total, average, and median of property, debt, and net worth), and the proportions of lower, middle, and upper economic classes in that category (parish, quarter, city wall circle, and occupational group) based again on the *estimo* dataset. For the purpose of this study, we defined economic class on the basis of net worth percentiles from the *estimo* dataset, considering those with percentile <50 to be lower class, those with percentile ≥50 and <90 to be middle class, and those with percentile ≥90 to be upper class.[59]

By aligning the dataset of heresy suspects residing in Bologna with the socioeconomic and demographic framework provided by the *estimo*, we established a framework for analysing the relationship between dissent and the urban fabric of late medieval Bologna. Through this dual lens, we studied the over- and underrepresentation of specific occupational groups and parishes among heresy suspects, highlighting possible patterns that reflect the interplay between occupational identities and the urban religious landscape.

## 5. *Dissidence and wealth in Bologna parishes around 1300*

Building on the hypothesis outlined in the introduction that heresy suspects may be over- or underrepresented in certain parishes, we examined the distribution of heresy suspects across Bologna's parishes, considering how it may reflect the intersection of occupational networks, a central or peripheral position in the city, and socioeconomic dynamics. We compared this distribution to the proportions of the overall city population in the parishes, using the taxpayer population from the 1296-7 *estimo* as a demographic and economic

[57] Smurra, *Città, cittadini*, 122-3.
[58] Smurra, 122.
[59] Identifying "a portion of the distribution, generally by defining specific decile groups as the middle class", is an approach widely shared by scholars; however, there is disagreement on the specific defining deciles. See the considerations of Gornick and Jantti, *Income Inequality*, 10.


Map 1. Heresy suspects residing in Bologna as a proportion of taxpayer count in the 1296-7 *estimo*.

proxy, with parish-level ratios of taxpayers, median net worth, and proportions of lower and middle economic class residents. The *estimo*, of course, does not represent the entire population of the city, but we suggest that the relative population proportions and economic indicators it provides are proxies relevant to our purpose.[60]

Among the 435 individuals in the suspects dataset, 391 had known parish affiliations, spanning 69 parishes across Bologna's four quarters. Porta Piera emerges as the most represented quarter, containing 243 (62.2%) of the individuals with known parish affiliations. Notably, two parishes within Porta Piera – San Martino dell'Aposa and Santa Maria della Mascarella – account for about one third (81 and 56, or 18.6% and 12.9%, respectively) of the suspects with known parish affiliations. A smaller but still substantial share of individuals belongs to parishes in Porta Stiera (52 of them, 13.3%) and Porta Procola (70, 17.9%), while Porta Ravennate (26, 6.6%) hosts fewer cases overall. This distribution reflects economic patterns, as the heavily represented Porta Piera included areas closer to marketplaces and central urban activities, while Porta Ravennate comprised less densely populated, peripheral zones. Map 1 shows suspects in the register dataset as a proportion of the *estimo* population, thus showing in what parishes dissidence was compara-

[60] For demographic studies on the city of Bologna, see Pini, *Città medievali*, 135-6.

tively over- or underrepresented in the city. Some *estimo* taxpayer counts and suspect counts are small, and considering the limitations of both datasets, we do not intend to argue that in any Bologna parish, the proportion of heresy suspects was actually higher than 50% or even 15%; rather, we propose this map as a relative indicator of the density of suspects in the city by comparison to the *estimo*, used as an imperfect but valuable demographic proxy. Table 1 then provides the relevant figures for a selection of the most populated parishes; the complete table of parishes is available online.

Table 1. Counts of suspects and *estimo* taxpayers with economic indicators, showing the degree of over- or underrepresentation of suspects in each parish. Parishes are ranked in descending order by suspect ratio. Statistically significant overrepresentation of suspects is indicated by "+" (small effect, Cohen's h 0.2< h < 0.5 ), "++" (medium effect, Cohen's h 0.5 < h < 0.8), and underrepresentation by "-" (small effect). Cohen's h is an effect-size measure used to compare two proportions. It expresses the magnitude of their difference in a way that is independent of the sample size, allowing us to distinguish between differences that are merely statistically detectable and those that are of substantive importance. The adjusted p-value is a statistical significance measure corrected for multiple comparisons. We only included parishes with at least 150 taxpayers. *BIR* represents the parishes of residence of Bompietro, Giuliano (*Iulianus*), and Rosafiore, as well as the suspect-dense parish of Santa Maria della Mascarella.

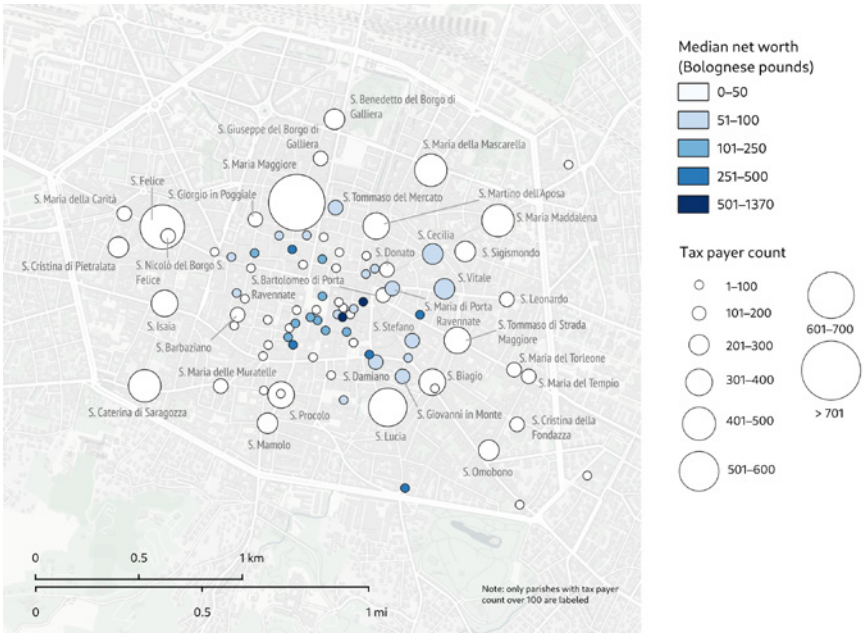
| Parish name | Median net worth | Percentage of middle class | Percentage of lower class | Percentage of upper class | BIR | *Estimo* count (percentage) | Suspect count (percentage) | Difference | Adjusted p-value | Cohen's h |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S. Martino dell'Aposa | 28 | 39.39 | 46.83 | 13.77 | 1 | 363 (3.1%) | 81 (18.6%) | ++ | <0.01 | 0.54 |
| S. Maria della Mascarella | 15 | 32.77 | 64.26 | 2.98 | 1 | 470 (4.1%) | 56 (12.9%) | + | <0.01 | 0.33 |
| S. Tommaso del Mercato | 60 | 47.2 | 37.89 | 14.91 | 1 | 161 (1.4%) | 23 (5.3%) | + | <0.01 | 0.23 |
| S. Maria Maggiore | 16 | 37.01 | 56.13 | 6.86 | 0 | 816 (7.1%) | 16 (3.7%) | | 0.01 | 0.15 |
| S. Benedetto del Borgo di Galliera | 25 | 49.55 | 48.2 | 2.25 | 0 | 222 (1.9%) | 13 (3%) | | 0.12 | 0.07 |
| S. Stefano | 66 | 37.43 | 40.35 | 22.22 | 0 | 171 (1.5%) | 8 (1.8%) | | 0.55 | 0.03 |
| S. Giuseppe del Borgo di Galliera | 41 | 63.78 | 28.06 | 8.16 | 0 | 196 (1.7%) | 8 (1.8%) | | 0.82 | 0.01 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S. Maria Maddalena | 40 | 51.76 | 40 | 8.24 | 0 | 425 (3.7%) | 8 (1.8%) | | 0.04 | 0.11 |
| S. Giovanni in Monte | 92 | 53.42 | 22.36 | 24.22 | 0 | 161 (1.4%) | 6 (1.4%) | | 0.98 | 0 |
| S. Giorgio in Poggiale | 30 | 50 | 42.77 | 7.23 | 0 | 166 (1.4%) | 5 (1.1%) | | 0.62 | 0.03 |
| S. Leonardo | 31 | 49.19 | 44.86 | 5.95 | 0 | 185 (1.6%) | 5 (1.1%) | | 0.46 | 0.04 |
| S. Vitale | 60 | 43.07 | 38.2 | 18.73 | 0 | 267 (2.3%) | 5 (1.1%) | | 0.11 | 0.09 |
| S. Procolo | 15 | 31.25 | 66.15 | 2.6 | 0 | 384 (3.3%) | 4 (0.9%) | | 0.01 | 0.17 |
| S. Lucia | 13 | 30.63 | 66.21 | 3.16 | 0 | 506 (4.4%) | 4 (0.9%) | - | <0.01 | 0.23 |
| S. Mamolo | 14 | 35.63 | 61.3 | 3.07 | 0 | 261 (2.3%) | 3 (0.7%) | | 0.03 | 0.14 |
| S. Tommaso di Strada Maggiore | 32 | 37.24 | 45.95 | 16.82 | 0 | 333 (2.9%) | 3 (0.7%) | | 0.01 | 0.18 |
| S. Maria delle Muratelle | 28 | 47.25 | 47.25 | 5.49 | 0 | 182 (1.6%) | 2 (0.5%) | | 0.06 | 0.12 |
| S. Cecilia | 58 | 43.4 | 38.89 | 17.71 | 0 | 288 (2.5%) | 2 (0.5%) | | 0.01 | 0.18 |
| S. Biagio | 14 | 32.81 | 63.72 | 3.47 | 0 | 317 (2.7%) | 2 (0.5%) | - | 0.00 | 0.2 |
| S. Caterina di Saragozza | 16 | 36.81 | 61.86 | 1.33 | 0 | 451 (3.9%) | 2 (0.5%) | - | <0.01 | 0.26 |
| S. Felice | 15 | 38.46 | 60.39 | 1.15 | 0 | 611 (5.3%) | 2 (0.5%) | - | <0.01 | 0.33 |
| S. Barbaziano | 33 | 44.85 | 41.21 | 13.94 | 0 | 165 (1.4%) | 1 (0.2%) | | 0.04 | 0.14 |
| S. Isaia | 29 | 44.57 | 46.29 | 9.14 | 0 | 350 (3%) | 1 (0.2%) | - | <0.01 | 0.25 |
| S. Sigismondo | 27 | 42.98 | 49.12 | 7.89 | 0 | 228 (2%) | 0 (0%) | - | <0.01 | 0.28 |
| S. Cristina di Pietralata | 20 | 40.99 | 55.41 | 3.6 | 0 | 222 (1.9%) | 0 (0%) | - | <0.01 | 0.28 |
| S. Maria della Carità | 16 | 29.38 | 67.5 | 3.12 | 0 | 160 (1.4%) | 0 (0%) | - | 0.01 | 0.24 |
| S. Alberto | 16 | 40.4 | 57.07 | 2.53 | 0 | 198 (1.7%) | 0 (0%) | - | 0.01 | 0.26 |
| S. Omobono | 19 | 43.97 | 55.67 | 0.35 | 0 | 282 (2.4%) | 0 (0%) | - | <0.01 | 0.31 |

The relationship between parish population size and suspect representation (Table 1) is not straightforward. The numbers of suspects in the parishes with the highest representation of suspects, such as San Martino dell'Aposa (81 suspects), Santa Maria della Mascarella (56 suspects), and San Tommaso di Mercato (23 suspects), do not correlate with their *estimo* populations, as illustrated in the table: San Martino dell'Aposa accounts for 3.1% of the *estimo* population but 18.6% of suspects; Santa Maria della Mascarella accounts for 4.1% of the *estimo* population, but 12.9% of suspects; and San Tommaso di Mercato features 1.4% of the *estimo* population, but 5.3% of suspects. Conversely, some parishes such as Santa Maria Maggiore and San Benedetto del Borgo di Galliera display lower proportions of suspects relative to their population share (e.g., Santa Maria Maggiore has 7.1% of the *estimo* population but only 3.7% of suspects). The high-suspect parishes of San Martino dell'Aposa, Santa Maria della Mascarella, and San Tommaso di Mercato feature prominently, along with a handful of other parishes within the same or adjacent city quarter, in the northeastern area of the city (see Map 1).[61] However, compared with the population from the *estimo*, these northeastern parishes do not display evidence of higher population density in this dataset. The most populated parishes, apart from the central Santa Maria Maggiore (816 individuals, 7.1%), were the large southern parishes of Santa Caterina di Saragozza (451 individuals, 3.9% of the population), Santa Lucia (506 and 4.4%), and San Felice (611, 5.3%), populated mostly by agriculturalists of recent immigration.[62] In particular, Santa Caterina di Saragozza and Santa Lucia together account for over 8% of the *estimo* population but only a minimal (1.4%) share of suspects.

This raises the question of what distinguishes the parishes with higher numbers of heresy suspects. Geographically, these parishes are clustered in the north-eastern quadrant of the city. In terms of wealth, none rank among Bologna's wealthiest or poorest parishes, with a median net worth – the midpoint value where half of the population has a higher net worth and half lower – of 28 Bolognese pounds for San Martino dell'Aposa, 15 for Santa Maria della Mascarella, and 60 for San Tommaso del Mercato, while the median from the full *estimo* data is 31. Meanwhile, the wealthiest parishes align with historiographical claims that central parishes, irrespective of their official quarter, were wealthier, with wealth diminishing as one moves toward the periphery.[63] This pattern is supported by our analysis (see Map 2). We indeed found that the parishes within the first circle of the city, the Selenite walls, had the highest median net worth (57 bolognese pounds), and the largest share of upper-class residents (23%), while those within the third circle, *Circla*, and outside these walls, had the lowest median net worth (20 bolognese pounds) and a

[61] For further analysis, see Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, especially 110-26, and Thompson, *Cities of God*, 433-7.
[62] Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, 127-8.
[63] See Micheletti, "Gli estimi del comune di Bologna," 301; Giansante, "Il quartiere bolognese di Porta Procola," 125.




Map 2. Median net worth of parishes.

notably smaller share of upper-class residents (6%). The parishes within the second circle, the *Torresotti* walls, occupied an intermediate position in both wealth (28 pounds) and class composition (12.5% upper-class). However, although the parishes in the first circle showcased more wealth, they also contained an important share of lower-class population (41%), a ratio that does not differ massively from that of the parishes within the two other circles of walls (respectively 47.4% and 53.6%).

Interestingly, we note that the proportion of heresy suspects per taxpayer was highest in the first circle (1.2%), slightly lower in the second circle (1.1%), and significantly lower in the third circle and outside the walls (0.6%), despite the fact that one of the parishes with the highest suspect count, S. Maria della Mascarella, was situated in the third circle of walls.

To further contextualize the relationship between parishes, wealth, and dissidence, we examined the distribution of *estimo* individuals across socioeconomic strata, categorized as lower, middle, and upper class as defined above, for all parishes (see Table 1 and Map 3). Within Bologna, wealth distribution exhibited stark inequalities, reflecting a pronounced polarization. Giansante observed how a small proportion of the population controlled the majority of the wealth, with the top 4% of taxpayers owning more than 53% of the total recorded wealth according to the 1296 *estimo* by Giansante's count,[64]

[64] Giansante, *L'usuraio onorato*, 158; Vallerani, "Fiscalità," 725.


Map 3. Percentage of lower, middle and upper class per parishes.

and as much as 60.3% by our count. Such disparities underscore the socioeconomic stratification that characterized Bologna at the close of the 13th century. As seen above, our data on suspects reveal that while heresy-affiliated parishes often align with middle- and lower-class residents, this is by no means a strict rule. Notably, the first circle, which has the highest percentage of upper-class residents, also has a significant share of suspects. This suggests that the socioeconomic profile of heresy-affiliated parishes did not significantly deviate from the general urban demographic pattern. In summary, our analysis did not reveal any specific relationships between a parish's class composition and dissidence.

Rather than class composition, a specific event comes to the fore: the 13 May 1299 tumult, whose participants account for 311 (71.5%) out of the 435 suspects in our data. This event, centered on the execution by burning of two prominent dissident figures, Bompietro and Giuliano, and the bodily remains of Rosafiore, triggered significant public unrest in Bologna. The analysis of data on the 311 individuals involved in the unrest reveals patterns tied more to communal and geographical rather than strictly economic factors. Within days of the unrest, a large number of individuals presented themselves to the inquisitor, Guido da Vicenza, or his vicar Omobono. The rapid sequence of depositions suggests a spontaneous mass response to general pressure rather than active investigation by the inquisition. This aligns with the notion of a *tempus gratie*, a period of leniency encouraging confession of individuals not specifically summoned. While the manuscript provides no explicit evidence

of a formal proclamation calling for confessions, several elements support the plausibility of a *tempus gratie*. The consistent pattern of absolution formulas in the depositions (*eum/eam absolvit ab excommunicatione*) implies that absolution was readily granted to those who came forward.

The geographical concentration of participants underscores the communal nature of this response. We observe a prominent presence of individuals from parishes surrounding the central market – San Martino dell'Aposa, Santa Maria della Mascarella, and San Tommaso del Mercato.[65] The individuals from these parishes were likely drawn to the execution not only due to the geographical proximity of their homes and workplaces to the event, but also due to their ties to the executed figures, particularly Bompietro. The parish of San Martino dell'Aposa was home to several notable Cathar figures, not only Bompietro and Giuliano, but also Onebene, Beatrice, Pietro da Rimini, and Maria da Vicenza in earlier times. This location served as a hub where dissident ministers were housed. Nearby, in San Tommaso del Mercato, resided Bonigrino and his wife Rosafiore, whose bones were burned the same day as the two Cathars. The parish of San Martino was also home to numerous shops belonging to purse makers – the occupation of Bompietro and Giuliano – and, more generally, leatherworkers. These professionals likely interacted regularly through shared workshops or markets, creating networks of trust and mutual support that extended into broader communal solidarities. We can thus presume that what fostered a notable current of sympathy towards Bompietro and Giuliano was solidarity based just as much on parish as on occupational networks. Importantly, while predominantly middle- and lower-class individuals lived in these three parishes, this composition was not unique compared to other parts of the city. Instead, what distinguished them were probably the close-knit personal networks of Bompietro, Giuliano, and Rosafiore, shaped by shared professional, familial, and friendship ties. In the case of the overrepresentation of suspects in these three parishes, we must thus conclude against economic determinism: there is nothing in the *estimi* economic data which would explain the higher proportion of dissidents in these parishes. Rather, we conclude in favour of communal cohesion as the key factor behind their solidarity with the condemned, which likely galvanized participation in the collective response that followed. To further examine this conclusion from the descriptive analysis, we conducted a statistical test to isolate the effects of wealth profile (median net worth) and class composition of the parish from the residence of unrest suspects in those three specific parishes (the BIR column), and the model indeed corroborated that it is residence in these three parishes specifically rather than these parishes' specific wealth or economic class composition which made people more likely to appear in the register.[66]

[65] Thompson, *Cities of God*, 452.

[66] We applied Beta-regression with average marginal effect calculation. Our model was significant (phi = 59.6, $p < 0.001$, pseudo $R^2 = 0.2$). Average marginal effects (AME) value of taxpayers

Turning now to individuals outside the group of tumult defendants, recurring patterns in parish representation emerge. Porta Piera remains the most represented quarter, with over a half of all non-tumult suspects with known parish affiliations linked to this area (46 out of 84, or 54.8%). Within Porta Piera, the parish of San Martino dell'Aposa, followed by Santa Maria Maggiore and San Tommaso del Mercato, stand out collectively accounting for more than half of the individuals not involved in the unrest (63%). This concentration thus suggests that these parishes, particularly San Martino dell'Aposa, served as significant communal hubs even before and beyond the tumult.

Religious affiliations among suspects not involved in the tumult reveal a relatively balanced proportion of Cathars (45 individuals, 36.3%) and those associated with other types of heterodoxy (56, 45.7%), with a smaller proportion linked to the followers of Gerardo Segarelli, the Apostles (23, 18.5%). The prominence of San Martino dell'Aposa becomes even more compelling when the testimony of Onebene di Volta Mantovana is considered, an elderly Cathar interrogated in 1291. His depositions recall events from up to four decades earlier, shedding light on meetings with Cathars, their supporters, and their wider network. Many of those he mentioned are known to have resided in this parish, underscoring its role as a hub for fully-initiated adherents and their supporters who resided in Bologna.[67] Building on Paolini's observations, this milieu highlights the dual character of Cathar communities: while itinerant ministers often lacked occupational ties, our data reveal that among Cathar-affiliated individuals, a half (27 out of 54) had identifiable occupations; in contrast, only 52 out of 356 individuals associated with other heterodoxy have a known occupation, though, among the Apostles, the proportion is also approximately half: 27 out of 46. The Cathars' occupations ranged across trades such as textile and leatherworking, other craftsmen, service providers, and moneylenders. This occupational diversity reflects a pattern of integration into the urban economy, allowing Cathar-affiliated individuals to maintain connections with both their faith community and the broader civic and economic life of Bologna.[68]

In summary, the distribution of heresy suspects across Bologna's parishes reveals patterns that are more situational and neighborhood-based than rooted in any clear socioeconomic dichotomy. The three parishes with the highest proportions of suspects – two within the city's second circle of walls and one within the third – do not exhibit wealth characteristics distinguishing them from other parishes. Instead, their prominence appears tied to their proximity to the place where the burning happened, and to the relationship with the

ratio was 0.34 and BIR was 0.07, all other variables (median net worth, ratio of middle class, ratio of upper class) were negligible (abs (AME) < 0.001).

[67] Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, 91-5.

[68] Little, *Religious Poverty*, 206.

condemned people.[69] This situational dynamic, centered on the shared spaces of everyday life, highlights the importance of social and spatial proximity in shaping patterns of dissent, rather than the wealth profile and economic class composition of parishes.

## 6. *Occupational representation among heresy suspects in Bologna around 1300*

In the historiography of dissidence in Bologna, a central question has been whether certain professions were more prone to engage in religious nonconformism than others. Previous studies have examined whether the distribution of dissidence reflects the unique social and economic dynamics within specific crafts or broader economic conditions that shaped occupational groups differently. Our data, combining the occupational affiliations of dissidence suspects in Bologna with the sizes and wealth profiles of occupational groups of taxpayers covered in the 1296-7 *estimo*, allow us to re-examine this question. Furthermore, should we find a specific occupational group to be over- or underrepresented among suspects by comparison to its proportion within the tax-paying population in Bologna, we should be able to establish, thanks to the economic data in the *estimo*, whether the attraction to dissidence seems determined by the economic profile of that occupational group, or by some other factor (which would be the case if we found occupational groups of a similar economic profile, but exhibiting starkly contrasting levels of representation among suspects).

To evaluate the relationship between occupation and dissidence, we divided our analysis into two parts: examining the occupational composition of heresy suspects compared to the broader taxpayer population from the 1296-7 *estimo,* and determining whether disparities in representation are better explained by the characteristics of the occupational group itself or by the wealth distribution within those groups.

Table 2 summarizes key data on the occupational categories of heresy suspects in comparison to the *estimo* population. We can broadly see that among both "populations", the taxpayer population and Bologna heresy suspects, there is a significant proportion of those with unknown occupation. However, the proportion of known occupations (27.3% and 22.1%, respectively) allows some conclusions to be drawn.

The first very obvious result is the near-complete absence of agricultural workers among suspects, which is known for Bologna, but can only be fully appreciated when we observe in how stark a contrast this stands to the *estimo*, where agricultural workers are well-represented (3.6% overall, 13.2% among those with known occupation). We argue that this discrepancy likely

[69] On this point, see also Giansante, "L'inquisizione domenicana a Bologna," 224.

Table 2. Occupational categories of heresy suspects in comparison to the *estimo* population, with occupation groups' economic indicators. Ranked by descending suspect ratio. Statistically significant overrepresentation among suspects indicated by "+" (small effect, Cohen's h 0.2< h < 0.5 ), underrepresentation by "-" (small effect, Cohen's h -0.5< h < -0.2).

| Occupation group | Median net worth | Percentage of lower class | Percentage of middle class | Percentage of upper class | Estimi count (percentage) | Suspect count (percentage) | Difference | Adjusted p-value | Cohen's h |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| unknown | 28 | 47.14 | 41.01 | 11.85 | 8406 (72.9%) | 339 (77.9%) | | 0.02 | 0.12 |
| religious specialist | 130 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 3 (0%) | 22 (5.1%) | + | <0.01 | 0.42 |
| leatherworker | 20 | 55.15 | 41.03 | 3.82 | 524 (4.5%) | 18 (4.1%) | | 0.69 | 0.02 |
| textile worker | 18 | 58.33 | 36.98 | 4.69 | 576 (5%) | 15 (3.4%) | | 0.14 | 0.08 |
| service provider (other than trader) | 14 | 62.93 | 34.67 | 2.4 | 375 (3.3%) | 10 (2.3%) | | 0.27 | 0.06 |
| trader | 32 | 45.29 | 44.84 | 9.87 | 223 (1.9%) | 8 (1.8%) | | 0.89 | 0.01 |
| official | 49 | 39.84 | 44.72 | 15.45 | 246 (2.1%) | 7 (1.6%) | | 0.46 | 0.04 |
| production worker (other than agriculturalist) | 25 | 49.71 | 38.86 | 11.43 | 175 (1.5%) | 5 (1.1%) | | 0.54 | 0.03 |
| craftsman (other than textile or leather) | 21 | 51.1 | 45.86 | 3.04 | 362 (3.1%) | 5 (1.1%) | | 0.02 | 0.14 |
| finance professional | 3 | 77.78 | 11.11 | 11.11 | 9 (0.1%) | 4 (0.9%) | | 0.00 | 0.14 |
| knowledge professional | 98 | 43.75 | 18.75 | 37.5 | 16 (0.1%) | 1 (0.2%) | | 0.62 | 0.02 |
| manual worker | 10 | 77.27 | 21.21 | 1.52 | 132 (1.1%) | 1 (0.2%) | | 0.07 | 0.12 |
| agriculturalist | 10 | 74.82 | 24.7 | 0.48 | 413 (3.6%) | 0 (0%) | - | <0.01 | 0.38 |
| trained worker (other than craftsman) | 15 | 63.64 | 36.36 | 0 | 77 (0.7%) | 0 (0%) | | 0.09 | 0.16 |

reflects some substantive social or cultural dynamics rather than mere documentary bias, as it is improbable that notaries systematically omitted noting down the agricultural professions of suspects in inquisition records, while they minutely recorded them in the *estimi*. The majority of agricultural workers resided on the southern periphery of Bologna, in areas characterized by lower integration into the urban networks where heresy often thrived. Unlike artisans or traders, whose economic and social lives revolved around guilds, markets, and communal spaces, agriculturalists in general operated in a more dispersed context. However, the deterministic view that rural contexts provided fewer opportunities for the exchange of ideas is easily debunked when looking, for instance, at the depositions contained in Fournier's inquisitorial register. Those, indeed, reveal that agricultural laborers and shepherds frequently engaged in theological debates, whether while working in the fields, during communal meals, or in other everyday social settings.[70] Hardly attributable to a sheer lack of opportunities for nonconformist talk and the support of dissidents, the relative absence of agriculturalists among heresy suspects in Bologna around 1300 more plausibly reflects a form of conservatism in the sense of resilience toward urban innovations, as well as the presence of different socioeconomic networks that characterized agricultural communities. Unlike urban artisans, whose proximity to the changing socioeconomic and intellectual trends might have made them more receptive to new ideas, agriculturalists were deeply embedded in the traditional structures of Bologna's contado. This conservatism may have been reinforced by the hierarchical relationship between rural workers and urban elites, who tightly controlled agricultural production through sharecropping and direct oversight.[71]

A second observation concerns the overrepresentation of leatherworkers and textile workers among heresy suspects posited in previous scholarship.[72] While we understand the reasons for these claims, given their non-negligible absolute numbers, the comparison of their proportion among heresy suspects to their proportion among taxpayers shows clearly that in the case of leather and textile workers, scholars have been misled: the representation of these two crafts among suspects merely reflects their overall representation in Bologna. Leatherworkers accounted for 4.1% of suspects, which mirrors their 4.5% share in the *estimo* population. Similarly, textile workers constitute 3.5% of heresy suspects, while their overall representation among taxpayers reached 5%. Beginning with leatherworkers, there was a major presence of leather production groups in the city of Bologna.[73] Leatherworkers, or at least those enrolled in artisan societies in the sector, numbered 2,091 in 1294, i.e. one fifth of those enrolled in societies of arts, and about 4% of the entire Bo-

[70] Duvernoy, *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vols 1-3; Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*.
[71] Bocchi, "Shaping the City," 76.
[72] Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, 163-4.
[73] Giansante, "Il quartiere bolognese di Porta Procola," 130.

lognese population. These figures, approached only by those of blacksmiths and notaries, lead us to believe that Bolognese leather, and especially footwear production, had a leading role in the economic life of the city.[74] Similarly, textile workers formed a significant part of Bologna's craft community, reflecting the city's role as a regional hub of textile production. Though Bologna's textile industry was less prominent than that of Florence or Languedoc, it still attracted a substantial number of skilled workers from other textile centers such as Verona, Mantua, Milan, Lucca, Florence, and Prato.[75] All in all, while textile and leather professions seem strong in dissidence in absolute numbers, their strength only mirrors their proportions in the general taxpayer population in Bologna. We thus need to completely abandon the idea that heresy was especially attractive to these professions in Bologna around 1300.

Similarly, the combination of the two datasets reveal a fairly similar distribution of service providers, traders, and production workers other than agriculturalists between the *estimo* and the suspects.

Different is the case of craftsmen and manual workers, who stand out for their minimal representation among suspects. This result challenges the historiographical narrative regarding the attraction of heresy for craftsmen.[76] While we have seen textile and leatherworkers aligning with their proportional representation in the broader population, other craftsmen are notably underrepresented among heresy suspects.

A few observations can be made regarding finance professionals, who constitute a small but noteworthy category among Bologna heresy suspects, with all four individuals identified as moneylenders. Previous historiography, notably Mundy's work for the Toulousain[77] and Giansante's work for Bologna, drawing on earlier insights by Violante, Manselli, and more recently Paolini,[78] has hypothesized a significant ideological and practical connection between moneylenders and Cathar dissidence, grounded in shared anticlerical sentiments and defiance of ecclesiastical authority, particularly regarding economic morality. With the caveat that the number of finance professionals among suspects is low, our descriptive analysis aligns with the broader argument that finance professionals were overrepresented among heresy suspects. They account for 0.9% of suspects (4.2% of those with known occupation), a figure markedly higher than their 0.1% (0.29% of those with known occupation) in the *estimo*. While we could hypothesize that especially members of

[74] Giansante, "L'età comunale a Bologna," 179.
[75] Craftsmen from those regions frequently emigrated to Bologna, drawn by the opportunities offered by the city's "artificial creation of the mercantile-dominated commune"; see Mazzaoui, "The Emigration of Veronese Textile Artisans," 313; similar considerations are found in Giusberti and Roversi Monaco, "Economy and Demography," 169.
[76] Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum*, 13-30; Werner and Erbstösser, *Ketzer und Heilige*, 334-5.
[77] Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism*, 57-8.
[78] Giansante, "Eretici e usurai," 219-20; Violante, "Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales," 171-98; Manselli, *L'eresia del male*, 223-43; Paolini, "Gli eretici e il lavoro," 143-50.

wealthier families could have underreported their moneylending activities for the purposes of the *estimo*, preferring to state no occupation or another occupation describing their often diversified economic activities, moneylending was, however, of interest to inquisitors.[79] The presence of nine finance professionals in the *estimo* shows that such occupations were, at the very least, not completely taboo in this context. However, the fact that none of them is explicitly identified as a moneylender raises the possibility that this particular profession was underreported. The discrepancy between the *estimo* and list of suspects should be interpreted with caution, but given their notable presence among suspects, it remains plausible that finance professionals, particularly those engaged in moneylending, were somewhat overrepresented in inquisitorial records.

In the case of knowledge professionals, we cannot really interpret the proportions, because we have only one suspect categorized under this occupational group. Thus, this is less notable in comparison to their proportion in the *estimo* population (0.14 %) than in relation to the expectation that people of knowledge would be more attracted than others to divergent modes of thought. Their negligible representation is particularly striking given Bologna's status as home to the *Studium*, a renowned university that drew individuals from across Europe and served as an important hub for the dissemination of ideas.[80] We might have expected that some members of the intellectual elite – such as legal experts (*iurisperiti*), doctors of law (*legum doctores*), masters of theology (*magistri theologiae*), or students (*scolares*) – would be attracted to dissidence, but they are in fact conspicuously absent from among Bologna suspects. We are probably somewhat biased in our expectations by the idea of continuity between medieval learning and Enlightenment free-thinking: while bringing many innovations, learning was anything but a hotbed of religious dissidence in Bologna around 1300. This impression is reinforced if we consider the institutional embedding of the *Studium* within ecclesiastical structures, which may have endorsed their allegiance to orthodoxy and, just as plausibly, shielded its members from inquisitorial suspicion.

The occupational group that was the most conspicuously overrepresented among heresy suspects might be religious specialists, with 22 (22.9%) out of the 96 suspects with known occupation. However, their near absence among *estimo* counts is driven by the fact that this group was exempt from taxation, as outlined in the archival provisions, and the few church person taxpayers we found were individuals who had only recently entered the church or those with specific circumstances requiring declarations.[81] Therefore, in the case of religious specialists, the *estimo* does not provide a reliable proxy for their

[79] Albertani, "Calzature e denaro," 150.
[80] See de la Croix and Vitale, "Scholars and Literati;" Lines, "The University and the City;" on the observation that knowledge professionals are substancially absent among suspects, see Paolini, *L'eresia a Bologna*, 162-3.
[81] Smurra, *Città, cittadini*, 122.

ratio in the general population, which prevents us from drawing conclusions from this disproportion.

As a side product of our analysis, we point out the diversified compositions of occupational groups in the *estimo* as to the presence of the lower, middle, and upper economic classes, as defined in this study (see Table 2). Omitting for now the occupational groups with low representation, we see that any clear relation between occupational groups and economic classes dissolves. To be sure, we do see some patterns – for instance, manual and agricultural workers tend to comprise lower-class members, while officials have a higher proportion of upper class members than most other groups. However, most occupational groups comprise a fair proportion of members from all three economic classes defined on the basis of their net worth, with a large proportion, ca. 35-45%, composed of middle-class members. In this context, it is difficult to consider traders or craftsmen, for instance, to be more "middle class" than other occupation groups.

## 7. *Conclusion*

Our analysis challenges the long-standing claim in historiography that textile and leatherworkers were specifically overrepresented among Bologna heresy suspects: their percentages do not even reach their general percentages in the taxpayer population, making the specific theorization of the attraction of these occupational groups to heresy superfluous in this instance.[82] Our analysis provides indications of several other noteworthy patterns. We confirmed as statistically significant the absence of agricultural occupations, which were concentrated primarily in the two southern quarters of the city. Albeit with the caveat of being based on small absolute numbers, the analysis also supported the overrepresentation of finance professionals among heresy suspects. Besides the conspicuous absence of agricultural professions and the potential overrepresentation of finance professions, our statistical analysis has so far not corroborated any special attraction to dissidence on the part of occupational groups in Bologna around 1300, and, thus, until further research is conducted, we can discard the idea of the supposed special attraction of dissidence for craftsmen, whether in general or specifically textile and leather workers, as well as most other occupational groups. Among results reaching beyond the topic of dissidence, we have shown that any simple equations between occupation and economic class in medieval cities should be considered cautiously: in spite of some clear patterns (especially the predominance of lower class individuals among agricultural and manual workers), all

[82] Abels and Harrison, in "The Participation of Women," 250, similarly argue that no special theorization is needed when participation of women in heresy only follows their representation in the general population.

well-represented occupational groups tended to comprise members from all economic classes.

Rather than the attraction of dissidence for any specific occupational group, our study corroborates the importance of professional zoning and neighborhood dynamics in shaping the patterns of religious dissent in Bologna. The occupational distribution of heresy suspects largely mirrors the professional composition of the city. This spatial organisation provided the structural framework within which communal and professional ties facilitated social and religious interactions. The inquisition records underscore the integration of heretics into their local communities, as illustrated by figures such as Bompietro, Bonigrino, Rosafiore, and Giuliano. These individuals were not isolated from their communities; on the contrary, they maintained active relationships with their neighbours and the artisan population, facilitated by their trades and social positions. Our findings thus further emphasize the situational and neighborhood-based nature of dissent, highlighting how geography and communal ties were ultimately more influential than occupational or socioeconomic status in shaping patterns of religious dissent.

In conclusion, this study has attempted to provide a nuanced understanding of the relationship, in late 13th century Bologna, between religious dissent on the one hand and occupation, and the socioeconomic profile of parishes and occupational groups on the other. We have shown that the distribution of heresy suspects is better understood as a reflection of urban professional and social structures rather than as a function of specific occupational groups or economic classes. This complements previous caveats around socioeconomic determinism associating specific occupational groups or economic classes with a special attraction to dissidence, even if we leave open the question of "middle class" members and their proneness to dissidence, or their higher visibility to inquisition, with respect to Bologna around 1300.[83] Overall, our analysis has highlighted the interplay of spatial and social factors in shaping patterns of dissent. Future research could expand on these insights by collecting structured data from additional sources and exploring comparative contexts, shedding further light on the complex relationship between socioeconomic structures and religious choices in medieval urban environments.

[83] For a critique of socioeconomic determinism in Cathar adherence, see Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism*, 55-7; on the case of Bologna, see Zbíral et al., "Gender, Kinship."

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