

WOMEN IN THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF POPE GREGORY XVI (1765–1846)

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Abstract. The role of women in the life of Pope Gregory XVI (1765–1846) has been overlooked in the historiography. Yet as this article will show, they played critical roles in many aspects of his life. Privately, his family and adopted family, in the Moronis, were influential and help reveal his emotional side. Professionally, women were present in different ways, from visits from foreign aristocracy to intense diplomatic relations with the Queens of Spain and Portugal. Above all, he was drawn to women who possessed great spiritual insight and power and heeded their prophecies and supported their missionary and educational endeavours.

Key words: Pope Gregory XVI, women, family, Gaetano and Clementina Moroni, saints, Queen Maria II, Queen Isabella II, female religious orders, Madeleine Sophie Barat, Pauline Marie-Jaricot

INTRODUCTION

In the long history of popes there exists no work, to my knowledge, discussing women and their influence on the life of a pontiff with the exceptions of works devoted to female sainthood or those sensationalist pieces highlighting sexual mischief. The many books related to the controversial life of Pope Alexander IV (1431–1503) come to mind. More sinister still, during certain periods of the Church's history, women have been viewed by leading churchmen as obstacles on the path towards salvation. Augustine's *Confessions* had a profound and enduring impact on the way in which the Church viewed women. That they are still barred from most of the Church's highest offices carries with it, at some level, their inferiority or weakness, which one finds hints of even in our current discussion. There is as well a third type of literature which addresses this imbalance in a more theological or pastoral sense – literature and commentaries, for example, dealing with Pope John Paul II's apostolic letter on the dignity and vocation of women (*Mulieris Dignitatem*)¹.

Scholarly papal biographies, especially on modern popes, also neglect half of their church body when sizing up the life and times of certain popes. Women are rarely to be found. In the case of Pope Gregory XVI, the few biographies that do

¹ See: Ted Lipien, *Wojtyła's Women: How They Shaped the Life of Pope John Paul II and Changed the Catholic Church* (2008); and Brooke Williams Deel, *Pope John Paul II Speaks on Women* (2014).

exist bear this out, depicting Pope Gregory XVI's world virtually devoid of women². The two festschrifts celebrating his life and pontificate – in 1948 and 2012 – offer fascinating surveys on various aspects of his life, but women are only incidental³. And while specialist studies on certain aspects of Gregory's pontificate offer up a few more examples, which will be enumerated below, one gets the sense that women were hardly, if at all, part of Gregory's world. This is somewhat understandable, from a distance, given that Gregory was a contemplative Camaldolese monk, a part of the Benedictine family of religious orders. In his private correspondence as either sender or receiver, of which this author has uncovered more than a thousand letters between 1790 and 1830, there is almost no extant correspondence with a female. However, this fact is misleading, as many of his relationships with the opposite sex were carried out in person.

Anti-papal writers have provided the most coverage in this sense, satirizing Gregory's relationship with Clementina Moroni, the wife of his life-long assistant, Gaetano. We will have occasion to discuss this in its proper context later. Satire aside, women play important roles in the life of Pope Gregory XVI, roles which have hitherto been overlooked when assessing his pontificate. This article is roughly divided into two sections or spheres – familial and church-related – and will discuss the various types of relationships that Mauro Cappellari (later, Gregory XVI) held with women throughout his life, and where applicable, how he was influenced by them. He was sustained financially and emotionally by his sister; he was provided a family-like environment in Clementina Moroni; he held deeply troubled relationships with the Queens of Spain and Portugal in the last half of the 1830s and the 1840s, at odds with their respective state policies towards his Church; and finally, he admired and assisted specially-gifted women in their various roles within the Church. In light of these varied experiences, Gregory's view of women more generally comes into focus and is one that is very much in keeping with the traditional Catholic mindset of the time, though somewhat antiquated to modern sensibilities. The sources used for this survey are found in various and sundry printed materials, as well as in unpublished manuscripts from numerous archives, mainly in Italy.

² Occasionally his immediate family is mentioned in passing. See, for example, C. Sylvain, *Gregoire XVI et son Pontificat* (Paris 1889); F.Fabi Montani, *Notizie storiche di Papa Gregorio XVI* (Rome 1846); J. Schmidlin, *Papstgeschichte der Neuestenzeit* (Muenchen 1933), i. 511–687; Owen Chadwick, *History of the Popes (1830–1914)*, (Oxford, 1998), 1–60; B. Wagner, *Papst Gregor XVI*, (Sulzbach 1846); Dr. S.N.T., *Vida de Gregorio XVI y anales de su pontificado* (Madrid 1846).

³ Maggioni (ed.), *Gregorio XVI. Miscellanea Commemorativa*, in *Miscellanea historiae pontificiae*, vols. 13–14, 1948; and Romano Ugolini (ed.), *Gregorio XVI tra oscurantismo e innovazione: stato degli studi e percorsi di ricerca*, 2012.

PERSONAL: FAMILY AND FRIENDS

When discussing women in the life of Pope Gregory XVI, it seems appropriate to start from the beginning. Based on the (extant) fragmentary and circumstantial evidence that exists, it appears that in his youth his interaction with those of the opposite sex was limited. Education at this time was single-sex and, in Cappellari's case, appeared to have a Jesuit influence, despite the fact the order was suppressed (in July 1773) around the time young Cappellari began his schooling and also despite the fact that educational trends in the Veneto were moving towards a humanistic education inspired by Gasparo Gozzi⁴. Prior to 1773 the Jesuits held a prominent educational influence in Belluno, one of a half dozen schools it ran in the Veneto⁵. After the order's suppression the school, centrally-located in the town, was made public, but most likely retained its teaching staff, albeit as 'ex-Jesuits', a common phenomenon throughout Europe⁶. One of this number, Luigi Zuppani, was a teacher of philosophy and future vicar capitular of Belluno; he also collaborated with Cappellari during the Restoration after 1814, suggesting that perhaps their relationship began initially as teacher-pupil⁷.

It is a common feature, perhaps unintentionally executed, to ascribe precocity to a pope in his childhood. Papal biographers often describe their subjects' talents and spiritual inclinations, not as those nurtured by their parents but instead as inherited naturally, as if set apart at birth for their special mission. A female influence is rarely to be found. Accordingly, two of Gregory's earliest biographers speak of him as pious, studious and benevolent: 'he had the most joyous comportment, a lively imagination, great intellectual penetration, and solid piety'⁸. Already by 16, there are reports of Gregory's interest in becoming a Camaldolese monk⁹. In August 1783, one month shy of his eighteenth birthday, he entered the Camaldolese monastery at San Michele all'Isola in Venice.

Family for Cappellari was important – as important as it could be for a person who decided to live an isolated existence with limited contact with his loved ones. There is not much information on the exact nature of his relationship with his mother. Perhaps he inherited some of the same qualities that were found in her. She reportedly had a comportment that was suited for cloistered life: she was moral, modest and well-mannered¹⁰. These qualities were to be found in her

⁴ For more on education in the Veneto, see Paul F. Grindler, 'Education in the Republic of Venice,' *A Companion to Venetian History*, 2013, pp. 676–99.

⁵ On the importance of the Jesuits in Belluno, Tiezza, 'Gregorio XVI e la Diocesi de Belluno', *PGB*, pp. 37–40.

⁶ On their enduring influence after 1773, Roberta M. Dal Mas, *Andrea Pozzo e il Collegio dei Gesuiti di Belluno* (Belluno, 1992), p. 22.

⁷ Luigi Alpagò-Novello (ed.), 'Le Memorie di don Flaminio Sergnano', *Archivio Storico di Belluno, Feltrino, e Cadore [ASBFC]*, anno V (Belluno, 1933), pp. 402–03. For their correspondence, see Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV). AES. Lombardo-Veneto, fasc. 10, pos. 43; and fasc. 15, pos. 48.

⁸ Giuseppe Baraldi, *Pio Ottavo e Gregorio Decimosesto* (Modena, 1831), pp. 4–5; and Scolari, *Gregorio XVI e La Sua Patria*, Belluno, 1835, pp. 4–5.

⁹ Vittorino Meneghin, *S. Michele in Isola di Venezia*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1962), p. 247.

¹⁰ Alpagò-Novello (ed.), 'Le Memorie di don Flaminio Sergnano', pp. 402–03.

son as well. And she was much loved by those in the community as at least one eyewitness recounted at her death on 27 November 1793¹¹. Flaminio Sergnano's *Memoire* notes that her children understandably suffered at their mother's passing¹².

While the relationship with his mother was presumably warm, there is much evidence to suggest that Cappellari's sister was the person closest to him and his greatest influence early on. Catherine, whose religious name was Maria Teresa, was five years older, born on 25 July 1763¹³. Her entrance into the convent in August 1780 with final vows in October 1782 was witnessed by her doting brother and, by one account, affected him dramatically¹⁴.

This relationship that young Cappellari had with his sister inspired his own vocation¹⁵. He supposedly said as much in a letter to her¹⁶. While he decided upon being a Camaldolese at 16, his familiarity with monastic life began at 14 with his sister's entrance into the S. Gervasio convent in Belluno¹⁷. His subsequent visits to his sister and his uncle, Antonio Cappellari, who at that time was the convent's confessor, brought him into contact with the monks from S. Michele¹⁸. Cappellari probably became acquainted with the abbot whose duties included periodic visits to S. Gervasio – a responsibility (and position) that Cappellari would later have¹⁹.

The closeness with his sister is exemplified in Cappellari's correspondence to fellow monks. Following his move to Rome in mid-1795 to assist his order's procurator general, he began penning letters to his closest friend at S. Michele, Placido Zurla, a future cardinal. Most of his 130 letters to Zurla between 1795 and 1806 make mention her²⁰. By contrast, there is almost no reference to other family members. In the case of his mother, this is understandable, as she passed away in 1793; but his father died in 1807 and his only (living) brother Francesco

¹¹ Ibid. On the date of death, G. Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', in *Papa Gregorio XVI e Belluno*, in *Istituto Bellunese di Ricerche Sociali e Culturali Serie "Storia"*, (no. 19; Belluno, 18 Sept. 1996), 55–78, 63; Wagner, *Papst Gregor XVI*, vii; mentions only the year.

¹² Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', 56; Alpago-Novello (ed.), 'Le Memorie di don Flaminio Sergnano', p. 703.

¹³ Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', p. 63.

¹⁴ L. Zacchi, *Notizie storiche del convento di S. Gervasio a Belluno. Con cenni biografici intorno ad alcuni vescovi ed al papa Gregorio XVI con molti documenti inediti*, (Belluno 1901), pp. 160–62. Part of the day's events are also recounted in Archivio Stato di Roma (ASR). Ben.Cam. (Maschili) S. Gregorio, busta 74. Misc. Letters. Giabbani, 'L'Ambiente Monastico', *MHP*, xiii. 198 (her vocational name); Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', p. 56.

¹⁵ Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', 56; the degree of her influence on him is seen more clearly in Zacchi, *S. Gervasio*, 160–79; 258–9; 269. Moroni, *Cenni Cronologici*, p. 7; cf. Meneghin, *S. Michele*, i. 247. Dalla Torre, 'Gregorio XVI', *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (1948), vi. 1148, also thinks his tutor, Carrera, played a role.

¹⁶ Giabbani, 'L'Ambiente Monastico', *MHP*, xiii, p. 198.

¹⁷ ASR. Benedettini [Ben.] Camaldolese [Cam.] (Maschili) S. Gregorio, busta 75. Misc. Letters.

¹⁸ On his frequent visits, ASR. Ben.Cam. (Maschili) S. Gregorio, busta 74.

¹⁹ Meneghin, *S. Michele*, i. 246. Zacchi, *S. Gervasio*, pp. 168, 177; Giabbani, 'L'Ambiente Monastico', *MHP*, xiii. 189; Federici, 'Papa Umanista', *MHP*, xiii. 154.

²⁰ For example, Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma (BNR). S.Greg. 110³⁹⁻⁴³.

lived until 1827²¹. The frequent contact between Mauro, Cappellari's adopted religious name from September 1786, and his sister was such that others used this occasionally for the delivery of messages²².

Teresa also assisted her brother at his lowest times financially. The French invasion of Italy pauperized not only the Papal government, but religious orders and their monasteries and convents as well. Numbered among these was Cappellari's order. Deprived of the normal channels of income, such as the saying of masses or proceeds from almsgiving, Cappellari resorted to unconventional means in which to eke out an existence. In 1802, when his finances were at their thinnest, his sister was the go-between, sending family funds to Mauro via his order²³.

Proof of their strong attachment was the object of his lamentations in 1807 when he was once again penniless. He bemoaned the fact that he had not the means to afford the postage for a letter to his sister²⁴. It is also known that he visited his sister at S. Gervasio when in Venice. The prioress of the convent hinted at such a visit on 27 April 1806: 'Abbot Mauro will perhaps return to S. Michele'²⁵. Furthermore, as abbot of S. Michele between 1808 and 1810, Cappellari was also entrusted with the spiritual and financial oversight of S. Gervasio, so his meetings with his sister would have been more frequent²⁶.

But as conditions turned grimmer with each new French decree, and suppression imminent, he penned a letter in the spring of 1810 to the nuns at S. Gervasio encouraging them to hold firm to their faith. No doubt there was greater pathos in this moment knowing he was also addressing his sister: 'It will be published at this hour ... the general decree of suppression, which was intimated to us yesterday, and which will require us to leave our habit and our cloister. A truly terrible and painful act, but together it will increase our crown'²⁷. The superior and a few of the sisters, including Teresa Cappellari, were 'afflicted and crying', as they delivered the convent's possessions over to government agents at the end of June²⁸. In the only extant letter from his sister to Mauro, written on 15 July (1810), she revealed her feelings at this time. Her grief over the recent events, as much as her sisterly love, must have touched him deeply.

²¹ Giuseppe Valentini, *Per la solenne inaugurazione del busto di Gregorio XVI. P. M.*, Belluno, 1835, p. 22. Two other siblings had died prematurely. Saretta, 'La famiglia Cappellari', p. 63.

²² For example, see Arcangela Foglioni, Gervasio to Mandelli, 22 May 1792. (ASR. Ben.Cam. (Maschili) S. Gregorio, busta 78. S. Gervasio, 'Corrispondenza fra l'abbadessa di S. Gervasio e l'abate di S. Michele di Murano', 1792-6.) On his name change, see Meneghin, S. Michele, 247n. His original name is Bartolameo.

²³ BNR. S.Greg. 110⁷⁵ Cappellari to Zurla, 24 July 1802.

²⁴ BNR. S.Greg. 109¹⁵ Cappellari to Nachi, 21 March 1807. Another example, BNR. S. Greg. 110⁹¹ Cappellari to Zurla, before July 1803(?).

²⁵ BNR. S.Greg. 97³⁸¹ Laura Barbi to Nachi, 27 April 1806.

²⁶ Zacchi, *S. Gervasio*, p. 178; cf. Meneghin, *S. Michele*, i. 452.

²⁷ Archivio di Camaldoli (AC).F.I.1. Cappellari notes, 'La sovrana legge obbliga...', p. 3 (14 May 1810).

²⁸ Zacchi, *S. Gervasio*, pp. 208-9.

Dearest brother,

I admire with astonishment the providence of God. I am quietly resigned to [my] fate with some calmness; thus my health does not suffer, ... not even a little. Now I am well, and, in fact, almost better than normal. I was able to recite the Office in intervals ... A sufficient tranquillity renders these days less painful. I am comforted by the nearness of S. Stefano, where I attend. ... The thought of your visit sustains me through all of the rest.

Your affectionate sister,

M. Teresa Cap²⁹.

He would see her for the last time in September 1812, his last reported visit to Belluno³⁰. In the summer of 1820, at the age of 57, she fell gravely ill and succumbed soon afterwards. The mother superior, Rosa Frigimelica, with whom Cappellari also had contact, sent him a letter informing him of her death, offering condolences³¹. It is reported that he grieved much and sent a 'beautiful' letter in reply which evidenced this³². Sixteen years later, her memory still resonated with him, for as pope he offered *indulgenze plenarie* to those Camaldolese monks who would visit S. Gervasio on stipulated days³³.

Of his brother's three children, he appeared closest to the only female, Augusta (1801–1833)³⁴. His feelings were revealed at her death in December 1833; she was described as 'a loving, intelligent wife' and supposedly resembled her grandmother, Gregory's mother, Giulia³⁵. Cappellari penned an emotive letter to her husband, the nobleman Giovanni Pagani Cesa: 'Dearest nephew, we enter into a part of your pain by the death of your wife and our niece. Remember that you have lost your wife, you have not lost your uncle who loves you always and who gives to you and your innocent children the Apostolic Benediction'³⁶. The family had been present at Gregory's papal installation mass on 13 February 1831³⁷. At his death, Gregory named Augusta as benefactor, bequeathing to her children 6000 scudi in her honour³⁸.

Concerning Gregory's two nephews, Giovanni Antonio and Bartolommeo Alberto, he also was close³⁹; but when Antonio's marriage fell on hard times, Gregory counselled and consoled his wife, Angiola Pelliccioli-Cappellari, whom

²⁹ AC.A.X.3. Teresa 'Capellari' to Mauro 'Capellari', 15 July 1810.

³⁰ Da Borso, Alessandro, *L'Amico del Popolo*, 'il centenario del concittadino Papa Gregorio XVI', 8 June 1846.

³¹ Zacchi, *S. Gervasio*, p. 259.

³² Zacchi, p. 260.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41–5, issued on 19 August 1836.

³⁴ Pagani-Cesa, *Ricordi aneddotici*, p. 15.

³⁵ Saretta, "La famiglia Cappellari", 63; Scolari, *Gregorio XVI E La Sua Patria*, p. 4.

³⁶ Giabbani, 'L'Ambiente Monastico', *MHP*, xiii. 199.

³⁷ *L'Amico del Popolo*, 'Belluno si appresta a celebrare degnamente il centenario della scomparsa del suo grande concittadino Papa Gregorio XVI', by A. Da Borso, 8 June 1846.

³⁸ TSN, *Vida*, 453.

³⁹ A main theme in *Papa Gregorio XVI e Belluno* (1996) is Cappellari's fondness and generosity towards his hometown as well as his family.

he appears to have been quite fond of⁴⁰. Cappellari addressed Angiola personally in 1819, sympathizing with her and speaking of the pain that their troubles caused him: ‘Concerning domestic differences, it is for me certainly most painful, because I see the peace destroyed as well as the union of the spirits of both families’⁴¹. And later in 1825, he again offered spiritual exhortations: ‘Abandon wrong company, frequent the sacraments, read good books – these are the means by which to cultivate in both of you the divine grace in order to acquire Christian virtues. Take courage, not trusting in yourselves but in God alone’⁴².

As Gregory’s immediate family resided, for the most part, in northern Italy, meetings were rare. In Rome Cappellari found a suitable substitution in the family of Gaetano Moroni. The story for those familiar with Gregory’s life is rather well-known⁴³. The two met, according to most accounts, in 1816 when Moroni was 14. (Cappellari was 51.) At the time Moroni worked for his father as a barber apprentice; some of his clients resided at S. Romualdo, Cappellari’s residence⁴⁴. The story goes that Cappellari recognized in the young man great zeal, talent and industry. Moroni’s precocity and loyalty bonded the friendship, which would last the rest of Gregory’s life, strengthening as the years passed. In 1824 Gaetano married Clementina Verdesi to little fanfare. However, at Gregory’s election to cardinal in 1826 and especially as pope in February 1831, when Moroni was promoted to *primo cameriere*, rumours began to swirl, linking Moroni’s wife to his preferment⁴⁵.

Discussions of the relationship between Gregory and Clementina have taken place in the shadow of her husband and have almost always been in the context of sexual misconduct. What is more, writers who have taken up the topic, nearly all of whom are male, have objectified her, declining to call her by her proper name, focusing instead on her physical appearance⁴⁶. The satirical and libellous writings quite naturally attracted the attention of the general public. G.G. Belli (1791–1863) is almost certainly the reason rumours spread. Belli was renowned throughout Rome for his biting criticisms of the papacy and of Gregory in particular. He devotes several of his satirical poems to the supposed relationship between the pope and Clementina. In *Un altro viaggio der Papa* [‘Another Pa-

⁴⁰ Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Archivio Privato, Cappellari della Colomba, busta 1, folder ‘Lettere autografe’. Addressed to ‘All’Ornatissima Sig.ra; la S.a Angela Pelliccioli-Capellari’. September 4, 1819 Capellari to Sig.ra Angiola Pelliccioli Capellari.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ For the story, see the ten part series, Di Gregorio, G., and Vian, N., ‘Gaetano Moroni. Memorie dell’aiutante di camera’, *L’Urbe* 36 (1973), nos. 3–5; 37 (1974), nos. 1–4; 38 (1975), nos. 2–4; [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_(Dizionario_Biografico)/); David Silvagni, *La corte e la società romana nei secc. XVIII e XIX*, III, Napoli 1967, pp. 354–362; N. Roncalli, *Cronaca di Roma, I (1844–1848)*, (ed.) M.L. Trebiliani, Roma 1972.

⁴⁴ For more on how they met, see Enrico Croci, ‘Gaetano Moroni e il suo Dizionario’, *MPH*, (Rome, 1948) xiii. 135–152; Trebiliani, Maria Luisa, *Nicola Roncalli Cronaca Di Roma 1844–1870* (Rome, 1972), i (1844–1848), 59.

⁴⁵ Fernand Hayward, *Le Dernier Siècle de la Rome Pontificale* (Paris, 1928), vol. 2, 189.

⁴⁶ Female author Maria Luisa Trebiliani is an exception.

pal trip’] (2 June 1835) he crudely referred to her as *puttana santissima* [‘most holy whore’]. In *A Pproposito* [‘By the way’] (20 Jan 1837), he refers to Clementina as ‘wife’ of Moroni in a poem that dwells on their financial gains at the expense of the public. Clementina’s role was an accomplice⁴⁷. His poem *Er papa omo* [‘The Pope as a man’] (1 June 1835) implies mischief when he discusses how the two used the papal gardens as the means to continue their relationship:

In the pope's palace there's a garden/ with small woods and a small house in it/ full of sofas and armchairs/ and bottles of wine/

There's also a small room in the Palace/ with a hidden door/ which leads through a staircase to Ghitanino's apartment

Ghitanino is married/ and his wife is a woman very devoted to Christ's vicar/ I don't want to say any more/ these words can be misunderstood⁴⁸.

Despite all of the rumours about the two, none of the allegations can be substantiated. Rather Clementina’s presence in Gregory’s life evoked paternal and familial emotions which he had enjoyed with family in Belluno. In other words, the Moronis were Gregory’s adopted family, and Clementina, the beloved daughter (or niece) that a man of the cloth could never have. Even Alessandro Gavazzi, one of Gregory’s most ardent critics, admits that the pontiff was at his most ‘jovial and friendly’ when in the company of the Moronis⁴⁹. He witnessed the important events in their family’s life, present at their wedding in 1824⁵⁰ and for many of their nine children’s baptisms. He even officiated at several; and as a sign of their close relationship, the couple named one of their children after him⁵¹. The baptismal celebration, held at the Pauline chapel, was described in ways that one would expect of someone from Gregory’s own family. He blessed and kissed the young ‘Gregorio’ in the presence of three cardinals, 27 archbishops, bishops and prelates and many other onlookers. And just as Gregory looked after the Moroni family, they too looked after Gregory’s relatives when the Cappellaris were in town⁵².

The positioning of the Moroni residence next to Gregory’s in the Quirinale stirred many to gossip, but it need not have, given the position Gaetano held in Gregory’s court. He was the *primo cameriere*, a position designated to the person in closest confidence with the pope. This close proximity was not uncommon as many of the men employed in the pontifical court lived in the Quirinale or the Vatican, and those who were married brought their wives and family with them. As the Moroni family grew numerically, the need for more space became

⁴⁷ Unknown, *Fiori Sparsi Sulla Tomba Di Gregorio Sedicesimo*, 29 and 34.

⁴⁸ Carlo Muscetta, *Cultura e poesia di G.G. Belli* (Bonacci, 1981), 454.

⁴⁹ Alessandro Gavazzi, *The Last Four Popes* (London, 1857), 181.

⁵⁰ Baumgarten, *Il Dizionario...del Moroni*, 5. Did he preside at it as well?

⁵¹ [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) A. Bianchi-Giovani, *Il Papa e la sua Corte* (Bastia, 1860), 4, mentions two children named after the pope. See also Ferdinando Petruccelli della Gattina, *Storia arcana del pontificato di Leone XII, Gregorio XVI e Pio IX* (Milan, 1861), 39.

⁵² [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gaetano-moroni_(Dizionario_Biografico)/)

imperative⁵³. The expansion of their apartment provoked much chatter; some of it was merited, but none in terms of the relationship held between Gregory and Clementina⁵⁴.

The most controversial aspect of the project was the lavish manner in which the renovations were supposedly made. The French Romantic writer Stendhal estimates expenses totalling 200,000 franchi, a very substantial sum of money⁵⁵. The ‘Moroni fortune’, to the extent it was true, was no different than the long-held practice of bestowing papal largesse and power on a nephew or Cardinal-nephew⁵⁶. Although the practice died out in the nineteenth century, it was a prominent feature of papacies in the early modern period and Cappellari witnessed personally the last pope to invoke the practice. Pope Pius VI Braschi (1775–99) enriched his nephew Duke Luigi Braschi-Onesti to unheard of levels⁵⁷. Luigi’s brother Romoaldo was Cardinal and Camerlengo and later served as Cardinal Protector of the Cappellari’s Camaldolese order until his death in 1817. Owen Chadwick wrote, ‘A [Papal] nephew who was not a cardinal nor even a clergyman could still thrive, and public opinion thought that as the Pope’s nephew he ought to thrive’⁵⁸. Moroni’s position within the Gregorian pontificate was proof that he was indeed part of the family.

It was known that Gregory enjoyed walks in the Vatican garden very much, and Clementina often accompanied him⁵⁹. He even enjoyed her company on trips outside of Rome, if reports from the controversialist Bianchi-Giovani are true. The former pontifical guards portrays these purported events as attempts to cover-up mischief with the pope secretly arranging for Clementina to join him on his travels. Concerning trips to the legations in 1841 and 1842, Bianchi-Giovani describes how she had her own driver, who was ‘handsomely paid for his fidelity’, and would arrive at the destination one day ahead of Gregory, so as to avoid gossip⁶⁰.

Influential though Clementina undoubtedly was in terms of Gregory’s familial and emotional side, Clementina was not responsible for retaining her husband’s privileged position within the curia. It has generally been assumed that part of the impetus for Gregory to carry on his relationship with Gaetano was to bring his wife into closer proximity. Yet the two men knew each other eight years or so before Clementina arrived, so Cappellari’s opinions about Gaetano were already well-formed. He trusted, liked and respected the young Moroni and saw great talent in him and promoted him to his assistant and later *primo cameriere* based on these factors. And as I have argued elsewhere, Gregory had a penchant

⁵³ Nello Vian, ‘Villeggiature di Gaetanino’, *Strenna dei Romanisti* (1973), 4418–27.

⁵⁴ On the apartment expansion, Hayward, *Le Dernier Siècle*, ii. chapter 5. See also Gattina, *Storia arcana*, 232–68.

⁵⁵ Rendina, *I Papi. Storia e Segreti* (Rome, 2013), 763–4.

⁵⁶ See the discussion of this in Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), 301–06.

⁵⁷ Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, 306, and Hales, *Revolution and Papacy*, 49.

⁵⁸ Chadwick, *Popes and European Revolution*, 306.

⁵⁹ Gattina, *Storia Arcana*, 39; Gavazzi, *The last four Popes*, 276.

⁶⁰ Gavazzi, *The last four Popes*, 276.

for identifying talented, spiritual, ambitious young men and befriending them and later assisting them in their careers. He did this with future Cardinals Paul Cullen and Nicholas Wiseman, as well as the theologians Antonio Rosmini and Felicité de Lamennais, the former, later beatified, the latter, later condemned as a heretic⁶¹. The Moroni case was, in this sense, not so uncommon.

CURIAL RELATIONS

Gregory's relations with women he encountered in his various capacities for the Church can be divided into social or political and spiritual contexts. Concerning the former group, Gregory, as Pope, regularly hosted foreign nobility and the daughters or relatives of nobility, normally of European descent. Welcoming special guests to Rome was part of the papal duty. Many, though certainly not most, of these visitors were women. Among them included the English Princess Guendalina Borghese (Mary Talbot) and the German convert Baroness Kinski, both of whom regarded Gregory highly⁶². During his autumnal break outside of Rome in October 1831, he arranged to meet the sister of the Queen of Prussia⁶³. In August 1833, he entertained a group of aristocrats who arrived to the eternal city together. Among them were Duchesse de Berri, Countess Lucchesi Palli, and Prince and Princess Beaufremont, who each reportedly had separate papal audiences⁶⁴. A decade later, the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna of Russia, daughter of Tsar Nicholas I, visited Rome and had a very pleasant meeting with Gregory⁶⁵.

There were a trio of women who held political power in the Iberian Peninsula for more than a decade (to the end of Gregory's life) and represented collectively his most intense and contentious relationships. I am referring to Queen Maria II of Portugal (1834–1853) and Queen Isabella II (1833–1868) of Spain, along with her mother, the Regent Maria Cristina de Borbón (r. 1833–40)⁶⁶. And while he only met personally Maria Cristina, the anti-clerical policies of the two queens and his subsequent political fallout with them caused him much consternation. The Church suffered from anti-clerical legislation in Portugal in 1833–34 and in Spain in 1835, resulting in vacant bishoprics, losses of monasteries and

⁶¹ Christopher Korten, 'Converging worlds: Paul Cullen in the world of Mauro Cappellari', in *Paul Cullen and his World*, Daire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (eds.), (Four Courts Press: 2011), pp. 34–46, *passim*

⁶² Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and The Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX, 1831–1859: Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th Century Europe* (Rome, 2001), 277; Hayward, *Le Dernier Siècle*, ii. Chapter 5.

⁶³ ASR. Carte di Misc. Pol. e Ris., b. 87, 'Estratto di lettera inviata al Capo Agente di Polizia Bartolomeo Cataldi...', 19 Oct 1831.

⁶⁴ Moscow, Archiv Vnešnej Politiki Rossijskoi Imperii (hereafter cited as AVPRI), 467/263, n.49 17/29 August 1833.

⁶⁵ AVPRI, 598, 1843.

⁶⁶ See Emilia Morelli, *La politica estera di Tommaso Bernetti* (Rome, 1953), *passim*; Vicente Carcel Ortí, 'Gregorio XVI y Maria Cristina de Borbón', *AHP*, vol. 19, 317–325.

related properties, and religious orders, with the Jesuits specifically targeted⁶⁷. In protest Gregory withdrew his Spanish nuncio in August 1835, effectively severing diplomatic ties. At nearly the same time, the papal nuncio in Lisbon was expelled by Queen Maria II (in 1834)⁶⁸.

In hindsight, part of the troubled relationship between Gregory and the two queens was brought on by himself. In both countries, it appeared to most that Gregory was siding with the males contesting the throne: don Carlos in Spain and Miguel in Portugal, who was actually King from 1828 to 1834, before being deposed in favour of his niece Maria. Both were uncles of the eventual sovereign ruling Queens, both had legitimate claims to the throne, both had garnered the support of the most conservative religious elements in their land, and as a consequence, both had Gregory's sympathy⁶⁹. And crucially both had influential men who acted as advisors to Gregory in Rome. In the case of Portugal, it was the exiled (or self-exiled) Archbishop Fortunate, a Cistercian, and in the case of Spain, it was the Capuchin, Fermin Sanchez Artesero⁷⁰.

If the 1830s featured similar trajectories between the Queens of Spain and Portugal and Gregory, the 1840s witnessed affairs going in different directions. During General Esperanto's three-year reign between 1840 and 1843, relations between Spain and Rome reached their nadir, prompting Gregory's allocution on 1 March 1841⁷¹. Nonetheless, changes were quietly taking place in the background. In early 1841 the regent Maria Cristina came to Rome to reconcile herself with the Church and with the pope. In the event she repented of her past sins including the last seven years of persecution of the Church in her lands. She met with Gregory during her nearly two months in Rome and on 24 February signed a document of reconciliation⁷². As for Queen Isabella II, she could hardly be faulted for the strain in the relationship between Rome and Spain, as she would only reach 'majority' at the end of 1843, taking control of her government at the age of 13. While relations thawed and began to warm, it would take Gregory's successor, Pius IX, to inaugurate concordat talks, which concluded in 1851. Gregory died with relations with the Queen still strained⁷³. By contrast, relations between Gregory and Maria II grew closer from 1839; Gregory was interested in gaining control over stubborn and truculent missionary dioceses in Asia and

⁶⁷ Chadwick, *A History of the Popes*, 473

⁶⁸ Morelli, *La politica estera*, 109–11. William Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750–1874* (Cambridge, 1984), 166. Chadwick, *A History of the Popes*, 439–41.

⁶⁹ Chadwick, *A History of the Popes*, 441. William J. Callahan, 'Spain and Portugal: the challenge to the church', *The Cambridge History of Christianity, c. 1815–1914*, (eds.) S. Gilley and B. Stanley, (Cambridge, 2006), 383–86.

⁷⁰ Chadwick, *A History of the Popes*, 439–40 and 471.

⁷¹ Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society*, 171. Vicente Carcel Orti, *La Iglesia en la España contemporánea (1808–1975)*, (Madrid, 1974), 146.

⁷² Vicente Carcel Orti, 'Gregorio XVI y Maria Cristina de Borbón', *AHP*, vol. 19, 321.

⁷³ Franco Díaz de Cerio Ruiz, María F. Núñez y Muñoz, *Instrucciones secretas a los nuncios de España en el siglo XIX (1847–1907)*, 4. The basic works on Spanish relations with the Holy See, J. Becker, *Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y la Santa Sede* (1908); Puente García, *Relaciones diplomáticas entre España y la Santa Sede (1843–1851)*.

India; and he also desired a warmer overall relationship with Portugal and its national Church. In 1842, as a sign of his ‘affection’ and attention, he sent her the famed Golden Rose⁷⁴.

The second group of women that Gregory interacted with can be described as spiritual or holy women. Perhaps owing to his sister’s vocation and his experiences associated with S. Gervasio, he was most comfortable in the presence of female religious clerics. It was not uncommon for Gregory to arrange such meetings on trips that he made. Citing just one example, in a visit to Frascati on 14 October 1832, he celebrated the sacraments in the presence of nuns⁷⁵.

But even more than these women of the cloth, Cappellari was drawn to women who possessed great spiritual powers or were otherwise extremely devout in their religious practises. The first evidence of this was in 1796. Threatened by an imminent French takeover and unable to count on a proper military defence, many in the Papal States, including Cappellari, turned to visionaries and prophets for hope. Miracles were attributed to the Virgin Mary. She was a source of strength and hope for many in need of divine intervention⁷⁶. The first and most recognized of these occasions was in Ancona in June 1796, which Cappellari himself witnessed, where thousands of the faithful beseeched the moving-eyed image of Mary in the Cathedral of S. Ciriaco for her protection and mercy⁷⁷. Later that year a young spiritual prodigy emerged and offered much needed solace for citizens of the Papal States. Clarissa, as she was called, provided hope through her meditations, along with other ‘holy spirits’. Together these intercessions gave Cappellari confidence to predict a French military retreat⁷⁸. In the following summer (1797), female spiritual prodigies in Rome were responsible, he believed, for the cessation of war⁷⁹. Romans could not stop talking about Clarissa, who reportedly bore marks of the stigmata. She was sought out by cardinals, princes and princesses, including the cardinal Camerlingo, who was near death, but suddenly recuperated, according to Cappellari, following Clarissa’s visit⁸⁰. Throughout this period Cappellari (and many others) listened carefully to her prophecies: ‘Sister Agnese [Clarissa] declared that the French would not come to Rome. I have many favourable prophecies which I do not have time to transcribe for you’⁸¹. In a letter to his former prior in Venice at the end of 1796,

⁷⁴ Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 472.

⁷⁵ ASR. Carte di Misc. Pol. e Ris., b. 87, ‘Estratto di lettera inviata al Capo Agente di Polizia Bartolomeo Cataldi...’, 19 Oct 1832.

⁷⁶ BNR. S.Greg. 110⁶ Cappellari to Zurla, 30 July 1796?.

⁷⁷ Cattaneo, p. 134. BNR. S.Greg. 55¹⁴¹ Cappellari to Mandelli, 9 July 1796. He mentioned five pairs of shifting eyes. See also Massimo Cattaneo, ‘Maria versus Marianne. I “miracoli” del 1796 ad Ancona’, *Christianesimo nella storia* (1995), pp. 45–77, and D. Mengozzi, ‘Due mentalità a confronto: l’armée francese e le città dello Stato Pontificio nel 1796’, *Studi Urbinati* 68 (Urbino, 1997/8), pp. 19–50.

⁷⁸ BNR. S.Greg. 110¹⁷ Cappellari to Zurla, 12 November 1796.

⁷⁹ BNR. S.Greg. 55¹⁵⁰ Cappellari to Mandelli, n.d. (August 1797?)

⁸⁰ BNR. S.Greg. 110¹⁷ Cappellari to Zurla, 12 November 1796.

⁸¹ BNR. S.Greg. 55¹⁴⁸ Cappellari to Mandelli, 16 February 1797.

he defends the young girl: ‘every Friday she bleeds from marks of the stigmata which are [at all times] visible’⁸². Revealingly, he discusses the formula for her receiving so much divine favour. She possessed ‘an angelic life, of rigid austerity and so innocent and simple that she does not know much of this [temporal] world’⁸³.

Gregory would hold such women in exalted positions throughout the rest of his life. It is not a surprise then that the one female saint (of the five saints) he named during his pontificate was a mystic who reportedly gave evidence of the stigmata. Veronica Giuliani (1660–1727), from Urbino, possessed all of the qualities which Gregory felt comprised the ‘ideal’ Christian female and which young Clarissa possessed forty years earlier: ‘signs of singular piety in her youth’; great charity towards others; ‘a spirit of mortification’; and remoteness from the temporal world⁸⁴.

Miracles ascribed to the Philomena in the 1830s moved Gregory, on 13 January 1837, to elevate this third-century martyr to patroness of the Living Rosary and to be called ‘the Great Wonder-Worker of the nineteenth century’⁸⁵. The most comprehensive attestation of Philomena’s divine intervention came from Mother Maria Luisa di Gesù, a Dominican Tertiary in Naples, who in 1833 reportedly was given Philomena’s day of martyrdom while praying in front of her statue. Previously there was nothing known of her life, except the presence of her tomb in the Catacombs of Rome. Two years later, on 10 August 1835, Pauline Marie Jaricot reportedly received ‘a miraculous cure’ at Philomena’s shrine in Mugnano del Cardinale, Italy.

Jaricot’s testimony was critical to catalysing Gregory into action on Philomena’s behalf. She came from a family of great wealth along with deep Christian devotion, which allowed her to be able to found the important Society of the Propagation of the Faith in 1822. It was based in Lyon, France, but by 1840 Gregory pronounced it a universal Catholic institution⁸⁶. Given Gregory’s preoccupation with missions, the Society soon became as important to him as any organization related to missions even taking over some administrative responsibilities from Propaganda Fide. He granted the Lyon Society great liberty and responsibility for missionary endeavours throughout the world.

In addition to the Society, Jaricot also founded the Association of the Living Rosary in 1826, which was dedicated to praying the rosary for those who had lost their faith, as well as to distribute books and articles of piety⁸⁷. These facts meant that her abovementioned ill health was given special attention by Gregory personally. Near death, she travelled to Mugnano to pray to the Philomena shrine

⁸² BNR. S.Greg. 55¹⁴⁶ Cappellari to Mandelli, 31 December 1796.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Treccani, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santa-veronica-giuliani_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/and New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15363a.htm](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santa-veronica-giuliani_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/and-New-Advent-Catholic-Encyclopedia,http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15363a.htm)

⁸⁵ www.philomena.org/patroness.asp; Paul O’Sullivan, *St. Philomena the Wonder-Worker*.

⁸⁶ [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Society_for_the_Propagation_of_the_Faith](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Society_for_the_Propagation_of_the_Faith)

⁸⁷ O’Sullivan, *St. Philomena the Wonder-Worker*; Sr. Marie Helen Mohr, *St. Philomena: Powerful with God*.

for restoration of her health. Upon her return to Rome, she was immediately and secretly ushered into the Vatican by Secretary of State Luigi Lambruschini for a papal audience, conditions rarely afforded to anyone else. She then testified to the efficacies of Philomena's intercessions⁸⁸. Her remarks moved Gregory to initiate the canonical process of Philomena, leading to the saint's exalted status just two years later⁸⁹.

Besides Jaricot, there was one other woman, Madeleine Sophie Barat, for whom Gregory held unusually high honour and respect. The pair met a handful of times, beginning in 1832 with Sophie's first trip to Rome: 'The pope regularly expressed pleasure at her presence [in the city]', observed her biographer, 'and hoped that her visits would be more frequent'⁹⁰. Sophie wrote in 1833, "'the pope and the cardinals are convinced that ... we are all saints, or at least on the road to becoming so and liken us to an Order [Jesuits] which produces as many apostles and saints as there are religious'"⁹¹. They met again in June 1834. He even called on her at Villa Lante a few days prior to her departure to wish her well and to offer her gifts⁹². This was a most extraordinary gesture on Gregory's part. He valued very much the educational mission of Sophie's Society of the Sacred Heart, which she had founded years earlier, in 1800. The pontiff only wished that the women of her Society would adopt a cloistered existence⁹³. In their meetings in May 1840, Gregory promised to protect Sophie 'always, because of the good the society does for the education of young women'⁹⁴.

During Gregory's pontificate, he would have occasion to bless the founding of three female orders, though he seems not to have met the founders. On 2 October 1831 he granted the foundation of the Oblate Sisters of Providence by four African American women⁹⁵. Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange's Oblate Sisters were the first black nuns in the Catholic Church, tasked with educating poor black youth⁹⁶. On 24 March 1835, Gregory approved the creation of Catherine McAuley's Sisters of Mercy of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Their aim was also educational and directed at less fortunate children⁹⁷. Gregory referred to McAuley as 'pious'. And finally, he approved the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, also in

⁸⁸ Cruz, *Saintly Women of Modern Times*, 176; and O'Sullivan, *St. Philomena the Wonder-Worker*.

⁸⁹ O'Sullivan, *St. Philomena the Wonder-Worker*. However, Philomena is not considered as a canonized saint in the way Veronica Giuliani is.

⁹⁰ Phil Kilroy, *Madeleine Sophie Barat, 1779–1865; A life*, 299.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 395.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁹⁵ Stephen C. Finley and Torin Alexander, *African American Religious Cultures*, 50; Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious At the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860* (London, 2002), 53–54, and Maria Mercedes Lannon, *Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange: Life of Love and Service* (1976).

⁹⁶ Paul Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1619–1895*, 244.

⁹⁷ Mary C. Sullivan, *The Path of Mercy: The Life of Catherine McAuley*, 177–78. Although it was not until June 1841 that the Rule and Constitution of the order was finally accepted. (340)

By Sisters of Mercy

1835⁹⁸. Founded by Sister Mary Euphrasia Pelletier in Angiers, France, this was a missionary society of women with ‘a zeal for souls’⁹⁹.

In light of Gregory’s spiritual attraction towards women devoted to religious life and especially to those who had endured unusual hardships, the case of ‘sister’ Makryna Mieczysławska was particularly troubling for Gregory. With the support of key French, Polish and Italian churchmen, Makryna came to Rome to tell her story of persecution at the hands of Russian officials¹⁰⁰. She purportedly produced scars on her body and told of the harrowing ordeal that those in her convent had to endure. In the end, her story was determined to be a fabrication. Despite Gregory’s troubled relationship with Russia, and therefore a certain predisposition to believe her story, the facts never added up. This bizarre episode finally reached a conclusion of sorts in the early months of 1846; by June 1, Gregory was dead.

CONCLUSION

I have discussed the influence of women on Pope Gregory’s life. This was no means an exhaustive list. There were others who had contact with him, especially those nobility within Rome itself. Yet this article has tried to outline the various ways in which women crossed paths with a 19th century pope. None of the examples necessarily surprises; yet when discussed as a unified theme, one gets a sense of the female presence in Gregory’s world. Whereas previously there was none.

What was Gregory’s view of women? It seems appropriate to address this question. For starters, he had very little contact, outside of his nieces perhaps and Clementina, with women of the middle and especially lower classes. His world was an aristocratic one in the secular sense; and a highly spiritualized one, in the religious sense, where women were concerned. If one analyses his official papal pronouncements, his view of women, while perhaps standard for 19th century mentalities, would seem out of place to more modern sensibilities. In his encyclical from 1844 condemning Bible societies and the translation of the Holy Script into the vernacular, Gregory quotes Jerome who mentions various groups of people who could be led astray, including ‘the garrulous old woman’¹⁰¹. There is as well a certain condescension, by no means unique at this time, regarding those who lacked an education to interpret properly the bible. Of course the majority of women (and many men) were still lacking proper education in Italian lands. Gregory writes that scripture can be in places ‘difficult to understand, which they who are unlearned [bring about] ... their own destruction’¹⁰². He

⁹⁸ E. Tong Dehey, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States*, 147.

⁹⁹ Margaret Regensburg, ‘The Religious Sisters of the Good Shepherd and the Professionalization of Social Work’, Dissertation, Stony Brook, 2007, 1.

¹⁰⁰ Jan Urban, *Makryna Mieczysławska w świetle prawdy*, Krakow, 1923.

¹⁰¹ Culling Early Smith, *The Encyclical Letter of Our Lord Pope Gregory XVI* (London, 1845), 10.

¹⁰² Early Scott, *The Encyclical Letter*, 11.

makes special reference to admonitions by Innocent III concerning women: ‘assemblies of laics and women [were] secretly held in the diocese of Metz, under the pretence of piety, for reading the Scriptures [in the vulgar language]’¹⁰³. And it is worth recalling Gregory’s desires for Sophie Barat’s Society: that the ideal condition for women of religious societies was in a cloister. Caroline Ford, however, reminds us that even Gregory’s narrow understanding of female holiness or sainthood, ironically signalled a circumvention of ‘the confines of patriarchy’¹⁰⁴.

If the typical lay female felt slighted by Gregory’s observations and beliefs, the non-Christian female even more so. During one of Gregory’s most important curial assignments prior to 1831, he had to deal with a wayward Sicilian priest, Father Biondi, who had earlier moved to Constantinople and married a Muslim woman¹⁰⁵. The matter was very important for the possible implications it held for Catholics in the Ottoman Empire at the time, should this scandalous affair be revealed. However, the importance which Gregory appears to attach to the woman in question was not so high. In fact there is a sense in his writing of disregard for her. Throughout the three-year case, there was no attempt to find out (or use) her name. She was only referred to as the wife of Biondi, reminiscent of the way in which satirists and others referred to Gaetano Moroni’s wife. And her importance derived from the fact that she had five children who were potential converts to Catholicism. The state of her soul, appeared, from the context of Cappellari’s writings, less of a concern. She was depicted as a bit crazy and unpredictable, while the fallen priest (Biondi) was initially depicted by Cappellari as the prodigal son who was returning home.

Finally, Gregory’s high regard for spiritual women with divine gifts mirrored his exalted view of Mary, the mother of Jesus. He promoted and relied on her whenever it was opportune: whether to found a new religious order in her name or to fend off cholera which was arriving from the North in 1837. Surely this view of the archetypal female in Gregory’s life must be factored into this discussion as well. In many ways, these religious women who stood out to Gregory resembled Mary and the qualities that she held: they were young, devoted, innocent, living apart from this world, and, as a result, in possession of divine attributes rarely bequeathed to followers of the faith, male or female.

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ASBFC = *Archivio Storico di Belluno, Feltrino, e Cadore*

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¹⁰³ Earling Scott, *Encyclical*, 15–16.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth A. Clark, ‘Women, Gender, and the Study of Christian History’, *Church History* Vol. 70, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), pp. 395–426, 401–02.

¹⁰⁵ See my article, ‘The Prodigal Son: Pope Gregory XVI and a Wayward Priest’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, (vol. 66, n. 3, July 2015), 562–77, based on Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, DD. 1818–22, n. 29. Cappellari opinion.

MPH = *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*
PGB = *Papa Gregorio XVI e Belluno*
RIR = *Risorgimento. Idee e Realtà*
SU = *Studi Urbinati*

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KOBIETY W ŻYCIU I PONTYFIKACIE PAPIEŻA GRZEGORZA XVI (1765–1846)

Streszczenie. Historiografowie pomijają rolę kobiet w życiu papieża Grzegorza XVI (1765–1846). Artykuł wykazuje jednak, że kobiety odegrały istotną rolę w kluczowych obszarach życia papieża. W sferze prywatnej kobiety w biologicznej i zastępczej rodzinie Moroni miały wpływ na emocjonalny rozwój papieża. W sferze zawodowej kobiety pojawiały się w różnych kontekstach, od wizyt zagranicznych arystokratów poczynając, na ożywionych kontaktach dyplomatycznych z królowymi Hiszpanii i Portugalii kończąc. Ponadto Grzegorz XVI utrzymywał kontakty z niezwykle uduchowionymi kobietami, brał pod uwagę ich proroctwa, a także wspierał ich działalność misyjną i oświatową.

Słowa kluczowe: papież Grzegorz XVI, kobiety, rodzina, Gaetano i Clementina Moroni, święci, królowa Maria II, królowa Izabela II, żeńskie zakony, Madeleine Sophie Barat, Pauline Marie Jaricot.

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