

LIVING THE MIDDLE LIFE:
SECULAR PRIESTS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES
IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY GENOA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

John Benjamin Yousey-Hindes

May 2010

© 2010 by John Benjamin Yousey-Hindes. All Rights Reserved.
Re-distributed by Stanford University under license with the author.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 United States License.
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/us/>

This dissertation is online at: <http://purl.stanford.edu/vr947wb5953>

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that, in my opinion, it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Kathryn Miller, Primary Adviser

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that, in my opinion, it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Philippe Buc

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that, in my opinion, it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Paula Findlen

Approved for the Stanford University Committee on Graduate Studies.

Patricia J. Gumpert, Vice Provost Graduate Education

This signature page was generated electronically upon submission of this dissertation in electronic format. An original signed hard copy of the signature page is on file in University Archives.

ABSTRACT

Secular priests occupied a central place within thirteenth-century European society. They not only carried out important duties within the institutional Church, but also participated in the community life of both city and countryside. Yet the relatively few detailed studies of priests that exist often rely on sources written by people with vested interests in the clergy. Can one find less polemical evidence that would allow one to reach a more nuanced and historically accurate understanding of the clergy? The private registers of public notaries in the port city of Genoa are one example of such dispassionate sources. Exploring these notaries' acts, we discover that Genoese priests entered into economic, spiritual, and social transactions with a wide range of people. In doing so, they built complex and durable relationships that provided ample opportunities for the exchange of ideas and values with the women, men, and other clerics with whom they shared their lives. And the influences ran the other direction as well, as these local communities and their institutional and social structures shaped the lives of the priests who were their colleagues and sons. If a major trend in scholarship on the Middle Ages over the past seventy years has been to emphasize the religiosity of lay people's everyday world, then this dissertation looks the other direction, to explore the so-called secularity of religious institutions and their priests. Ultimately, the notarial registers prove that Genoa's priests were not mere facilitators of lay religiosity or agents of ecclesiastical power; rather they played a multivalent role in the intermediary space between "lay" and "religious" communities.

This dissertation is divided into an introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter One provides an overview of Genoa's ecclesiastical structure and demonstrates

how private notarial registers can provide useful perspectives on secular priests' positions within the city. Chapter Two investigates how priests' participation in the real estate and credit markets helped weave them into the fabric of Genoese life. Chapter Three uses the notarial registers to show priests carrying out their core professional duties: tending to the health of souls in their communities. Chapter Four demonstrates priests' important intermediary position by examining their service as executors, agents, arbiters, and judges. Chapter Five explores how secular priests embodied the Genoese Church overseas in Genoa's network of trading settlements around the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Finally, the Conclusion considers the broader contours of priests' social networks, identifying trends that cut across the heuristic boundaries that structure earlier chapters.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
Abbreviations	xii
Note on Citations, Names, and Money	xv
Introduction: <i>Tam spiritualia quam temporalia</i>	1
Chapter One: Institutional Frameworks and Clerical Movement	28
Chapter Two: Priests' Involvement in Real Estate and Credit	66
Chapter Three: <i>Pro Anima:</i> Genoese Priests and the Care of Souls	100
Chapter Four: Sacred Trust: Priests as Agents and Arbiters	132
Chapter Five: Genoese Priests <i>in transmarinis partibus</i>	165
Conclusion: Secular Priests and Their Communities	200
Appendix A: Selected Churches in 13 th -century Genoa	228
Appendix B: Maps	231
Works Cited	235

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has taken shape in stages over many years, and I am sincerely thankful to the people and institutions that have helped make it possible. Before all others, I would like to express my gratitude to Jeff Miner, my friend and colleague. Working alongside Jeff, both literally and figuratively, has made me a better thinker, writer, and teacher. It was random chance that we both ended up studying medieval Genoa, but I cannot overstate what a blessing this has been. Jeff's prodigious intelligence, good humor, and boundless curiosity are representative of the culture I found throughout the Department of History at Stanford. I want to give special thanks to my advisors, Kathryn Miller and Philippe Buc, who have been my mentors and my guides from the moment I met them (in the Kasbah of the Udayas). Their insightful and diligent readings of the drafts of this dissertation are but the most recent examples of their support and assistance. Paula Findlen not only provided important aid and counsel about Italian historiography early on, but offered thoughtful and spirited comments upon my antepenultimate draft. Maureen Miller, of the University of California-Berkeley, read my prospectus and provided timely encouragement and advice. I would also like to recognize Sean Hanretta, the staff of Stanford University Libraries (particularly John Rawlings, Mary-Louise Munill, and John Mustain), and History Department staff members Linda Huynh and Art Palmon. Despite the hard work of so many people on my behalf, there are mistakes in this study, and I alone am responsible for them.

I completed the majority of this project while living in New Haven, Connecticut, and I am deeply grateful to the faculty, staff, and graduate students of Yale University. They stubbornly ignored my lack of official status and embraced me as a full-fledged member of their community. The marvelous libraries, the visiting speakers, the conferences, and the weekly camaraderie of "Medieval Lunch" provided as rich an intellectual environment as a medievalist could hope for. Marcia Colish, Roberta Frank, Paul Freedman, Walter Goffart, Laura Saetveit Miles, Sarah Novacich, Sue Roberts, and Mike Widener each contributed to my work and made me feel welcome in their own way. While here I had the good fortune of meeting Hussein Fancy, himself far from his home

institution. He has been a friend and a role model ever since; it is hard to imagine how I would have completed this project without his reliable advice.

A grant from the Friends of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Library allowed me to spend a month working with the University's wonderful collection of materials on medieval Genoa, including photostatic reproductions of several volumes of Genoese notarial acts. The Department of Special Collections was an excellent place to work, thanks in large part to the friendly and accommodating staff. Eric Goddard provided congenial companionship and invaluable research assistance. Robert Reynolds, though he died nearly forty years before I started this project, deserves a special mention because reading his correspondence in the University Archives assured me that even scholars who had worked on the Genoese notaries for years still struggled to understand their vocabulary and handwriting. Madison also provided the chance setting for the first of several conversations with Dan Smail, whose rigorous scholarship and infectious enthusiasm have been a regular source of inspiration.

Funding from Stanford University's Graduate Research Opportunities Fund and the Department of History allowed me to take a crucial trip to Genoa, where I was able to survey and photograph vast quantities of archival material, and stand in many of the very same churches as the protagonists in this dissertation. The Archivio di Stato di Genova was a researcher's dream, with comfortable facilities, a liberal photography policy, and a patient and good-natured staff. I extend a special thanks to Giustina Olgiati for granting me access to material that would otherwise have been unavailable. I would also like to express my gratitude to Paolo Fontana at the Archivio Storico Diocesano, who kindly discussed my project with me and directed me to many particularly useful archival resources. Davide Debernardi and his colleagues unlocked (both literally and figuratively) the wonderful collection of secondary sources at the library of the Società Ligure di Storia Patria. Tim Standring of the Denver Art Museum not only made some helpful introductions, but also a delicious *penne arrabiata*. Alessandra Cominetti, Oriana Micheletti, Rossana Ruggiero, Richard de Vries, Anna Soldi, and Zorba *il gatto* also earned my deep appreciation.

I entered college not knowing anything about the Middle Ages, which meant that Dick Kaeuper of the University of Rochester could lay a level foundation. Over the years

I have always valued the example he set and the guidance he offered. The seed of this dissertation was planted at Cambridge in 2004, when David Abulafia suggested that I look into the notarial acts of Pietro Battifoglio; I thank him for that recommendation and for the advice that he has offered me since. Despite the distances, Frances Parton and Linda Dohmen, my friends and colleagues from my time at Cambridge, have been companions throughout this journey and I could not think of better ones. Over the years, I have also benefited from the insight, advice, aid, and support of Joel Allison, Neeta Connally, Ricardo Court, George Dameron, Steve Epstein, Kyle and Lydia Dugdale, Megan Falater, Chris Lasch, Pawel Wojnowski, and well-wishers too numerous to mention. My oldest friends, Joe Victory and Jess Clarke, have never let me take myself or my work too seriously, and that has, indeed, been a most precious contribution. It takes a village to write a dissertation, and I am honored by the inhabitants of mine.

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. To my mother and father, Marilyn and Churchill Hindes, whose belief in me has been unwavering, and who were always willing to give me a “research grant” in exchange for painting their house. To my brother Jeff and his family, for silently reminding me that teaching is the sweet fruit of scholarship. To my brother Drew, for doing his part to keep me grounded in the world beyond academia. To my in-laws, Sharon and Robert Yousey, for supporting me in this recondite pursuit and providing me with places to escape from it. To my late uncle Rick, for the reasons I explained to him in October 2006, and for those that I have realized since. To Kim, my wife, who has tolerated my absences, low income, self-doubt, and general state of distraction with her characteristic grace and constancy, all the while being everything she promised to be. Finally to little Aya (lying across my lap as I write these words), by whose light I have completed this project.

Ben Yousey-Hindes

New Haven, Connecticut

LIST OF TABLES

5-1: Genoese Churches Overseas Named in Notarial Acts (Before 1310)	177
C-1: Social Relationships Between Presbiter Pagano and Other People	206
A-1: Selected Churches and Monasteries in the City of Genoa, 13 th Century	228

LIST OF FIGURES

I-1: Approaching the church of Sant'Agnese	6
I-2: A typical page from the private register of a Genoese notary	10
1-1: The twelfth-century cathedral of San Lorenzo	42
1-2: Inside the canons' cloister at San Lorenzo	47
1-3: San Matteo, the private church of the Doria clan	53
1-4: The twelfth-century hospital and church of San Giovanni di Prè	59
1-7: An act from 7 June 1249 in which an archpriest issues a promissory note	62
2-1: San Marco al Molo	67
2-2: Actor-Pairs in Property Transactions	81
2-3: A client's formal copy of a notarial act, 7 August 1217	83
2-4: The twelfth-century façade of Santa Maria di Castello	85
2-5: Actor-Pairs in Credit Transactions	95
2-6: Actor-Pairs in Credit and Property Transactions	98
3-1: The twelfth-century octagonal campanile at the church of San Donato	107
3-2: The twelfth-century campanile at the church of Santa Maria delle Vigne	129
4-1: The eleventh-century church of San Damiano	134
4-2: The eleventh-century church at the monastery of Santo Stefano	148
C-1: Presbiter Pagano -- All Dyads, I	208
C-2: Presbiter Pagano -- All Dyads, II	208
C-3: San Pietro in Banchi, standing on the site of San Pietro della Porta	210
C-4: Presbiter Pagano -- Strong Dyads, I	212
C-5: Presbiter Pagano -- Strong Dyads, II	212
C-6: Dyadic Relationships -- from All Sources	215
C-7: Dyadic Relationships -- from Institutional Cartularies	220
C-8: Dyadic Relationships -- from All Private Registers	220
C-9: Dyadic Relationships -- from All Institutional Sources	221
C-10: Dyadic Relationships -- from Non-Institutional Registers	221
A-11: Liguria, with selected cities	231
A-12: Selected churches and oratories in 13th-Century Genoa	232
A-13: The Diocese of Genoa and its <i>pievi</i> in the 13th century	233
A-14: Genoese settlements with churches noted in notarial acts before 1310	234

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Archiepiscopal I</i>	L. T. Belgrano (ed.), <i>Il registro della curiae arcivescovile di Genova</i> , Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, o. s. 2/2 (Genoa 1862)
<i>Archiepiscopal II</i>	L. T. Belgrano (ed.), <i>Il secondo registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova</i> , Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, o. s. 18 (Genoa 1887)
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASLSP	Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria
<i>Ayas 1270s</i> , ed. Balletto	L. Balletto (ed.), <i>Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)</i> , Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 53 (Genoa 1989)
<i>Ayas 1270s</i> , ed. Desimoni	C. Desimoni (ed.), “Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l’Aias (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaries génois,” in <i>Archives de l’Orient Latin</i> 1 (Paris 1881, reprinted Brussels 1964), pp. 434-534
<i>Bonvillano</i>	<i>Bonvillano (1198)</i> , ed. J. E. Eierman, H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds, <i>Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 3</i> (Torino 1939)
<i>Caffa 1289-90</i> , ed. Balard	M. Balard (ed.), <i>Gênes et l’outre-mer, tome I: Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289-1290</i> (Paris 1973)
<i>Caffa 1289-90</i> , ed. Brătianu	G. I. Brătianu (ed.), <i>Actes des notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)</i> , Académie Roumaine Études et Recherches 2 (Bucharest 1927)
cart.	<i>cartulario</i> (an archival unit at the Archivio di Stato di Genova)
<i>Cyprus 1296-9</i> , ed. Balard	M. Balard (ed.), <i>Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296 – 23 Giugno 1299)</i> , Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 39 (Genoa 1983)
<i>Cyprus 1299-1301</i> , ed. Desimoni	C. Desimoni (ed.), “Actes passés à Famagusta de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto,” in <i>Archives de l’Orient Latin</i> 2 (Paris 1884), pp. 3-120, and continued in <i>Archives de l’Orient Latin</i> 1 (Paris 1893), pp. 58-139, 275-312, 321-53
<i>Cyprus 1300-1301</i> , ed. Polonio	V. Polonio (ed.), <i>Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301)</i> , Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 31 (Genoa 1982)

<i>Cyprus 1301</i> , ed. Pavoni	R. Pavoni (ed.), <i>Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301)</i> , Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 32 (Genoa 1982)
<i>Cyprus 1302</i> , ed. Pavoni	R. Pavoni (ed.), <i>Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio – Agosto 1302)</i> , Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 49 (Genoa 1987)
<i>Giovanni di Guiberto</i>	<i>Giovanni di Guiberto (1200-1211)</i> , 2 volumes, ed. M. W. Hall-Cole, H. C. Krueger, R. G. Reinert, and R. L. Reynolds, <i>Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 5</i> (Turin 1939-1940)
<i>Giovanni Scriba</i>	<i>Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba</i> , 2 volumes, ed. M. Chiaudano and M. Moresco, <i>Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Dritto Commerciale Italiano 1-2</i> (Turin 1935)
<i>Guglielmo Cassinese</i>	<i>Guglielmo Cassinese (1190-1192)</i> , 2 volumes, ed. M. W. Hall, H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds, <i>Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 2</i> (Turin 1938)
<i>I libri iurium</i>	<i>I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova</i> , 12 volumes, various editors, <i>Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Fonti 12, 13, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, and 39</i> (Rome, 1992-2002) and <i>Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 20-22</i> (Genoa 2007)
<i>Lanfranco</i>	<i>Lanfranco (1202-1226)</i> , 2 volumes, ed. H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, <i>Notai Liguri del Secoli XII e del XIII 6</i> (Genoa, 1951-1953)
<i>Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1186)</i>	<i>Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1186)</i> , ed. M. Chiaudano, <i>Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 4</i> (Torino 1940)
<i>Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)</i>	<i>Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)</i> , ed. M. Chiaudano and R. Morozzo della Rocca, <i>Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII 1</i> (Torino 1938)
<i>Pera 1281</i> , ed. Brătianu	G. I. Brătianu (ed.), <i>Actes des notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)</i> , <i>Académie Roumaine Études et Recherches 2</i> (Bucharest 1927)
<i>San Benigno di Capodifaro</i>	<i>Le carte del monastero di San Benigno di Capodifaro (secc. XII-XV)</i> , ed. A. Rovere, <i>Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria</i> , n. s. 23 (Genoa 1983)
<i>San Lorenzo</i>	<i>Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae ianuensis</i> , ed. D. Puncuh, <i>Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica 1</i> (Genoa 1962)
<i>San Siro</i>	<i>Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (952-1328)</i> , 4 volumes, various editors, <i>Fonti per la storia della Liguria 5-8</i> (Genoa, 1997-1998)
<i>Santa Maria delle Vigne</i>	<i>Le Carte di Santa Maria delle Vigne di Genova (1103-1392)</i> , ed. G. Airaldi, <i>Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 3</i> (Genoa 1969)

- Sant'Andrea della Porta* *Le carte del monastero di Sant'Andrea della Porta di Genova (1109-1370)*, ed. C. Soave, *Fonti per la Storia della Liguria* 18, (Genoa 2002)
- Santo Stefano* *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova (965-1327)*, 4 volumes, various editors, *Fonti per la Storia della Liguria* 23-26 (Genoa 2008)
- Salmonus* *Liber Magistri Salmonis sacri palatii notarii, 1222-1226*, ed. A. Ferretto, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, o. s. 36 (1906)
- Stefano di Corrado* *I cartolari dei notaio Stefano di Corrado di Lavagna (1272-1273, 1296-1300)*, ed. M. Calleri, *Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII-XV* 12 (Genoa 2007)
- Tunis 1288-89*, ed. Pistarino G. Pistarino (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288-1289)*, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 47 (Genoa 1986)

NOTE ON CITATIONS, NAMES, AND MONEY

The Genoese notarial documents upon which this study is based have been cited by historians in two different ways over the years. In scholarship prior to the 1960s, the individual volumes in the “Notai antichi” collection at the Archivio di Stato di Genova were cited according to a system of traditional designations based on the name of the first notary represented in each volume. For example, a citation might refer to the “Atti del notaio Bartolomeo de Fornari, Registro III, Archivio di Stato di Genova.” Since the 1960s, however, the first 299 volumes have been referred to by numbers assigned to them in published inventories. The “third register of Bartolomeo de Fornari,” which actually contains acts by four different notaries, is now referred to simply as “Cartulario 28.” My system of citation is based on the paging requirements at the Archivio di Stato di Genova, and looks like this: “ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, f. 1r [Filippus de Sauro].” The name in brackets is the name of the notary who wrote the act on folio 1 of Cartulary 28; it is *not* a reference to the pre-1960s system of citation.

When referring to individuals found in the archival sources, I have changed their forenames from Latin to their modern Italian equivalents, when such equivalents exist. As much as possible I have left surnames as they appear in the records, standardizing spellings when necessary to avoid confusion (such as when the same person appears multiple times with their name spelled differently). I have chosen not to change toponymic surnames to modern equivalents because the link between surname and actual place of origin is by no means a settled matter among researchers. Thus, “Iohannes de Camulio” is rendered as “Giovanni de Camulio,” rather than “Giovanni di Camogli.” I use the terms “Genovese” (singular) and “Genovesi” (plural) as substantive adjectives when referring to the inhabitants of Genoa in general, and the term “Genoese” as the adjective in all other circumstances.

The money of account in medieval Genoa was the *libra Ianuensis* (Genoese pound). One libra was equivalent to twelve *solidi*, and one *solidi* was equivalent to twenty *denarii*.

INTRODUCTION

TAM SPIRITUALIA QUAM TEMPORALIA

Between 1225 and 1254, Presbiter Pagano, the provost at the church of San Pietro della Porta in Genoa, celebrated marriages, welcomed new clerics to his church, witnessed the appointment of commercial and administrative agents, carried out business as a papal executor, appointed a legal representative, accepted charitable donations, served as a judge in a canon legal case, and leased out his church's property (including shops located beneath the sanctuary itself).¹ Pagano was a "secular" cleric (from the Latin *saecularis*, meaning "of the world") rather than a "regular" cleric, which meant that he was *not* required to live according to any ecclesiastical Rule (*regula*) that would have provided a formal order and structure.² Thus his life was different from that of regular clerics—monks, nuns, friars, and regular canons—who adhered to Rules that restricted their engagement with the lay world and its attachments in various material and symbolic ways. As we can see, being "of the world" gave secular priests like Pagano considerable freedom to move through their environment and participate in the life and business of the lay and religious communities to which they belonged. Like their colleagues across Europe, Genoese secular priests in the thirteenth century did much more than celebrate the Mass and perform the sacraments.

¹ Presbiter Pagano is the subject of a more in-depth analysis in the Conclusion, where one can find a chart listing his known activities along with citations; see page 206.

² On the emergence of term "secular clergy" in the twelfth century, see A. Boureau, "Hypothèses sur l'émergence lexical et théorique de la catégorie de séculier au XII^e siècle," in *Le clerc séculier au moyen âge* (Paris 1993), pp. 35-43. For a good introductory bibliography of studies about the medieval secular clergy, see M. M. Cárcel Ortí, "El clero secular en Europa en la Baja Edad Media: Bibliografía," in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 35 (2005), pp. 971-1047; with thanks to Hussein Fancy for bringing it to my attention.

INTRODUCTION

The thirteenth century was a time of great development and change in many societies throughout Europe, including Pagano's Genoa.³ Technological innovations and climatic changes were allowing the population to increase dramatically, which was especially visible in the growth of towns and cities. Larger, denser populations both supported and were supported by more commercialized and sophisticated economies that integrated short-, medium-, and long-distance trade. Governments and rulers at all levels were learning to utilize more effective formal mechanisms to both satisfy the needs of their citizens and support their own existence. The Latin Christian Church was also changing. The reach and power of the papal curia was expanding, giving rise to what some have called the "Papal Monarchy." Ecclesiastical reform efforts born in the eleventh century continued and were showing some genuine improvements in the areas of simony, clerical celibacy, and lay interference in Church affairs. Furthermore, a "pastoral revolution" was underway that aimed to improve the spiritual health of the laity by providing them with guidance from better-educated pastors.⁴

It has long been known among medievalists that secular priests, like Pagano, standing in front of their churches, rubbing elbows with the other clerics and lay people walking past, occupied a central place within medieval society. Not only did they carry out important duties within the institutional Church, but they also participated in the community life of both city and countryside. Yet, despite this knowledge, there are relatively few sophisticated studies dedicated to secular priests, and the silences are even

³ For a general overview and extensive bibliography of thirteenth-century history, see D. Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 5: c. 1198-c. 1300* (Cambridge 1999).

⁴ On the pastoral revolution see C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250* (Oxford 1989), pp. 489-504.

more striking when we exclude work on the wealthy secular canons affiliated with cathedrals.⁵ What does exist is often based on polemical contemporary sources produced by people with vested interests in the clergy. Are there more neutral sources that would allow us to see the lives of the medieval clergy from the “ground up?” How can we supplement, or even bypass, the problematic sources that form the core of traditional studies? Trying to answer these methodological questions lead me to Genoa, to the private registers of public notaries, and ultimately to priests like Pagano. Reading those registers I began to wonder: what role did secular priests play in thirteenth-century society? With whom did they interact, and why? In what ways did they engage and shape the lay and religious communities around them? What impact did they have on the economy, the spirituality, and the stability of their societies? What influence did the social and institutional structures of their environment have on their lives? And crucially, what did secular priests *actually* do during this time when reformers (both lay and clerical) had so much to say about what they *ought* to be doing? These are some of the historical questions that have shaped this dissertation. In the chapters that follow, I will use notarial acts from thirteenth-century Genoa to explore the ways secular priests’ participation in spiritual, economic, and social transactions wove them into the lay and religious communities that surrounded them.

This integration with both the spiritual and the worldly was not only tolerated by the thirteenth-century institutional Church, but even demanded by it. Secular priests were

⁵ By way of illustration, a subject search for “bishop” in the International Medieval Bibliography returns over 9,260 results, while searches for “priest,” “deacon,” and “secular clergy” return fewer than 650. This lack of interest is not necessarily surprising in the early generations of medieval historians given their broad preferences for institutional and doctrinal history, and a general tendency to focus on “Great Men” and their achievements. J. van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem,” in *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), pp. 519-552 remains a useful orientation for general trends in the historiography.

responsible for managing the properties and rights that belonged to their churches, as well as for caring for the spiritual welfare of their parishioners. Many contemporary sermonizers who sought to instruct priests recognized the challenges of caring simultaneously for property and souls, especially while facing the temptations of the world.⁶ Some even portrayed secular priests as occupying a crucial middle ground between worldliness and sanctity, serving as vital intermediaries between the laity and God.⁷ As such, priests were urged to actively care for their spiritual charges not only during times of religious ceremony, but at all times. They were not only instructed to preach from the pulpit, but to set positive examples and lead upright lives that would strengthen the impact of their teaching.⁸ In the words of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), “let us live, dearest brothers, not only purely, but also prudently... lest we corrupt others by example.”⁹ Clearly the papacy and others concerned with the clergy were well aware of the important role that secular priests played in sustaining both the institutional Church *and* lay communities. In Genoa (as elsewhere in Europe) when priests were installed in their churches and chapels they often swore to tend equally to both spiritual and worldly

⁶ Pope Innocent III, *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. and intro. C. J. Vause and F. C. Gardiner, forward by J. Powell (Washington D.C. 2004), p. xi

⁷ Among them Geoffroi Babion, archbishop of Bordeaux (1135-1154) and the Italian priest and writer Opicino de Canistris; see J. B. Bonnes, “Un des plus grands prédicateurs du XIIème siècle: Geoffroy du Loroux dit Geoffroi Babion,” in *Revue bénédictine* 56 (1945-46), pp. 174-216, and V. M. Morse, “The *Vita mediocris*: The Secular Priesthood in the Thought of Opicino de Canistris,” in *Quaderni di storia religiosa* 4 (1997), pp. 257-282

⁸ For example, in Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Rule* (book 1, chapter 2), as well as in the work of Jean Gerson (1363-1429) and of his Italian contemporary Bernadine of Siena (1380-1444). See Gregory the Great, *The Book of Pastoral Rule*, trans. and ed. G. Demacopoulos (Crestwood 2007); D. C. Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge 1987), pp. 52-55; Bernadine of Siena, *Sermons*, ed. D. N. Orlandi, trans. H. J. Robins (Siena 1920), esp. p. 15

⁹ “*Vivamus ergo, fratres charissimi, non solum caste, sed etiam caute... Caute, ne corrumpamus alios per exemplum.*” From his sermon “*De sacerdotis dignitate, periculo et peccato,*” found in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 222 volumes (Turnholt, reprint ed. 1958), vol. 217, cols. 649B-654C, quote at col. 654B; Innocent returns to the theme repeatedly in his sermons on the priesthood; *Between God and Man*, ed. Vause and Gardiner, contains a translation of this entire sermon, as Chapter One.

affairs: “*tam spiritualia quam temporalia*.”¹⁰ The challenges inherent in balancing *spiritualia* and *temporalia* in thirteenth-century Genoa, its diocese, and its settlements stand at the heart of this dissertation.

The medieval Archdiocese of Genoa occupied over 1000 square-kilometers in what is today Liguria, the coastal region stretching east from Monaco to Portovenere in northwestern Italy.¹¹ Then, as now, the geography of the diocese was dominated by the imposing Ligurian Apennines, which rise sharply from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea leaving only a narrow strip of “stony, bumpy, thirsty” soil between the two.¹² Settlement in the diocese was largely limited to the coast and a handful of river valleys, notably the Polcevera, Bisagno, and Entella. The mouths of the Polcevera and Bisagno are only five kilometers apart and between them lies an excellent natural harbor. It is on this harbor that we find the city of Genoa.¹³ The geography of the region prevented Genoa from developing any significant land empire in its hinterland, and forced the city to turn its hopes and energies towards the Mediterranean, and the coasts that ringed it both near and far. A small town in the early tenth century, by 1300 Genoa was among

¹⁰ For example, see *I cartolari dei notaio Stefano di Corrado di Lavagna (1272-1273, 1296-1300)* ed. M. Calleri, *Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII-XV* 12 (Genoa 2007), docs. 321, 337, 339, 340 (hereafter cited as *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri), and *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova (965-1327)*, 4 volumes (2-4 published), *Fonti per la storia della Liguria* 23-26 (Genoa 2008), vol. 2, doc. 610 (hereafter cited as *Santo Stefano*).

¹¹ Maps of Liguria, Genoa, and the Diocese of Genoa can be found in Appendix B.

¹² “Stony, bumpy, thirsty” is Robert Lopez’s phrase, see “Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa,” in *The Journal of Economic History* 24 (1964), pp. 445-464, at p. 446.

¹³ For an excellent survey of Genoa’s political, cultural, and economic history during the Middle Ages, see Steven Epstein’s *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*, (Chapel Hill 1996). There are many survey works on the history of Genoa in Italian, including V. Vitale, *Breviario della storia di Genova* (Genoa 1956); T. Ossian De Negri, *Storia di Genova* (Milan 1968); G. Pistarino, *Liguria medievale* (Genoa 1968); R. S. Lopez, *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (Genoa 1975); G. Airaldi, *Genova e la Liguria nel medioevo* (Turin 1986); G. Petti Balbi, *Una città e il suo mare: Genova nel Medioevo* (Bologna 1991). For a recent bibliography, see *Storia di Genova: Mediterraneo, Europa, Atlantico*, ed. D. Puncuh (Genoa 2003). The most up-to-date guide to Genoese primary sources is Dino Puncuh’s “Liguria: edizioni di fonti,” in *Annali dell’Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento* 28 (2002), pp. 321-344; also useful is the first section of Geo Pistarino’s “Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie nella Liguria medievale (secoli XII-XV),” in *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. XIII-XV): Atti del VI convegno di storia della chiesa in Italia* (Rome 1984), vol. 2, pp. 625-676.

the largest cities in Christian Europe, a teeming urban center of tall buildings and narrow alleyways (*carrubei*, known to modern Genoese as *caruggi*).¹⁴ Some have estimated that the city had as many as 100,000 residents.¹⁵



Figure I-1: Approaching the church of Sant'Agnese (12th-century); a typical scene from the Genoese caruggi (alleyways) (J.B. Yousey-Hindes)

¹⁴ See Figure I-1

¹⁵ Q. van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa* (Cambridge 2009), p. 61; Lopez, "Market Expansion," p. 448

Genoa's demographic growth went hand-in-hand with massive commercial development; by the end of the thirteenth century, Venice alone could rival Genoa's status as a center of trade. Like many city-states in northern and central Italy, Genoa's government was based on a commune (*compagna*), an association of citizens bound by oath to care for the city. Depending on the political climate, the commune elected either a group of consuls or a single *podestà* to act as the city's secular leader.¹⁶ In many ways merchants and their interests dominated the Genoese commune's political agenda, and despite recurrent civil strife throughout the central and late Middle Ages, the primary job of the commune of Genoa was to protect and encourage trade. To this end, the commune successfully sought to exert influence (there were many different arrangements) over cities and villages throughout Liguria.¹⁷ The commune—and even individual citizens—also established permanent trading settlements in many ports throughout the Mediterranean and Black Seas.¹⁸

SOURCES

As was the case in cities throughout Europe, Genoa's rapid development was accompanied by a profound increase in the production of written records, in particular notarial acts. In medieval Mediterranean Europe, notaries were public officials, typically appointed and licensed by political authorities, responsible for drafting legal documents.¹⁹

¹⁶ On the Italian communes generally, see D. Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 3rd edition (New York 1988).

¹⁷ On Genoa's relations with other cities in Liguria, see G. Pitarino, *La capitale del Mediterraneo: Genova nel medioevo* (Bordighera 1993), Chapter 1, in addition to the surveys listed above in note 12.

¹⁸ On these settlements, see Chapter Five.

¹⁹ There is a large literature on notaries and their profession in medieval Mediterranean Europe, but by way of introduction one can start with J. P. Byrne's excellent overview and up-to-date bibliography at "Notaries" in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. C. Kleinhenz, (New York 2004), vol. 2, pp. 780-784, as well as K. Reyerson and D. Salata's *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327-1328 Register of*

Parties would pay a notary (on average about 3-5 *denarii*) to draft contracts involving commercial agreements, dowries, sales of property, apprenticeships, testaments, loans and debts, and anything else that necessitated a written record with legal force.²⁰ Because the documents they drafted were legally-binding agreements that the parties might wish to review at a later date, notaries retained their own copies of them. Eventually, the notaries' private registers began being deposited into archives for easier access and safekeeping. Genoese men and women from all walks of life sought out notaries—in their market stalls, in their homes, on ships, and even in churches—to record their social and economic transactions. Many people who had no personal business before a notary appear indirectly in acts drafted for others, as witnesses, neighbors, previous owners, and the like. Thus the private registers can be used to reconstruct the lives of the most famous people of the age as well as the almost anonymous.²¹ This point holds true for priests and other clerics as well. Churches and other religious institutions throughout medieval Italy made extensive use of public notaries for recording both mundane and remarkable affairs. Robert Brentano has gone so far as to say that, “the Italian church

Jean Holanie (Kalamazoo 2004), and J. Pryor's *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248* (Toronto 1981). There are many works on the notaries of Genoa specifically, and a good orientation can be obtained by consulting the bibliography maintained by the Centro Studi per la Storia del Notariato Genovese “Giorgio Costamagna,” online at <http://www.centrostudicostamagna.it/>.

²⁰ S. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984), pp. 3-5; Chapter One of David Abulafia's *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge 1977) has many good insights. Michel Balard provides a comprehensive introduction to the types of documents typically found in Genoese notarial records from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in his *Gênes et l'outre-mer, tome I: Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289-1290*, (Paris 1973), pp. 28-61. John Pryor's section introductions in *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence* are also very useful, as are those in Reyerson and Salata, *Medieval Notaries*.

²¹ Compare, for instance, Robert Lopez's *Genova marinara nel duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Milan 1933) and Michel Balard's “Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle,” in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 80 (1968), p. 627-680.

was a notarial church,” and my research emphatically supports his assessment.²² Public notaries drafted virtually every act, charter, and legal record preserved by Genoa’s thirteenth-century religious institutions, many of which were assembled by those institutions into collections of documents called “cartularies.” Cartularies from the cathedral of San Lorenzo, the church of Santa Maria delle Vigne, the archiepiscopal curia, and the Benedictine monasteries of San Siro, Santo Stefano, Sant’Andrea della Porta, and San Benigno di Capodifaro all contain valuable evidence about the Genoese secular clergy, and I use them extensively in the chapters that follow.

During the thirteenth century, hundreds of notaries worked throughout Genoa to satisfy the massive demand made by a commercialized society that embraced the security and clarity offered by written agreements.²³ Notaries were also active in Genoa’s overseas trading settlements, where they carried out their duties in virtually the same

²² See Robert Brentano’s chapter on “The Written Church” in *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1968), pp. 291-34. For studies of the relationship between notaries and religious institutions (particularly episcopal curiae) in communal Italy, see *Chiese e notai (secoli XII-XV)*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa (Verona 2004).

²³ The Archivio di Stato di Genova alone contains documents by over 300 different Genoese notaries from between 1154 and 1300. Notarial culture permeated the rest of Liguria as well, and thirteenth-century notarial registers survive from other cities along the coast, such as Savona, Ventimiglia, and Portovenere. For information on notarial culture in Liguria, see the introductions to the following editions: *Il Cartulario di Arnaldo Cumano e Giovanni di Donato*, ed. L. Balleto, et al., Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Fonti e sussidi 96 (Rome 1978); *Cartolare di Uberto, parte II: Atti del Notaio Guglielmo, Savona (1214-1215)*, ed. A. Rovere, Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII e XV 14 (Genoa 2009); *Il cartulario del notaio Martino: Savona, 1203-1206*, ed. D. Puncuh (Genoa 1974); *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni di Amandolesio dal 1256 al 1258*, ed. L. Balleto, Collana Storico-archeologica della Liguria Occidentale 26 (Bordighera 1993); *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni di Amandolesio dal 1258 al 1264*, ed. L. Balleto, Collana storica di fonti e studi 44 (Genoa 1985); *Cartulario di Giovanni di Giona di Portovenere (sec. XIII)*, ed. G. Falco and G. Pistarino, Biblioteca della Deputazione subalpina di storia patria 177 (Torino 1955); *Le Carte Portoveneresi di Tealdo de Sigestro (1258-59)*, ed. G. Pistarino, Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII e XV 7 (Genoa 1958). See also *Instrumenta episcoporum albinganensium: Documenti del R. Archivio di Stato di Torino*, ed. G. Pesce, Collana storico-archeologica della Liguria occidentale 4 (Albenga 1935); and G. Costamagna, “Scribi comunali e notai di collegio ad Albenga nel sec. XIII,” in *Legislazione e società nell’Italia medievale, per il VII centenario degli statuti di Albenga (1288)—Atti del Convegno, 18-21 ottobre 1988*, Collana storico-archeologica della Liguria Occidentale 25 (Bordighera 1990), pp. 503-515.

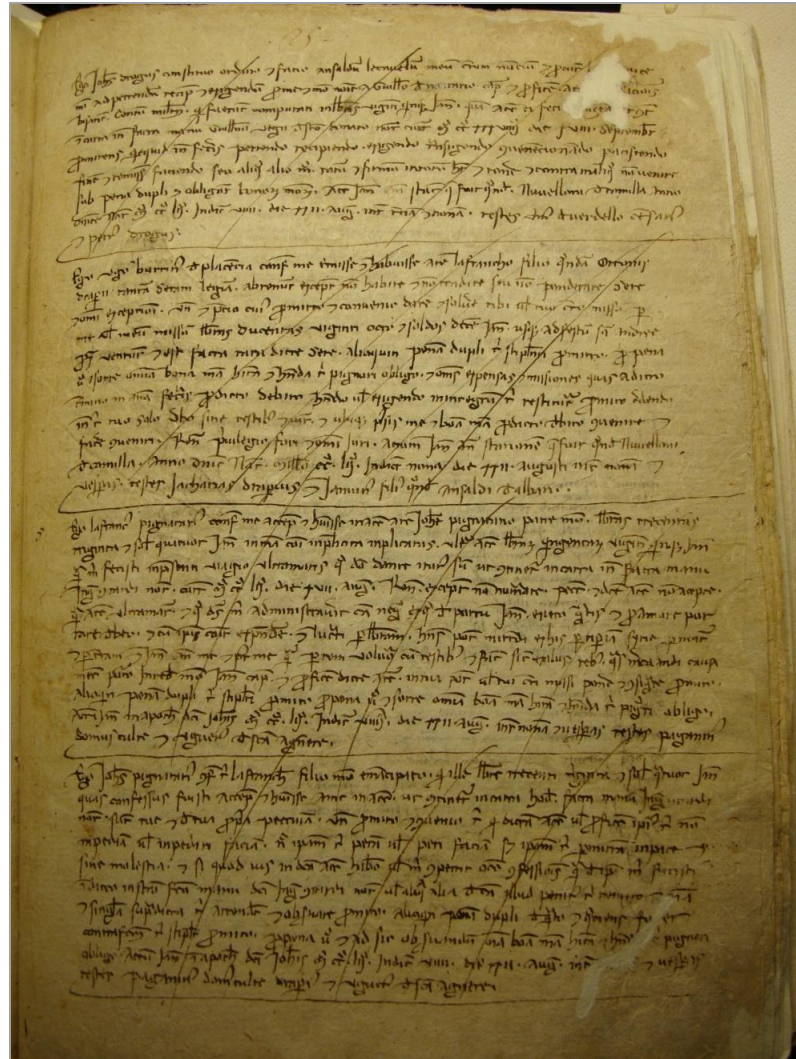


Figure I-2: A typical page from the private register of a Genoese notary (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)²⁴

manner as their counterparts back home.²⁵ Genoese notaries began depositing their records with the local authorities for safekeeping in the later-twelfth century, and the city's notarial archive was largely intact until 1684, when bombardment and fire

²⁴ 22 August 1252; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/I, f. 25r [Ingo Contardus]

²⁵ There could be several notaries in the larger trade settlements at any given time, with perhaps fourteen in Ayas in the 1270s and eighteen in Tunis in the late 1280s. C. Otten-Froux, "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle d'après les notaires génois," in *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), pp. 147-171, at p. 156; and G. Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale (fin XIe-début XIVe siècle): Ébauche d'une stratégie pour un empire*, (Amiens 1993), p. 376. For citations to published notarial sources from the settlements, see Chapter Five.

destroyed much of the medieval material.²⁶ The surviving documents were hastily collected and bound together into separate volumes, each of which contains several hundred individual acts. Because no attempt was made to reconstruct the original registers, most of these volumes contain acts written by several notaries over the course of several decades.²⁷ The Archivio di Stato di Genova holds over 175 volumes that contain private notarial acts drafted between 1154 (the earliest survival) and 1310, along with a large number of unbound leaves and fragments.²⁸ Based on the published inventories, I estimate that these collections include over 85,000 pages of notarial acts for the period 1154 to 1310.²⁹

HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the hands of careful scholars the Genoese notarial sources have provided the foundation for much of what we know about medieval Genoa, and the fact that generations of institutional, economic, and social historians have found them valuable

²⁶ M. Bologna, "Il bombardamento di Genova del 1684: i danni all'archivio notarile e il suo recupero," in *Archivum* 42 (1996), pp. 215-233; or his "1684 maggio 17: Le perdite dell'archivio del Collegio dei notai di Genova," in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria (ASLSP)* n.s. 24 (1984), pp.267-290

²⁷ In Italian these volumes are called *cartulari* (cartularies). In this dissertation, I use the term "register" to refer to a collection of acts written and preserved by a single notary in his private notebook (even if that book is now divided among several *cartulari* in the ASG). I use the term "cartulary" to refer to a set of records collected and preserved by an institution, and containing acts—or copies of acts—written by several different notaries.

²⁸ Notarial acts bound into volumes are found in the "Notai antichi" collection, while unbound leaves are held in the "Notai ignoti" collection. The (indispensible) inventories for this material are Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Cartolari notarili genovesi (1-149) Inventario, volume primo*, 2 volumes, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Strumenti 22 and 41 (Rome 1956 and 1961); M. Bologna, *Cartolari notarili genovesi (150-299), volume secondo*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti 111 (Rome 1990); M. Bologna, *Notai ignoti: Frammenti notarili medioevali*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti 104 (Rome 1988).

²⁹ Approximately 9,250 pages for 1154-1239; 11,400 for 1240-1260; and 66,300 for 1261-1310. The number of acts is hard to estimate, but 215,000 would be a conservative number.

testifies to their richness and diversity.³⁰ Much of the research that scholars have conducted in the notarial sources has been largely representative of broader international trends in medieval historiography, and at times has even helped drive these trends. Until the 1920s, these sources were used mainly to investigate Genoa's political and institutional history, particularly as it pertained to the Genoese presence in the Mediterranean.³¹ Beginning in the 1920s and continuing into the 1970s, trade, business practices, commodities, and prices were dominant interests as the "Wisconsin School" of economic historians dedicated themselves to the Genoese registers.³² Finally, in the past forty years we find many historians concerned with the social structures of medieval Genoa, and the latest scholarship even brings social network analysis to bear on the notarial registers.³³

Compared with these topics, medieval Genoa's ecclesiastical and clerical history has attracted far less attention, particularly from non-Italian scholars. That said, historians

³⁰ Steven Epstein provides a brief timeline of how the notarial material has been employed in *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 1-3. Also useful is Gerald Day's "Genoese Prosopography (12th-13th Centuries): The State of the Question," in *Medieval Prosopography* 4 (1983), pp. 31-44.

³¹ G. Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257-1311*, 2 volumes (Halle 1895-99), translated into Italian as *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo, 1257-1311*, ASLSP n.s. 14-15 (Genoa 1974-75); E. Marengo, *Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515*, ASLSP o.s. 32 (Genoa 1901); E. H. Byrne, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria," in L. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades, and Other Historical Essays; Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, (New York 1928), pp. 139-182

³² The "Wisconsin School" was quite literally built upon the Genoese notarial registers. Professor Eugene Byrne collected Photostatic copies of several late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century registers on research trips to Genoa in the 1920s and trained his graduate students on them. Those students, including Robert Reynolds and Hilmar Krueger, went on to publish editions of registers and mine the notarial evidence for decades to come. Prior to the Second World War, Reynolds even managed to secure passage to the United States for Robert Lopez, an Italian scholar who made use of the Genoese notarial registers throughout his influential career. Representative works of economic history that draw substantially on Genoese notarial registers include Reynolds's *The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa 1179-1200* (Bruxelles 1929); Byrne's *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass. 1930); and Krueger's "Genoese trade with northwest Africa in the twelfth century," in *Speculum* 8 (1933), pp. 377-395.

³³ D. Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," in *Past & Present* 66 (1975), pp. 3-28; J. Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas*, trans. B. Herbert (Amsterdam 1977), a revised edition of the author's *Le Clan familial au Moyen Age* (Paris 1974); L. Balletto, *Genova nel Duecento: Uomini nel porto e uomini sul mare* (Genoa 1983); Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*; van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*

have been using notarial sources to study the ecclesiastical history of medieval Genoa since at least the eighteenth century. Nicolò Perasso's twelve-volume history of the churches of Genoa, *Memorie e notizie di chiese e opere pie di Genova*, was clearly based in part upon notarial registers.³⁴ For each church in the city, Perasso narrates an institutional history with special attention to dates, privileges, and internal affairs. Following each account, he offers a list of church leaders found in the sources, as well as copies of relevant documents from institutional cartularies and private registers. Occasionally, he even supplements these copies with original medieval notarial acts that he tipped into his manuscript (now held in the Archivio di Stato di Genova).³⁵ In the nineteenth century, scholars largely replicated Perasso's approach, writing more detailed histories of specific institutions that drew much of their evidence from notarial records, many of which they edited and published as appendixes.³⁶ In the twentieth century, historians continued to focus most of their energy on offices and institutions, and they edited and published cartularies from the cathedral, the church of Santa Maria delle Vigne, and four of the city's Benedictine monasteries.³⁷ In the past decade, the private

³⁴ ASG, Manoscritti 835-846

³⁵ For example, ASG, Manoscritto 836, ff. 323-326; ASG, Manoscritto 837, f. 7; ASG, Manoscritto 839, f. 151; ASG, Manoscritto 846, ff. 363-364.

³⁶ For example, G. Bancerho, *Il Duomo di Genova: illustrato e descritto* (Genoa 1855); R. Vigna, *L'Antica collegiata di Santa Maria di Castello in Genova* (Genoa 1859); L. T. Belgrano, ed., *Cartario Genovese ed illustrazione del registro arcivescovile*, ASLSP o.s. 2/I (Genoa 1870).

³⁷ For example: G. Jehel, "Gênes, ses évêques et ses papes au moyen âge," in F. Bériac and A.-M. Dom (eds.), *Les prélats, l'église et la société, XIe-XVe siècles: hommage à Bernard Guillemain* (Bordeaux, 1994), 199-206; A. Liva, "Vescovo e città a Genova fra X e XIII secolo," in G. Santini (eds.), *Cattedrale, città e contado tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Milan 1990), 41-51; V. Polonio, "Vescovi e capitoli cattedrali in Liguria: Albenga, Genova, Luni-Sarzana," in G. de Sandre Gasparini, et al. (eds.), *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia dal XIV alla metà del XVI secolo: Atti del VII Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia* (Brescia, 21-25 settembre 1987) (Rome 1990) volume 1, 139-147; E. Basso, *Un'abbazia e la sua città: Santo Stefano di Genova (sec. X-XV)* (Torino 1997); V. Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Liguria medievale* (Rome 2002).

registers of three notaries who worked closely with Genoese religious institutions have been published, but studies based on these sources have yet to appear.³⁸

Examining the Genoese ecclesiastical historiography as a whole, one notices at least four points relevant to my project. First is the general lack of scholarship on Genoese ecclesiastical history, and the small number of historians who have produced the work that is available.³⁹ Second, while the range of secondary scholarship being published has been more diverse since the 1960s, on the whole interest in institutional history has remained strong until the present. Geo Pistarino, a prominent Italian historian of Genoa, once extolled the value of the notarial registers for studying, “the names and titles of church officials, the foundation of churches, institutional affairs, controversies over parochial rights, and the collection of taxes.”⁴⁰ He wrote this in 1984, but one can imagine Nicolò Perasso writing the same thing two hundred years earlier. Also, the scholarship is much more likely to rely on evidence from institutional cartularies than evidence from private notarial registers, meaning that it tends to coalesce around institutions with surviving cartularies. Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, the ecclesiastical landscape depicted in this historiography is almost entirely devoid of any secular clergy other than the most powerful canons. Even the most promising studies contain almost no mention of priests.⁴¹

³⁸ *I cartolari del notaio Nicolò di Santa Giulia di Chiavari (1337, 1345-1348)*, ed. F. Mambrini, *Notai liguri dei secoli XII-XV 10* (Genoa 2004); *I cartolari del notaio Simone di Francesco de Compagnono (1408-1415)*, ed. S. Macchiavello, *Notai liguri dei secoli XII-XV 11* (Genoa 2006), *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri

³⁹ V. Polonio Felloni of the Università degli Studi di Genova stands out as the scholar who has written more than any other about medieval Genoese ecclesiastical history.

⁴⁰ Pistarino, “Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie,” pp. 630-631: “A parte il fatto che tra le pieghe dei rogiti notarili si nascondono spesso notizie preziose per quanto riguarda nomine e titoli di ecclesiastici, fondazioni di chiese, i istituzionali, controversie per i diritti parrocchiali, raccolte di decime.”

⁴¹ A. Boldorini, “Aspetti e momenti della *cura animarum* nel Basso Medioevo Ligure (secc. XIII-XV),” in *Renovatio* 15 (1980), pp. 590-619, also published with a documentary appendix as an offprint: *Archivum ecclesiae ianuensis* 1 (1981); V. Polonio, “Devozioni di lungo corso: lo scalo Genovese,” in G. Ortalli and

While the Genoese situation is somewhat representative of wider trends in Italian ecclesiastical historiography, several studies have encouraged me to continue trying to understand how secular priests were embedded in their local communities.⁴² For instance, Duane Osheim set about a similar project of showing the social connections between religious and lay groups when he wrote *A Tuscan Monastery and Its Social World: San Michele of Guamo (1156-1348)*.⁴³ Whereas Osheim studied a community of regular clerics at a single monastery, I focus on secular priests who formed a social group without sharing an affiliation to any single institution. Several other scholars have also published monographs in the past three decades that reveal the complex integration of clerics and laypeople in medieval Italian cities, and underscore the dynamism of local ecclesiastical institutions.⁴⁴ In addition, a handful of edited volumes on secular priests have appeared, some of which contain studies that approach the topic from new

D. Puncuh (eds.), *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Genova - Venezia, 10-14 marzo 2000 (Venice 2001), 349-394; V. Polonio, "Tra universalismo e localismo: costruzione di un sistema (569-1321)," in D. Puncuh (ed.), *Il Cammino della Chiesa genovese: dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, ASLSP n.s. 39 (Genoa 1999), pp. 77-210

⁴² In 2000, David Peterson examined the historiography of the later medieval Church in Italy and identified three broad areas of interest: 1) the structure of ecclesiastical institutions, 2) the relationship between the Church and political power, and 3) the role of lay religiosity in shaping both Church and state. D. S. Peterson, "Out of the Margins: Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 no.3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 835-879. The secular clergy—including modest priests and clerics—logically falls within all three of these areas, yet there are few detailed studies to show the depth and breadth of clerical involvement in their surrounding communities. When secular priests do appear, as they occasionally do in works of ecclesiastical or social history, they appear largely as functionaries, present only to facilitate lay religious observances or blindly carry out Church business.

⁴³ D. Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery and Its Social World: San Michele of Guamo (1156-1348)*, Italia Sacra 40 (Rome 1989)

⁴⁴ In particular: G. De Sandre Gasparini, *Contadini, chiesa, confraternita in un paese veneto di bonifica. Villa del Bosco nel Quattrocento*, second edition (Verona 1987); A. Rigon, *Clero e città: "fratelia cappellanorum," parroci, cura d'anime in Padova dal XII* (Padua 1988); M. C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150* (Ithaca 1993); R. Brentano, *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188-1378* (Berkeley 1994); T. di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo: Istituzioni e politica cittadina (secoli VIII-XIII)* (Rome 2002); and G. Dameron, *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante* (Philadelphia 2005); Peterson, "Religion and the Church," pp. 843-4.

documentary and interpretive directions.⁴⁵ In particular, Daniel Bornstein's writing has always tried to understand priests on their own terms and in the light of local circumstances.⁴⁶

By asking questions about the social history of the clergy, medievalists like these have been forced to approach traditional sources in fresh ways and even employ sources that had largely been ignored by ecclesiastical historians.⁴⁷ Private notarial registers are among these new sources, embraced by a small group of scholars because they can help us answer new and more elaborate questions about the clergy, and re-examine old assumptions and findings about ecclesiastical history more generally.⁴⁸ Charles M. de la Roncière's article, "Dans la campagne Florentine au quatorzième siècle: Les communautés chrétiennes et leurs curés," was one of first pieces to use private notarial registers to present priests as actors embedded in their local communities.⁴⁹ His work inspired George Dameron, who makes limited use of registers to describe the diverse

⁴⁵ The most significant collections in this regard are *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age: Actes du XXIIe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.* (Paris 1993) and *Preti nel medioevo*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa 4 (Verona 1997). See also J. Shinnars and W. J. Dohar (eds.), *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame 1998); and *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Colloque de Fanjeaux 24 (Toulouse 1989). To name two articles: C. Vincent, "L'avènement du curé et de la cure d'âmes dans la pastorale médiévale: bilan et perspectives de recherche dans le domaine français," in *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 60 (2006), pp. 17-30; and P. Nightingale, "The English Parochial Clergy as Investors and Creditors in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in P. R. Schofield and N. J. Mayhew (eds.), *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-c.1350* (Oxford 2002), pp. 89-105.

⁴⁶ D. Bornstein, "Parish Priests in Late Medieval Cortona," in *Preti nel medioevo*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa 4 (Verona 1997), pp. 165-193; D. Bornstein, "Priests and Villagers in the Diocese of Cortona," in *Ricerche Storiche* 27 (1997), pp. 93-106

⁴⁷ D. Bornstein, "Introduction: Living Christianity," in D. Bornstein (ed.), *Medieval Christianity, A People's History of Christianity*, Volume 4 (Minneapolis 2009), pp. 12-13

⁴⁸ For instance, R. Brentano, "Notarial Cartularies and Religious Personality: Rome, Rieti, and Bishop Thomas of Secinaro (1339-1341)," in *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. P. Brezzi and E. Lee (Toronto 1984), pp. 169-183

⁴⁹ Ch. M. de la Roncière, "Dans la campagne Florentine au quatorzième siècle: Les communautés chrétiennes et leurs curés," in J. Delumeau (ed.), *Histoire vécue du peuple Chrétien* (Toulouse 1979), pp. 281-314, although unfortunately the text is not footnoted. Gene Brucker also makes limited use of Florentine notarial records in his "Urban Parishes and their Clergy in Quattrocento Florence: A Preliminary Sondage," in A. Morrogh, et al. (eds.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth* (Florence 1985), volume 1, pp. 17-28.

roles of the Florentine priests in his *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante* (2005). (The observations of Dameron and de La Roncière about the wide variety of clerical activities in Florence and its *contado* map closely onto what we shall see in Genoa.) Maureen Miller's 1998 article, "Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200," is another important example. Despite her restrained use of notarial documents (Miller is tracking changes in the way priests identify themselves), the article suggests the potential for bringing "these mundane bits of formulary" to bear on questions about priests' place with their social environments.⁵⁰

As historians of Genoa have taken up the themes and questions of social history, a few have used the notarial registers to look at the secular clergy. In the 1920s, Arturo Ferretto, a pioneering editor and advocate of Genoese notarial registers, used them as one of his sources for an article on Presbiter Giovanni Mauro di Carignano, an important Genoese mapmaker.⁵¹ More recently, Alessandra Sisto used the private registers of four notaries in her study of the Fieschi family's membership and influence within Genoa's cathedral chapter.⁵² Steven Epstein's work on Genoese testaments has led him to talk in broad terms about priests' involvement in funerary rituals, charity, and the execution of wills.⁵³ More than any other, his work has pointed to the potential of the Genoese registers as a source for clerical history.

⁵⁰ M. C. Miller, "Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200," in M. Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York 1998), pp. 305-35, at page 315

⁵¹ A. Ferretto, "Giovanni Mauro di Carignano: Rettore di S. Marco, Cartografo e scrittore (1291-1329)," in *Miscellanea Geo-Topografica*, ASLSP o.s. 52 (Genoa 1924), pp. 31-54

⁵² A. Sisto, *Genova nel duecento: il capitolo di San Lorenzo*, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 28 (Genoa 1979). The Fieschi family was a prominent Ligurian family that controlled Lavagna and boasted two thirteenth-century popes: Innocent IV and Adrian V.

⁵³ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*; Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*

APPROACH

By asking broader questions about priests and their integration into Genoese society, this dissertation uses the notarial sources to build upon the work of Ferretto, McCormick, Sisto, and Epstein. Like them, I am trying to see the human actors who populated the institutional Church upon which the majority of historians of Genoa have typically focused. In doing so, I ask readers to contemplate two broader questions. First, how have the traditional sources of ecclesiastical history distorted our understanding of the medieval clergy and their Church? Second, what do historians stand to gain by moving beyond these sources into the more chaotic and “unfiltered” evidence of private notarial registers and similar non-ecclesiastical records?⁵⁴ Traditionally, studies of the clergy and Church in Italy have been built upon cartularies and other collections of documents that were assembled and preserved by particular ecclesiastical institutions. Since these are usually sparse and highly episodic, historians attempting to reconstruct the lives of priests and other clerics frequently supplement them with more narrative contemporary sources. These often include synodal statutes, records of episcopal visitations, sermons, treatises on clerical conduct, lay commentaries, decretals, guides to liturgical practice, hagiography, autobiographical writings, and literature.

On a practical level, it is understandable why historians have preferred to work with sources such as these: accessibility and guaranteed relevance. It almost goes without saying that the documents preserved by a religious institution were all pertinent

⁵⁴ I have been inspired to ask these questions, in part, by Joel Kaye’s work on fourteenth-century natural philosophers. In his *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century*, Kaye argues that in order to understand fourteenth-century developments in scholastic natural philosophy, historians must look beyond the sphere of intellectual culture to the realities of the material (i.e. commercial) world in which the philosophers lived and worked. In doing so, he demonstrates the importance of situating the subjects of our research in the most complete context possible, even when it means delving into sources that appear, at first glance, irrelevant. J. Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge 1998)

to that institution. Likewise, a researcher can be fairly certain that the narrative sources listed above will contain evidence about the clergy. Neither of these things can be assumed about the private notarial registers such as those in Genoa, the contents of which are almost entirely unpublished and uncatalogued. The nature of the records is another issue. Scribes usually assembled and recopied the traditional sources in a neat script, suitable for easy reference and legibility. The private notarial registers, on the other hand, were meant more for personal reference, and were often the product of long hours spent working in cramped or chaotic environments. The notaries' handwriting reflects this. Locating stray priests and churches among the dizzying script and maddening abbreviations of a busy notary's register tests one's patience and paleographic skills in ways that ecclesiastical cartularies and narrative sources usually do not.⁵⁵

So why suffer through the frustrations of these sources? First of all, because most narrative sources were created within larger debates surrounding the medieval Church and its clergy. These debates were concerned not only with the appropriate behavior and responsibilities of secular priests, but with the very nature of the relationship between the institutional Church and lay society. The opinions and philosophies that shaped these sources have profoundly influenced the way that historians interpret the secular clergy's role in medieval society, as well as the way they describe clerical life in general. When Augustine Thompson used synodal legislation, chapter statutes, hagiography, and writings by bishops and theologians to describe the role of priests in the Italian communes, the picture that emerged was of religious functionaries dutifully fulfilling

⁵⁵ Denys Hays notes the difficulties in *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century: The Birkbeck Lectures* (Cambridge 1977), p. 50.

their sacramental duties.⁵⁶ G. G. Coulton, on the other hand, used narrative sources to characterize the same priests as men who delighted in the pleasures of the flesh and largely ignored sacramental matters.⁵⁷ While it may seem heavy-handed to single out the work of a Dominican friar and a notorious anti-Catholic, there is a valid underlying point: relying on sources created and preserved by senior clerics and their observers can lead to significant interpretive distortions.⁵⁸ If we wish to produce a more nuanced view of priests in their communities, we must turn to more neutral sources.

Breadth is another reason that I have utilized the notarial registers for clerical history. Put simply, the notarial registers allow us to see hundreds of priests who never appear in institutional cartularies and other sources. Thirteenth-century Genoa had at least thirty churches and religious institutions staffed by secular priests, but institutional cartularies survive from only seven of them. By way of illustration, take the notary Stefano di Corrado, who worked almost exclusively for Genoa's two most prominent religious institutions: the archiepiscopal curia and the cathedral of San Lorenzo. Less than six years worth of his personal records survive (1272-1273, 1296-1300), but in his register we find over 330 documents about the Genoese priests and churches.⁵⁹ Only thirty-six records survive in cartularies assembled by the curia and cathedral for the entire

⁵⁶ A. Thompson, O. P. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park 2005); Thompson does not attempt to present a comprehensive account of clerical life, but his description of clerical duties does not leave much room for non-sacramental activities.

⁵⁷ See for example *The Medieval Village* (Cambridge 1925), *passim*, and on the Italian church specifically: *Five Centuries of Religion*, 5 volumes (Cambridge 1923-1950), volume 4, pp. 246-310.

⁵⁸ The nature of traditional sources can lead to unreliable depictions even when authors do try to explore the range of clerical involvement in their communities. For example, Daniel Bornstein's article, "Parish Priests in Late Medieval Cortona," relies exclusively upon witness testimonies from episcopal visitation records. Yet despite acknowledging that witnesses creatively shaped their testimony in response to unknown factors, he does not turn to non-ecclesiastical sources to corroborate his evidence.

⁵⁹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri

period 1270-1300.⁶⁰ The scope achieved by combining the notarial registers with institutional cartularies allows us to see more of the clerical landscape of Genoa and its diocese. By using the notarial registers, we are able to analyze priests' place in society without the intervention of later scribes who were focused on the interests of specific institutions. As a result, many priests from smaller and less-influential churches will emerge from the shadow of the cathedral and archiepiscopal palace.

Finally, by incorporating the notarial registers, I am more able to separate secular priests from the churches with which they were affiliated, and see them as independent actors, or actors united by the secular priesthood as an informal social institution.⁶¹ By doing this, I hope to cut across traditional boundaries to show characteristics that were common to Genoese priests regardless of their institutional affiliation or social background. My priest-focused approach distinguishes me from many ecclesiastical historians working on medieval Italy, who select and organize their subjects based on formal (and physical) institutions.⁶² (Of the 224 works on the secular clergy of medieval Italy found in the best recent survey of the literature, over two thirds are organized around a particular church or religious institution.)⁶³ When one focuses one's research on a particular institution in this way, the narrative of that institution can easily take

⁶⁰ See *Il secondo registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, ASLSP 18 (Genoa 1887) (hereafter cited as *Archiepiscopal II*); and *Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae ianuensis*, ed. D. Puncuh, *Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica* 1 (Genoa 1962) (hereafter cited as *San Lorenzo*).

⁶¹ Unlike other communal cities, Genoa does not seem to have had a clerical confraternity or association of any kind in the thirteenth century, which is why I label the secular priesthood there an "informal" institution. For a well-regarded study of the place of clerical confraternities, see Rigon, *Clero e città*.

⁶² One exception for Genoa is James McCormick's unpublished doctoral dissertation from 1938, "Clergymen and Clerical Bodies as Factors in the Business Life of Genoa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." McCormick, a Catholic priest working under the tutelage of Robert Reynolds, made painstaking use of the early registers to examine the role of clerics in Genoese business with little attention to institutional affiliation. With its concern squarely on commercial affairs, this study is consistent with the prevailing interests of the Wisconsin School of economic historians in the 1930s. J. McCormick, "Clergymen and clerical bodies as factors in the business life of Genoa in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1938)

⁶³ Cárcel Ortí, "El clero secular en Europa," pp. 1021-1034

precedence over that of its clergy. The resulting studies rarely go as far as we might like in presenting the complexity of priests' lives and the ways they interacted with their communities—both on their own behalf, and on behalf of the institutional Church.

METHODS

In this dissertation, I explore how secular priests integrated themselves into Genoese society. In order to do this, I have adopted some of the practices of a research method called prosopography.⁶⁴ Prosopography, put simply, is the practice of writing “collective biography.” In part a resistance to the siren call of compelling (but potentially atypical) individual examples, prosopography tries to identify those features that were characteristic of an entire social group. By assembling the small amounts of information available about a large number of comparable individuals, prosopography allows one to better understand the functioning of target groups and more successfully contextualize individual actors. Because they construct “composite” pictures of groups rather than portraits of individuals, prosopographical studies maximize the value of scarce evidence and can even shed light on largely anonymous groups. I have found, however, that representative or exceptional cases can often tell us much more than raw data, and for this reason I draw as many examples as possible from the lives of specific priests.⁶⁵ By

⁶⁴ On prosopography generally see K. Verboven, M. Carlier, and J. Dumolyn, “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography,” in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Oxford 2007); G. Beech, “Prosopography,” in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. J. Powell, (Syracuse 1976), pp. 151-84; and Lawrence Stone’s particularly important contribution, “Prosopography” in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. F. Gilbert and S. R. Graubard (New York 1972), pp. 107-140. On Genoese prosopography, see Day, “Genoese Prosopography.” Additional resources can be found at the website for the Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, Oxford (<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/>).

⁶⁵ Given that there is no way to judge the randomness of my sample of notarial acts, I have been reluctant to use statistical analysis as a means of interpreting the data. For an important discussion of statistics in prosopographical method see Stone, “Prosopography,” pp. 191-121. Meanwhile, Robert Brentano reminds us that some cases, “cannot be reduced to statistics. If they are, ... they lose their individuality, their life, and their power to demonstrate” (*Two Churches*, p. 134).

weaving together robust evidence about well-documented priests with fragmentary data about their many poorly-documented colleagues, I have been able to delineate the place of secular priests in Genoese society and contextualize their relationships with the women and men around them.

I have drawn this evidence from both private notarial registers and collections of notarial acts assembled by churches and other institutions. From these sources I have collected over 2100 acts that feature members of the secular clergy. Secular priests are present in roughly 1150 of these documents, and it is this subset of documents that I refer to throughout this dissertation as “my sample.” My sample includes all the relevant acts from each of the seven surviving Genoese ecclesiastical cartularies that have thirteenth-century material (San Lorenzo, Santa Maria delle Vigne, San Siro, Santo Stefano, Sant’Andrea della Porta, San Benigno di Capodifaro, and the archiepiscopal curia) as well as from the *Libri iurium*, the large body of acts accumulated by the Genoese commune. In addition, I have collected material from the private registers of over fifty-five public notaries who were active in Genoa and its settlements between the 1150s and the 1320s.⁶⁶ It is important to cast a wide net like this when working with private notarial registers because most notaries were dependent upon a loyal group of regular clients.⁶⁷ Because of this, the registers of any one notary only present a small sliver of the total activity in the city. While some notaries, like Stefano di Corrado, worked closely with

⁶⁶ With the exception of the overseas material in Chapter Five, most of the notarial acts that I consulted for this study were drafted in Genoa or its immediate suburbs. Occasionally we catch glimpses of priests in notarial records that were drafted outside of the city, usually by notaries who typically worked in Genoa. For instance, Stefano di Corrado accompanied two priests to Voltri (about ten miles away) to watch them carry out some ecclesiastical business. Stefano drafted documents in the episcopal palace until after vespers on December 14, 1272, and traveled to Voltri the next morning. He drafted documents in Voltri between mid-morning and early afternoon, and was in Genoa early in the morning on December 16. See *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 31-36. Evidence like this is unusual, however, and we are able to say much more about clerical transactions in Genoa than about those in rural parts of the diocese.

⁶⁷ Abulafia, *The Two Italies*, p. 17

religious institutions, others had only infrequent professional contact with priests. Scholars surveying the Archivio di Stato di Genova for acts featuring the monastery of Santo Stefano in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example, found material in registers belonging to over fifty different notaries.⁶⁸ Evidence for Presbiter Pagano's activities came from acts drafted by six notaries.⁶⁹

THEMES

In January 1297, Giacomo de Varazze, the archbishop of Genoa and author of *The Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*, one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages) sold the archiepiscopal curia's rights over the towns of San Remo and Ceriana to Oberto Doria and Giorgio de Mari for the enormous sum of 13,000 Genoese librae.⁷⁰ After the deal had been approved by two papal agents, Giacomo turned the matter over to one of his most trusted aides, Presbiter Enrico de Castelliono.⁷¹ Enrico travelled over eighty miles westward down the coast to San Remo at the end of the month, and standing before a crowd of citizens in the church of San Siro he relinquished the Archbishop's control over the town to the two purchasers.⁷² Two days later he repeated the ceremony in a square in front of the castle of Ceriana.⁷³ We do not know what he did next, but he was back at work in Genoa by April 19.⁷⁴ This is but one of many glimpses into the life of Enrico that the notarial sources afford us. Between 1270 and 1306, we also see him arbitrating disputes, making loans to laypeople and accepting loans from them, buying houses in his

⁶⁸ *Santo Stefano*, vol. II, ed. Ciarlo, pp. xlvi-xlix; their survey stopped at 1327.

⁶⁹ Stephanus, Salmonus, Lantelmus, Bartolomeus Fornarius, Arnaldus Corrigarius, and Simon Bastonus

⁷⁰ 8 January 1297; *I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 10 volumes (Rome and Genoa 1992-2007), volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini, doc. 69, pp. 332-340

⁷¹ *I libri iurium*, volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini, doc. 73, pp. 346-8

⁷² *I libri iurium*, volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini, doc. 74, pp. 348-350

⁷³ *I libri iurium*, volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini, doc. 75, pp. 350-2

⁷⁴ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 128, pp. 165-6

own name, collecting rents and carrying out other business as the archbishop's vicar, hearing usury and matrimonial cases as a judge-delegate, serving as the minister of San Silvestro and later a canon and sacristan of Santa Maria di Castello, and witnessing a variety of contracts in the cathedral of San Lorenzo and at least four other churches, among other activities.⁷⁵

The basic goal of this dissertation is to show how the transactions that secular priests like Enrico entered into integrated them into both the lay and religious communities that surrounded them. In Genoa, as elsewhere in Europe, there was considerable diversity in both the social standing of secular priests and in the nature of the institutional offices that they held.⁷⁶ The priests who served as canons in Genoa's collegiate churches were typically men from prominent Ligurian and Genoese families. In terms of social background and education, they may have had little in common with the large number of chaplains, vicars, and ministers of minor churches throughout the city and countryside, but all these priests interacted with the communities around them in similar ways.⁷⁷ As they did so, priests built complex and durable relationships that provided ample opportunities for the exchange of ideas and values with the women, men, and other clerics with whom they shared their lives.⁷⁸ Understanding the place of secular priests—the most immediate point of contact between the Church and the laity—in

⁷⁵ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 85r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 121, f. 104v [Anthionus Fellonus]; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 132-3, 182; *Le Carte del Monastero di San'Andrea della Porta di Genova*, ed. C. Soave, Fonti per la storia della Liguria 18 (Genoa 2002), docs. II 53, II 67 (hereafter cited as *San'Andrea della Porta*, ed. Soave); *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (952-1328)*, 4 volumes, Fonti per la storia della Liguria 5-8, (Genoa 1997-1998), volume 4, docs. 572, 891; *Santo Stefano*, volume 4, ed. Ciarlo, docs. 810, 1061; Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, docs. 7, 26-7; and *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, see the index entry for "Henricus de Castelliono," p. 531

⁷⁶ B. Guillemain, "Conclusion," in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age* (Paris 1993), p. 275

⁷⁷ A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages: The Ford Lectures for 1933* (Oxford 1947), p. 72

⁷⁸ Bornstein, "Living Christianity," p. 16, makes the point that, "social interaction was as constant and pervasive as social identity and [we should] look for the shared values that both enabled and emerged from ongoing conversation between members of different social groups."

Genoa and its settlements helps us better conceptualize the relationship between these communities and the institutional Church.

The notarial registers prove that Genoa's secular priests were not mere facilitators of lay religiosity or agents of ecclesiastical power. Therefore I have chosen to eschew most questions about the "quality" of these priests (an issue stressed by traditional narrative sources and typically measured in terms of deviation from the Roman Church's norms) in favor of asking how local priests managed to balance *spiritualia* and *temporalia*.⁷⁹ Looking beyond ecclesiastical titles to the men who bore them does more than add depth to otherwise one-dimensional descriptions of clerical life. If a major trend in scholarship on the Middle Ages over the past seventy years has been to emphasize the religiosity of lay people's everyday world, then we should also look the other direction, to explore the so-called secularity of religious institutions and their staffs. Hopefully this dissertation takes a step or two in that direction.

Pursuing priests like Enrico through the notarial sources, one quickly realizes that the word "Church" is really a shorthand way of referring to complex networks of clerics and clerical institutions. Furthermore, most thirteenth-century Genoese clerics were members of communities—both religious and secular—that had limited contact with the more "international" aspects of the Catholic Church. Instead we find a localized ecclesiastical system, a "Genoese Church," that makes one reluctant to discuss an integrated, multi-regional "Italian Church" in the thirteenth century.⁸⁰ The Genoese

⁷⁹ Modern historians must reassess clichés about the moral corruption of the medieval clergy, and vigilantly identify those authors who ignore contrary evidence and adopt polemical rather than scholarly positions. P. Jenkins, *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (Oxford 2003), pp. 180-183; Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 48-49, esp. n. 212

⁸⁰ Robert Brentano's effort to draw broad conclusions about an "Italian church" elegantly illustrates the difficulties (and rewards) of trying to group regional clerical systems into a multi-regional "Church." He is

Church was made up of hundreds of individual clerics, each of whom had to balance their own will and judgment with the corporate and institutional policies that sought to guide and constrain them. Throughout this dissertation I emphasize human action and agency, for it was clerics and their dynamic relationships that constituted the Genoese Church.

My study does not pretend to completeness, rather in the chapters that follow I try to reconstruct selected aspects of the secular priests' involvement in their lay and religious communities. My intention is to complement work like Augustine Thompson's and other studies of the clergy that tend to stop at the church door. In Chapter One I provide an overview of the ecclesiastical structure of Genoa's diocese and demonstrate how private notarial registers can provide useful perspectives on secular priests' positions within it. Priests' participation in the real estate and credit markets, both as individuals and as representatives of ecclesiastical institutions, is the subject of Chapter Two. Chapter Three uses the notarial registers to show priests caring for the souls of their neighbors by carrying out sacramental and devotional duties. In Chapter Four I show how priests helped contribute to the stability and efficiency of their communities by serving as executors, agents, arbiters, and judges. Chapter Five brings many of these themes together by exploring how secular priests manifested the Genoese Church overseas in Genoa's trading settlements. Finally, the Conclusion steps back to consider the broader contours of priests' social networks.

forced to conclude that "one of the clear general characteristics of the Italian church was its very specific localness." Brentano, *Two Churches*, p. 206

CHAPTER ONE

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS AND CLERICAL MOVEMENT

On 6 May 1308, a number of Genoese clerics gathered on land belonging to Oberto Purpurarius, not far outside the walls of the city in an area called Murtedo. They joined the Archbishop of Genoa as he placed the cornerstone for a church dedicated to Saint Bartholomew. The church was being built to accommodate a group of Armenian Catholic monks, members of the Order of Saint Basil, who had fled the advancing Turks in the Levant and found their way to Genoa. These three lonely clerics—”Martinus, Guillelmi, and Symonis”—were welcomed into the religious community of the Genoese diocese by a variety of local clergymen: the abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria del Zerbino, a canon of Santa Maria delle Vigne (the archbishop’s vicar), the archpriest of the *pieve* of Sampierdarena, two Franciscan friars, “and many others.”¹ These men represented the diversity of Genoese religious institutions, and the gathering points to the existence of an overarching ecclesiastical community that encompassed all Genoese clerics—both secular and regular. Yet at the same time, this episode offers insights into smaller clerical communities and the relations between them. The Archbishop instructed the Armenian monks not to impinge upon the rights of parish churches and their priests by hearing confessions, performing marriages, or administering the Eucharist without special permission. Furthermore, there is a hierarchical element as well, as the Armenian monks are required not only to swear obedience to the Archbishop and the cathedral chapter, but also to provide each with a pound of new wax each year as a tribute. Viewed

¹ *Archiepiscopal II*, ed. Belgrano, doc. 390

from a distance, the clerical estate can be seen as unified, but the closer one looks the more one sees many smaller communities and institutions within it.

In an insightful essay on the benefits and dangers of the prosopographical method, Lawrence Stone reminds historians that they must always take into account “the persistent influence of institutional structures.”² The internal and external relationships of many social groups cannot be properly analyzed without understanding the formal institutions that helped shape those groups. With this in mind, I have written this chapter for two reasons: 1) to acquaint non-specialists with the ecclesiastical structure of the Genoese diocese and to define the specialized terms that will be used throughout this dissertation; and 2) to point out that the Genoese Church was made up of interpersonal and inter-institutional contacts that relied on clerical movement. By discussing the institutions (cathedral, churches, monasteries, etc.) and offices (deacon, priest, bishop, etc.) of the Genoese Church, this chapter will depict the environment within which secular priests operated. This institutional environment created and limited opportunities, facilitated and restricted contacts, and generally provided a framework for the lives of the Genoese clergy. But we should not lose sight of the fact that this framework was created by human ideas and agency, and was constantly reshaped by them. It was a set of goals and constraints that each cleric chose to accept or reject knowing that he would be either embraced or reprimanded by the people around him as necessary for the health of their community. The institutional Church was made up of living people, each influenced by many intersecting and changing forces, and it changed and grew and adapted as they did.

The Genoese Church was a complex system of moving parts, a network of religious institutions and clerics bound together and vivified by persistent human

² Stone, “Prosopography,” pp. 125-127, quotation at p. 127

contact.³ The many monasteries, churches, and hospitals that formed its physical fabric were constantly growing and shrinking. Institutions were founded and shuttered, lands acquired and alienated, rights and revenues gained and lost. And, as the notarial evidence will show us, behind all of this “institutional movement,” was human movement. Each petition for a new church, each sale of land, each arbitration was handled by clerics and their agents, often in the presence of several other parties, both ecclesiastical and lay. In addition, it was not unusual for secular clerics themselves to change positions within the system, to “get a new job” as it were. These secular clerics were the ones who physically manifested the Church within their communities each day, at the altar, in the caruggi and markets, even in bedrooms and aboard ships. The average priest may not have travelled frequently over large distances, but seen as a whole the clerical network pulsed with clergy pursuing their responsibilities, desires, and interests. They were constantly moving from place to place, whether it was a few hundred feet from church to church within Genoa, or a few hundred miles from settlement to settlement across the Black Sea. The daily lives of these clerics had their commonalities and their differences, but taken together, their individual actions and transactions served to maintain the Genoese Church, and the lay community that surrounded it.

A number of different forces drove the clergy’s movement through Genoa and its diocese, and their contact with their secular and religious communities. Some of these forces are difficult to see because they generated little documentary evidence. For instance, it is difficult to track participation in informal social institutions such as family groups because notaries did not draft documents that say “Presbiter Giovanni travelled to

³ A list of thirteenth-century churches and monasteries mentioned in this dissertation can be found as Appendix A. These institutions’ locations are shown on Figure A-2 in Appendix B.

Genoa to visit his family.”⁴ On the other hand, priests’ involvement in commerce and arbitration, not to mention engagement with ecclesiastical institutions, left a robust documentary record. Not surprisingly, this evidence indicates that large formal institutions with broad spheres of influence (such as the cathedral and archiepiscopal curia) pushed and pulled clergy through much more of the diocese than smaller, more local institutions (like neighborhood chapels).⁵ On the other hand, some smaller institutions had close ties to particular areas or establishments that may have been some distance away from Genoa. While no single institution (formal or informal) really had the power—or the need—to move large numbers of clergy through the diocese at any one time, the system as a whole had a great deal of capacity to bring about clerical movement.

A secular priest could take many career paths through the ecclesiastical landscape of thirteenth-century Genoa and its diocese. Some priests travelled only a short distance over a long career, while others reached great heights very quickly. As I mentioned at the end of the Introduction, the social background of a given priest could be an important factor in determining where he ended up, but there is no need for this fact to distract us.⁶ Even if we could trace the background of every priest, it would still be difficult to measure the relative importance of patronage, appetite, skill, and luck in determining how they moved through the institutional world of the Genoese Church. Knowing that a man

⁴ Occasionally we do find clerics acting as part of their kin group in notarial documents about property, conflict, and commerce, but more often clergy appear solely as representatives of their institution or office.

⁵ My survey of notarial documents drafted in the archiepiscopal palace between 1150 and 1300 has identified secular clerics from over forty different cities and villages in the Diocese of Genoa (including nineteen of twenty-seven *pievi*). We find a similar range of secular clergy in documents from San Lorenzo as well. Many of these men no doubt took advantage of their time in the city to meet with colleagues at other religious institutions and tend to commercial matters before making the journey home.

⁶ Unfortunately, while some work has been done to trace the familial affiliations of canons in Genoa’s most prominent collegiate churches (churches that were overseen by a chapter of canons), we lack any broader prosopographical studies of the Genoese clergy. Sisto, *Genova nel Duecento*, with a focus largely on the Fieschi family; Boldorini, “Aspetti e momenti,” with a brief examination of the composition of the fifteenth-century chapter at Santa Marie delle Vigne

was a “presbiter” can only tell us so much about him. In order to fully appreciate the nature of his interaction with lay and religious communities we need to know about the institution to which he belonged, and even the position that he filled there.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY

One of the features that helped unify the international Church was the universality of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which climbed from the humblest church porter to the mightiest pope. In the Diocese of Genoa, as everywhere else in Latin Christendom, this hierarchy was made up of several grades of secular clerics, called orders.⁷ Entry into this hierarchy of orders was achieved through tonsure, a ceremony where a bishop cut a lock of hair from the applicant and gave him a surplice, the large-sleeved tunic common to all clergymen. Tonsure simply indicated that a male was a member of the clerical state, and thus eligible for ordination into the “minor orders,” namely porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte. While in the early Church each of these orders had actual responsibilities, during the Middle Ages passage through the minor orders came to be seen largely as a probationary period leading towards ordination into the “major orders” of subdeacon, deacon, and priest. As such, tonsure could be conferred upon boys as young as age seven, and was typically combined with ordination into one of the minor orders.

Most boys bound for the Genoese priesthood were from the diocese, and would have been trained in schools attached to the cathedral or to a major collegiate church

⁷ R. Metz, “Clergy,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, gen. ed. J. Strayer (New York 1982-1989), volume 3, pp. 440-446;. For a recent bibliography on the topic of clerical orders see J. Barrow, “Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers, c.900-c.1200,” in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (Woodbridge 2008), pp. 41-61.

(though some may have been essentially apprenticed to a priest near their home).⁸ According to the notarial registers, high-ranking religious officials typically presented young men to the Archbishop in Genoa for tonsure and ordination, but there is no indication that these officials were actually responsible for teaching these candidates. The private notarial register of Stefano di Corrado records that Archbishop Gualtiero of Genoa, “tonsured, and ordained as a lector (*psalmistratum*)” at least seven young men in an eleven-month period.⁹ Not all men tonsured into minor orders went on to enter major orders, however. In fact, many tonsured men must have left the clergy to pursue other careers.¹⁰ This was no doubt due to two major factors: lifestyle and competition. Clerics who were ordained into the major orders were expected to remain celibate and observe a temperate and honest lifestyle. Surely many boys tonsured at a young age found these requirements unappealing as they entered adulthood. A cleric named Gimignano de Vineis may have been one such person. Although he held a benefice at a church in the diocese of Parma, Gimignano was in Genoa when he renounced his membership in the “clerical order and condition.” By his own admission he had married a woman, Bonaventurina, the previous February (of 1267) and therefore wished to give up his benefice.¹¹

⁸ There is some interesting scholarship on education in medieval Genoa, though most of it focuses on the education of “merchants.” See G. Petti Balbi, *L'insegnamento nella Liguria medievale: scuole, maestri, libri* (Genoa 1979) and F. Borlandi, “La formazione culturale del mercante Genovese medioevo,” in ASLSP n.s. 3/II (Genoa 1963), pp. 221-230.

⁹ September 1272-July 1273; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 3, 19, 23, 37, 43, 58, and 67. The seven new tonsures were presented by the archpriest of Ceranesi on behalf of the preceptor of San Giovanni di Genova (twice), the abbot of San Fruttuoso di Capodimonte, the archpriest of Montoggio, the archpriest of Rapallo, the provost of San Damiani in Genoa, and the archpriest of Framura.

¹⁰ For some discussion of this issue in the Florentine context, see de La Roncière, “Dans la campagne florentine,” pp. 288-289.

¹¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 30/II, f. 177r [Bartolomeus Fornarius] “*ordinem et habitum clericalem*”

The difficulties in securing a benefice like this and supporting oneself financially are the second major reason behind the abandonment of clerical orders. A benefice was the source of revenue that the Church supplied to clerics in exchange for their service, and before the twelfth century every man ordained into major orders was named to a benefice. In the twelfth century, however, the number of clerics wishing to enter major orders began to outpace the number of available benefices. For clerics who could support themselves from their personal patrimony this was not a problem, as the papacy allowed them to be ordained “absolutely,” that is, without a benefice.¹² For most clerics, however, this meant that they were forced to compete for benefices—some of which could be quite lucrative. As the papacy came to exercise more influence within local ecclesiastical systems like the Genoese Church, it played a more and more active part in the provision of benefices. By the middle of the thirteenth century, priests and other clerics were petitioning the papal curia in large numbers hoping for “expectatives” (appointment to the first benefice of a particular sort to become vacant) or “direct provisions” (appointment to a currently vacant benefice). The Genoese private registers contain many papal bulls providing men with expectatives and direct provisions, including at least fifty-nine from the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-1254) alone.¹³ The system was reformed subsequently, but the papacy remained important in this process throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁴

From the standpoint of interpreting the notarial acts and understanding priests’ behavior, there are two issues associated with benefices that are worth discussing here: absenteeism and pluralism. In an ecclesiastical context, absenteeism was the practice of

¹² Third Lateran Council, canon 5; Tanner, *Decrees*, vol.1, p. 214

¹³ See *Lettere di Innocenzo IV dai cartolari notarili genovesi*, ed. F. Guerello, S. J. (Rome 1961).

¹⁴ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp. 547-49

collecting income from a benefice but not living there and tending to the duties that accompanied it. Pluralism was the related practice of holding multiple benefices simultaneously. Church reformers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were concerned with both issues, and pluralism was prohibited by both the Third (1174) and Fourth Lateran Councils (1215).¹⁵ It was easy to get dispensations from the papacy, however, and the more senior and accomplished the ecclesiastical figure, the greater the likelihood that they collected income from more than one benefice.¹⁶ In the case of plural benefices, the income typically came from appointments to “chapters” of secular clergy. These chapters were corporate bodies of “canons,” priests and other clerics who managed the affairs of important churches. Tedisio de Flisco (Fieschi), for example, was clearly not shackled to his canonry at the cathedral of Beauvais, just north of Paris. Sitting in Genoa in 1298, he relied on three merchants to deliver two years’ worth of income from that benefice.¹⁷

Both pluralism and absenteeism can be detected in the Genoese notarial sources. According to an 1178 confirmation of the chapter’s rights, canons at San Lorenzo were not allowed to be absent from the chapter for more than a month without special permission from their brethren. The problem must have persisted, for by 1278 the chapter had a system of fines in place to punish absenteeism.¹⁸ Presbiter Pagano, who lived in Genoa as the provost of San Pietro della Porta, also held benefices in Quinto,

¹⁵ Third Lateran Council, canon 14; Fourth Lateran Council, canon 29. For a Latin-English edition see N. Tanner (ed. and trans), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 volumes (London 1990), volume 1, pp. 218 and 248.

¹⁶ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp. 537-8

¹⁷ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 291, pp. 366-7

¹⁸ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, docs. 17 and 175

over four miles east of the city, and Carantio, over 18 miles north.¹⁹ On the other hand, there were clearly instances where pluralism was not embraced. In 1275 Presbiter Orandino was appointed archpriest of Trebiano (in the diocese of Luni), and as a result resigned his position as rector of the Genoese church of Sant'Agnese.²⁰ In the later thirteenth-century, we also see Genoese archbishops taking steps to limit absenteeism. When a certain Presbiter Amadeo was named as the new minister of the church of Sant'Appolinare in Sori, Archbishop Gualtiero ratified the appointment on condition that Amadeo guaranteed his residency there.²¹

Clerics without a benefice supported themselves by working for priests who did have a benefice, for endowed institutions, or even for wealthy families.²² For priests this meant taking supporting or substitute positions in churches and chapels as vicars or chaplains and being paid for their services out of a church's revenue or by direct donation from the populace.²³ In 1298, the canons of the cathedral of San Lorenzo gave Presbiter Supramonte, the minister of one of their dependant churches, permission to leave his post for three years as long as he provided a "suitable chaplain to serve appropriately in spiritual and temporal matters."²⁴ The case of Presbiter Ingo demonstrates that since

¹⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 53, ff. 1v-2r [Simon Bastonus] and ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, ff. 115v-116r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]. Rural clergy also held multiple benefices, as can be seen in ASG, Notai Antichi, cart. 121, ff. 110r-110v [David de S. Ambrosio].

²⁰ *San Siro*, volume 3, ed. Calleri, doc. 759, pp. 293-4

²¹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 29-30, pp. 37-9 "*ita tamen quod dictus presbiter Ingo personalem residenciam faciat in dicta plebe et facere debeat*"

²² There is little scholarship on this topic for Genoa, so I have used work on other regions to help interpret the Genoese sources. Among these are Brucker, "Urban Parishes and their Clergy"; de La Roncière, "Dans la campagne Florentine"; Dameron, *Florence and Its Church*; and S. Cohn, "Piety and Religious Practice in the Rural Dependencies of Renaissance Florence," in *English Historical Review* 114 (1999), pp. 1121-1142.

²³ Fourth Lateran Council, canon 32; Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 1, p. 250. Colin Morris rightly states that, "a great deal of work was undoubtedly done by perpetual vicars, chaplains, or others, who were maintained out of only a small portion of the income for the parish." Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, p. 538

²⁴ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 252, pp. 310-11 "*faciat per capellanum ydoneum in spiritualibus et temporalibus ydonee deserviri*"

some beneficed positions were filled by election, developing and maintaining a good reputation while serving in these minor roles must have been crucial to advancement. In some cases the electors were canons or monks looking to fill vacancies in their churches, while in other cases parishioners and noble families possessed the right to elect their own rectors (with varying degrees of intervention from the archbishop). For instance, when a group of citizens founded a chapel dedicated to Saint Luke in 1302, they presented Presbiter Giovanni de Guito de Placencia to the archbishop for approval as the rector (he approved).²⁵ Being a familiar face with an established reputation must have been helpful under circumstances like these. When the monks of San Siro sought a replacement for Orandino as he headed to Trebiano, they looked no further than his assistant at Sant'Agnese, the chaplain Presbiter Rubaldo.²⁶

INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES

The hierarchy of ecclesiastical orders was only one half of the formal system that structured the lives of individual clerics. The other component was the network of religious institutions within which they lived and worked.²⁷ While a secular cleric had certain ceremonial powers that adhered to his person on account of his order, he usually exercised them as an affiliate of a sanctioned establishment, typically a church or oratory. As we shall see below, these churches and oratories could be integrated into a variety of institutions, such as monasteries and hospitals. Looking at the diocese as a whole, we see

²⁵ *Santo Stefano*, volume 4, ed. Ciarlo, docs. 996, 1024, 1027-1031

²⁶ *San Siro*, volume 3, ed. Calleri, doc. 759, pp. 293-4

²⁷ On the ecclesiastical structure of the Church in Liguria see Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*. On the Church in Italian communes generally (though without consideration of Genoa) see Thompson, *Cities of God*, Part I. Other useful overviews of Italian ecclesiastical structure can be found in Brentano, *Two Churches*, Chapter 2, and Dameron, *Florence and Its Church*, Chapter 1. I have used all four works to help shed light on the Genoese documents.

that the institutional structure was somewhat hierarchical in practice, but its hierarchy was not necessarily concrete and can be more difficult to decipher. Whereas a bishop was always above a deacon in the hierarchy of ecclesiastical orders, determining the relative “rank” of different churches over time is more challenging. As we have seen, at least one thing is certain: individual secular clerics could, and did, move laterally and vertically within and among different institutions.

One feature that contributes to the complexity of the ecclesiastical system is institutional dependency. “Dependent” churches—even though some were parish seats in their own right—were not independent, but were overseen by other churches, monasteries, or even individuals, like the archbishop. The minister of a dependent church was selected by representatives of the “mother” church, and served at their pleasure. In a typical scene, when the abbot of San Siro named him minister of one of the monastery’s dependent churches, Presbiter Ugo de Beogna placed his hand upon the Gospels and swore to be obedient and faithful, and to take good care of San Siro’s property.²⁸ While a church’s dependent status may not have been particularly noticeable to its congregation, it was certainly apparent to its clergy. During the thirteenth century several churches in Genoa, its suburbs, and in the rural areas of the diocese were “daughters” of prominent ecclesiastical institutions in the city.²⁹ Priests and clerics from these churches regularly travelled into Genoa to conduct business at their mother church, while Genoese clerics made their way out to their filial churches and their communities.

²⁸ *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 548, pp. 296-7. The dependant church was San Nicolò in Capriata. Monasteries could name people to their dependant churches without any ecclesiastical oversight; see Pistarino, “Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie,” p. 645.

²⁹ Dependencies were typically listed when the papacy confirmed a religious institution’s rights, as can be seen in Belgrano (ed.), *Cartario Genovese*, Appendix, doc. 31 and *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 122.

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL CURIA

The archbishop of Genoa stood at the top of both the diocese's clerical hierarchy and its institutional structure. In Genoa, the archbishop's palace (*palatium archiepiscopi*) was located in a hilltop neighborhood called the Castello.³⁰ From here the archbishop oversaw the administration of the diocese that lay before him.³¹ Despite the honorific title, the archbishop performed all the same duties as any bishop, among them conferring ordinations, performing consecrations, and judging ecclesiastical cases. He was also responsible for managing archiepiscopal properties and rights (in particular tithes), and overseeing churches that were directly dependent upon him. In addition, the archbishop of Genoa was a territorial lord who had rights of justice over some communities along the Ligurian coast.³² The most significant of these was San Remo, over eighty miles westward down the coast, where, at times, the archbishop maintained a two-person miniature curia.³³ Clerics from throughout the diocese made their way to the palace to conduct business and have audiences with the archbishop, while agents of the archbishop could be dispatched anywhere in the diocese to carry out curial business.

The archiepiscopal curia in Genoa was a relatively elaborate institution with a modest staff of clerics including deacons, priests (chaplains), and vicars. Some of the curial staff were affiliated with other churches in the city—often the nearby Santa Maria di Castello or the cathedral of San Lorenzo—while others appear to have been exclusive employees of the curia. Among the curial staff, the most important figures were the

³⁰ Genoa had the only bishop's palace in communal Italy that was not in immediate proximity to the cathedral. M. C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca 2000), p. 66

³¹ On the archbishop of Genoa, see Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, part I.

³² Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 109

³³ *Archiepiscopal II*, ed. Belgrano, docs. 287, 299, 300, 310, 312, et al. and *Santo Stefano*, vol. 2, ed. Ciarlo, docs. 466-468

archbishop's vicars, who carried out specific business as instructed by the archbishop, or even exercising broad powers as vicars-general.³⁴ In the first half of the thirteenth century these vicars were typically archdeacons, as was common in many parts of Europe. Archdeacons were typically senior diocesan administrators who sometimes avoided entering the priesthood in order to have access to this important position.³⁵ Moving into the later decades, however, we find that archbishops designated a variety of priests and canons as their vicars. The most well-documented is Presbiter Enrico de Castelliono, whom we met in the Introduction. Over the years Enrico held offices at a handful of religious institutions affiliated with the curia, and was heavily involved in the business of the curia during the later-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. To offer just a few examples, he annulled a marriage in 1272 as vicar (*vicarius*), and he collected rents in 1293 as syndic and procurator (*sindicus et procurator*).³⁶ In 1306 he was joined by Presbiter Anthonius, the curia's treasurer (*camerarius*), in representing the archbishop in two land transactions involving the nuns of Sant'Andrea della Porta.³⁷

SECULAR COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

While important ecclesiastical and temporal business regularly took place in the archbishop's palace, the cathedral of San Lorenzo was, at least symbolically, the diocese's spiritual heart. Unlike the palace, the cathedral was located in the center of the thirteenth-century city, just a few blocks away from Genoa's bustling port. San Lorenzo

³⁴ On vicars-general see D. Cambiaso and G. M. Carpaneto, "I vicari generali degli arcivescovi di Genova" in ASLSP n.s. 12 (Genoa 1972), pp. 11-70, and Brentano, *Two Churches*, pp. 77-82.

³⁵ C. Brooke, "Priest, Deacon and Layman from St. Peter Damian to St. Francis," reprinted in Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London 1999), pp. 233-253, at pp. 241-242

³⁶ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 27 (see index entry at p. 531 for other examples); ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 121, f. 104v [Anthonius Fellonus]

³⁷ *Sant'Andrea della Porta di Genova*, ed. Soave, docs. II 53 and II 67

was more than just the center of the diocese, in many ways it was a symbolic heart for the entire community. A wide variety of communal business was conducted in the building, as well as commercial and social transactions of all types. And for every transaction that took place inside the cathedral, an equal number (perhaps more) were carried out in the piazza in front of it or in the caruggi immediately surrounding it. Some notaries even referred to the building simply as “the church of Genoa.”³⁸ While San Lorenzo and its chapter of canons enjoyed special prestige and material wealth due to its status as a cathedral, from an institutional perspective it had a great deal in common with other collegiate churches in thirteenth-century Genoa. First of all, it was a secular church, meaning that all of its staff and chapter were secular clerics. Among the other collegiate churches in the city, the largest and most prominent were Santa Maria di Castello and Santa Maria delle Vigne both of which were also secular and located within a thousand feet of the cathedral.³⁹ The other secular collegiate churches in Genoa were smaller, but still very active in the life of the city.⁴⁰

We know that Genoa’s secular canons were men from prominent families in Genoa and the surrounding region, but it is often difficult to know just how many canons were members of a chapter at any one time.⁴¹ Surveying notarial registers and cartularies from the thirteenth century for lists of canons can give some general ideas about size, but

³⁸ Among them Stefano di Corrado di Lavagna and Bolbonino de Veçano

³⁹ On the chapter at Santa Maria delle Vigne see A. Boldorini, “Aspetti e momenti.” For Santa Maria di Castello see Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, and the more recent introduction to Koudelka’s “Pergamene di S. Maria di Castello.”

⁴⁰ Sant’Ambrogio, San Damiano, San Donato, San Giorgio, Santa Maria Magdalena, San Nazario, and San Pietro della Porta

⁴¹ On comparative trends in chapter membership see H. Keller, “Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella germania e nell’Italia settentrionale,” in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Societas Christiana dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie—Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974* (Milan 1977), pp. 136-186.



Figure 1-1: The twelfth-century cathedral of San Lorenzo (J.B. Yousey-Hindes)

they are not perfect. According to a 1244 statute, the chapter of San Lorenzo was supposed to have fifteen members, but looking at notarial acts from the thirteenth century we never find more than thirteen members.⁴² Between 1178 and 1297 the number of canons listed ranges from six to thirteen, and averages around nine members.⁴³ Reconciling lists of canons over time would give one a better picture of the size of the

⁴² In 1216, see *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 96.

⁴³ Lists drawn from ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26, f. 24r [Filippus de Sauro] and cart. 15, f. 24v [Salmonus]; ASG, Notai ignoti, Busta 20.183, 16 July 1257 [Wilielmus Vegius]; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, passim; and *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, passim.

chapters, but the result would still be imperfect as Genoese notaries did not typically note whether they were listing the entire chapter or not. When Leonardo de Garibaldo recorded that three priests were “now the only residents” in the chapter of Santa Maria di Castello in 1311, it is not clear whether he meant that they were the *only* canons or simply the only canons actually *resident* at the chapter.⁴⁴ Documents from the thirteenth century list between three and eight canons at Santa Maria di Castello, six to nine at Santa Maria delle Vigne, and three to five at San Donato.⁴⁵

This leads us to the difficult question of the relationship between membership in a chapter and membership in an ecclesiastical order. While we can start with the assumption that most Genoese canons were members of major orders (i.e. priests, deacons, or subdeacons), notaries’ habits about identifying people leaves us with some uncertainty. Some lists of canons show a preference for identifying their particular offices within the chapter rather than their ecclesiastical orders, while others clearly label priests but call everyone else simply “canon.” With the chapter at San Lorenzo in particular we find examples of canons being listed without any order, even when their colleagues are labeled down to the level of subdeacon or “cleric.” The chapter statutes at San Lorenzo dictated that of the fifteen canons, four should be priests, four deacons, and four subdeacons, with the remaining three slots reserved for the provost, schoolmaster

⁴⁴ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/I, f. 103r and cart. 210/II, f. 25v [Leonardus de Garibaldo] “*Presbiter Henricus Ossus, presbiter Franciscus de Bobio et presbiter Iacobus de Zignaculo, canonici ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castello Ianuensis, nunc soli residentes in ipsa, nomine dicte ecclesie et capituli ipsius, ex una parte...*” and from 1314, “*Nos presbiter Henricus Ossus, presbiter Iacobus de Zignaculo, presbiter Franciscus de Bobio et presbiter Henricus de Castelliono, canonici et capitulum ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castello Ianuensis, nunc soli presentes et residentes in ipsa ecclesia*”

⁴⁵ Santa Maria di Castello: *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 66; *Liber Magistri Salmonis sacri palatii notarii, 1222-1226*, ed. A. Ferretto, ASLSP o.s. 36 (Genoa 1906), docs. 23 and 1614 (hereafter cited as *Salmonus*, ed. Ferretto); ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 14, f. 382r, cart. 15, f. 38r, cart. 16/II, f. 31v. Santa Maria delle Vigne: *Le Carte di Santa Maria delle Vigne di Genova (1103-1392)*, ed. G. Airaldi, Collana storica di fonti e studi, vol. 3, (Genoa 1969), passim (hereafter cited as *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi); *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 96. San Donato: ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 14, ff. 295r/v, 373v, 374r, 382v, cart. 7, f. 254v, cart. 67, f. 30v, cart 210/I, f. 64r; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 190.

(*magister scholarum* or *magiscola*), and archdeacon.⁴⁶ These issues raise the possibility that the cathedral chapter included canons who did not belong to major orders, but the evidence is still unclear. That said, after reviewing over two thousand notarial acts featuring the clergy, I believe that we can conclude that notaries labeled every priest they encountered as “presbiter,” regardless of how they treated other grades of the clergy.⁴⁷

In normative terms, the primary religious function of a medieval canon was to intercede with God through prayer, the celebration of the Divine Office, and the Mass.⁴⁸ In most cases these men were not *directly* responsible for the spiritual welfare of other Christians, meaning that even priest-canons did not habitually provide the sacraments to the laity. In this regard, secular canons had much in common with monks, whose labor in their “prayer factories” has been so often studied. The other main responsibility of canons was to manage the affairs and patrimony of their church, ensuring that the faithful had access to a stable and pious institution. The canons are usually found in the notarial acts carrying out business as a corporate body, such as when the three canons of San Donato stood together in their cloister and leased houses belonging to the church to laymen in 1264.⁴⁹ Some canons even had to oversee the property and rights of their own individual prebend (a benefice that supported a member of a chapter).

In order to handle both their worldly and spiritual responsibilities, Genoese canons were usually assisted by a staff of clerics who were not members of the chapter. Together this group of men filled a variety of offices within their church and cloister.

⁴⁶ This statute is from 1244; See D. Puncuh, “I più antichi statuti del capitol di San Lorenzo di Genova,” reprinted in ASLSP n.s. 46 (Genoa 2006), statute 48, p. 107.

⁴⁷ On this basis, I have only included men labeled “presbiter” in my sample, excluding a large number of men identified only as a “canon of Church X.”

⁴⁸ Many of these themes will be considered in more depth in later chapters.

⁴⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 39r-39v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

The papacy defined some of these offices' duties, but most responsibilities were laid out in chapter statutes.⁵⁰ While more high-profile religious duties (on feast days, for instance) were almost certainly reserved for the canons, much of the day-to-day work around the church fell to clerics who were not canons. Chief among these were chaplains (*capellani*), the priests who tended to a range of ceremonial and pastoral duties, such as celebrating masses and the Divine Office, conducting funerals, and hearing confession.⁵¹ Deacons (*diaconi*) and subdeacons (*subdiaconi*) assisted the chaplains in these tasks. The fact that these men appear frequently as witnesses in both ecclesiastical and lay transactions drafted in their churches suggests that they were often nearby. Both small and large chapters had chaplains tending to the church and the needs of the parishioners. San Nazario had only three canons in 1304—Osprando, Gandolfo, and Giovanni—but the church also had a chaplain, Giacomo, and even an additional cleric, Guglielmo.⁵²

In addition to chaplaincies, larger institutions often had more specialized offices that would be filled by canons, chaplains, or other clerics. When the chapter of San Lorenzo took possession of various liturgical vessels belonging to one of their daughter churches, Santa Maria Magdalena, they placed the items in the care of the cathedral's sacristan (*sacrista*).⁵³ Sacristans, under-sacristans (*custodes*), sextons (*mansionarii*), and doorkeepers (*ostiarii*) all cared for the physical fabric of the church buildings and their contents.⁵⁴ They managed the vestments, Eucharist, wine, incense, and oils that were

⁵⁰ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, X 1.26 ("De officio sacristae"), X 1.27 ("De officio custodis"), for which see A. Friedberg and A. Richter (eds.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 volumes (Graz 1959), vol. 2, cols. 155-6; Puncuh, "I più antichi statute."

⁵¹ J. Avril, "En marge du clergé paroissial: les chapelains de chapellenies (fin XIe-XIIIe siècles)," in *Le clerc séculier au moyen âge* (Paris 1993), pp.121-133

⁵² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 136, ff. 108r-108v [Conradus de Castello]

⁵³ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 179, pp. 266-267

⁵⁴ The "*Statutum mansionariorum*" (October 1278) of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo can be found in *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 176, pp. 258-260.

crucial for legitimate religious ceremonies; cared for relics and items in the treasury; rang bells; and prepared and decorated the church as appropriate throughout the liturgical year. Meanwhile, treasurers (*camerarii* or *massarii*) were responsible for the financial management of these churches and chapters.⁵⁵ As indicated in the San Lorenzo statutes, a schoolmaster might be present to supervise students.⁵⁶

Overseeing the entire community of canons, clerics, and staff was an elected provost (*prepositus*). The provost was the leader of a collegiate church and its chapter, and acted as the public face of the institution in both the religious and secular spheres. Some provosts were priests, but many were not, suggesting that other criteria were more important when these leaders were chosen.⁵⁷ Regardless of their ecclesiastical order, notaries always placed the provost first in the list of canons at any Genoese institution, as in an example from 1229 which begins, “In the name of God, amen. We, master Giovanni, archdeacon of Genoa and provost of [Santa Maria di] Castello, and master Ugo the schoolmaster, the priests Alberto, Giovanni and Arnolfo, and Marchisio, deacon, canons of the aforesaid church, in the name of the chapter and the church of Santa Maria di Castello...”⁵⁸ Even Genoese churches with only two or three canons usually elected one of them as provost. For example, in 1248 Presbiter Pagano, provost of the church of San Pietro della Porta, rented out some of the church’s land, “in the name of the said

⁵⁵ N. Calvini, *Nuovo Glossario Medievale Ligure* (Genoa 1984), p. 233

⁵⁶ Genoese education was entirely in the hands of cathedral, parochial, and monastic schools until the thirteenth century, when many lay masters and schools appear. See Borlandi, “La Formazione Culturale.”

⁵⁷ For acts about selecting new provosts, see *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 7 and 345

⁵⁸ ASG, Notai Antichi, Cart. 16ii, f. 31v [Ursus] “*In nomine Domini amen. Nos magister Iohannes, archidiaconus Ianuensis et prepositus de Castello, et magister Hugo magiscola, Albertus, Iohannes et Arnulfus, presbiteri, et Marchisius, diaconus, canonici dicte ecclesie, nomine capituli et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castello, ab una parte...*”

church, with Presbiter Niccolò, canon of the said church, present and consenting.”⁵⁹

Presbiter Niccolò was the only other canon (though they were assisted by a chaplain).⁶⁰

In addition to provosts, chapters often named particular canons, clerics, or laypeople as agents to manage specific sets of affairs.



Figure 1-2: Inside the canons' cloister (12th-century) at San Lorenzo, now part of the Museo Diocesano di Genova (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

Regardless of their status, the canons and chaplain lived together, each occupying a private room in a cloister or house near their church. A fragmentary document from the chapter at San Lorenzo lists the values assigned to various rooms in the cloister, from L5

⁵⁹ ASG, Notai Antichi, Cart. 26ii, ff. 16r-16v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]. “*Ego presbiter Paganus sancti petri de porta Ianuensis nomine dicte ecclesie in presencia et voluntate presbiteri Nicolai canonici dicte ecclesie...*” The wording we see here is typical of notarial documents that feature a provost, or other representative, acting on behalf of a chapter of canons.

⁶⁰ ASG, Notai Antichi, Cart. 26ii, f. 46v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

for those belonging to the junior chaplains to L25 for those belonging to the senior canons.⁶¹ It was in these communal (though private) spaces that the canons and their agents supervised much of their church's affairs, as well as their own private business. To provide but one example, in March 1260 a lay canon named Vassalus stood "in the cloister of Santa Marie delle Vigne, in front of the room of the said Vassalus" and leased out one of the church's ovens to a layman.⁶² Other facilities and resources around the cloister were shared by the chapter and its staff. This communal life was typically governed by written rules, such as those set down by the canons of San Lorenzo during the thirteenth century.⁶³ Sometimes conflicts between canons lead to interventions by the archbishop, who would negotiate or impose regulations for the chapter.⁶⁴

OTHER CHURCHES AND ORATORIES

The secular collegiate churches of Genoa—especially those with large endowments and numerous staff—occupy a particularly visible place in the notarial records, but they were by no means the only religious institutions in the city. Thirteenth-century Genoa had at least twenty-three parishes, each of which had parish clergy who were entitled to collect tithes from their parishioners and had other protected rights (such

⁶¹ Puncuh dates it to the late thirteenth century; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 200, pp. 310-312

⁶² ASG, Notai Antichi, Cart. 33, f. 8r [Vassallus Salmonis] (not in Airdi). "*in clauistro sancte marie vineis, ante camera dicti Vassalus*"

⁶³ See Puncuh, "I più antichi statuti." The earliest surviving statutes of the chapter at Santa Maria delle Vigne are from 1375, see A. Boldorini, *I più antichi statuti del Capitolo di Santa Maria delle Vigne* (secc. XIV-XVI) (Genoa 1967). The earliest statutes from Santa Maria di Castello are from 1348, see Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 8, pp. 187-189. Statutes from the chapter of the main church in Rapallo, fifteen miles east of Genoa, survive from 1264, see A. Ferretto, "Gli statuti dei canonici di Rapallo editi il 17 gennaio del 1264," in *Giornale Ligustico* n.s. 11(1897): 422-439.

⁶⁴ For instance at Sant'Ambrogio in 1273, see *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 62, pp. 74-75.

as the right to perform marriage and burial ceremonies).⁶⁵ Competition over these income-generating rights meant that thirteenth-century clerics painstakingly defined urban parishes, street-by-street and house-by-house. In 1254 the canons from Santa Maria di Castello and the rector of San Silvestro met and agreed on the boundary between their parishes. A representative passage reads, “truly, the vault (*volte*) of the Embriaco’s tower with the house which is contiguous with it, and the house above it towards San Silvestro, and the house of Guglielmo Malocelli of the Embriaco family, and from that place up towards the church of Santa Maria is, and ought to be, in the parish of Santa Maria.”⁶⁶ Ten of Genoa’s parish churches were overseen by chapters of secular canons, one was run by the Knights Hospitaller, three were monastic churches, and nine were rectorships managed by a single secular priest. In addition, there were a number of oratories (churches that did not serve as a parish seat) in the city and its immediate suburbs. Regardless of their system of management, size, or wealth, all of these churches served as focal points for the communities that surrounded them, and for the more distant faithful that they attracted. In fact, the term “oratory” (*oratorium*) is rarely found in thirteenth-century Genoese notarial documents, the notaries preferring to use the term “church” (*ecclesia*) to refer to any building that served as a locus for organized religious services. For a professional class that was so attuned to terminology to make such a choice suggests that the average Genovese did not see much reason to distinguish between different types of church in their community.

⁶⁵ Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, pp. 296-7; for a list of parochial rights seen as worth contesting in 1228 see *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 376, pp. 31-4.

⁶⁶ Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 17, p. 199; for another example see *Santo Stefano*, volume 4, ed. Calleri, doc. 975, pp. 109-111, in which the boundaries of the parishes of Santo Stefano and San Giacomo di Carignano (a dependency of the chapter of San Lorenzo) are settled. “*volta vero turris embriacorum cum domo que est contigua ipsi volte et que domus est ultra versus sanctum silvestrum, et domus wilielmi malocelli embriaci et ab inde in sursus versus ecclesiam sancte marie est et esse debeat de parochial sancte marie.*”

This fact was certainly true of monastic churches, especially the three that served as parish seats: San Siro, Sant'Andrea della Porta, and Santo Stefano.⁶⁷ These three Benedictine houses were among the oldest religious institutions in Genoa, and by the end of thirteenth century had been joined by over ten additional monastic communities. While this study focuses on Genoa's secular clergy, it is important to understand that these monasteries and their regular clergy were active participants in the life of the city.⁶⁸ Exploring cartularies from some of the larger houses reveals many ties between these monasteries and the community, most clearly in the area of real estate, which brought the monks and nuns into frequent contact with the lay population.⁶⁹ Monastic communities that were also parish seats had liturgical responsibilities towards the wider community as well. Sant'Andrea della Porta was a community of nuns, so throughout the thirteenth century, the abbess and sisters supported a small staff of chaplains (all secular priests) to tend to their own liturgical needs and those of the parish.⁷⁰ Despite the presence of ordained monks, San Siro and Santo Stefano also employed secular chaplains.

Several Genoese churches were rectorships, meaning they were managed by one or more priests assisted by other clerics, rather than by a chapter of canons, or a community of monks or nuns. In these cases the head priest (sometimes the only priest)

⁶⁷ For up-to-date bibliographical information on these institutions see the introductions to the following source collections: *Le carte del monastero di Sant'Andrea della Porta*, op. cit.; *Le carte del monastero di San Siro*, op. cit.; *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano*, op. cit.

⁶⁸ On monastic institutions in Genoa, and Liguria more broadly, see T. M. Maiolino, "Diocesi di Genova," in *Liguria monastica*, Italia benedettina 2 (Cesena 1979); and G. Pistarino, "Monasteri cittadini genovesi," in *Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare, (sec. X-XII): relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXII Congresso storico subalpino [e] III Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, (Pinerolo, 6-9 settembre 1964)* (Pinerolo 1966), pp. 239-281.

⁶⁹ In addition to the cartularies listed in note 67, one can also consult *Le carte del monastero di San Benigno di Capodifaro, secc. XII-XV*, ed. A. Rovere, ASLSP n.s. 23 (Genoa 1983) (hereafter cited as *San Benigno di Capodifaro*, ed. Rovere). There are no other published collections of monastic sources from thirteenth-century Genoa.

⁷⁰ A good overview of the relationship between priests and female monastic communities can be found in P. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago 1991), pp. 180-191.

was usually identified by the title *minister* or *rector*. In addition to their religious duties around the church, these priests had to manage their benefices and the church's patrimony. For instance, in May 1253, "Presbiter Guglielmo, minister of the church of San Silvestro in Genoa, and Giacomo, cleric of the same church" rented a piece of land to a *purpurarius*, a craftsman who made purple dye from murex shells.⁷¹ Ministers and rectors such as Guglielmo—like the chaplains at collegiate and monastic churches—were the primary point of contact between the institutional Church and the Christian faithful.

In addition to the parochial churches and public oratories, Genoa also had private oratories that served particular familial clans. Whereas in most Italian city-states communal authority or guilds restricted the power of families and familial clans to manipulate the urban environment, this was not the case in Genoa. In fact, powerful families were responsible for shaping much of Genoa's urban landscape in the central and later Middle Ages. Beginning in the twelfth century, Genoa's wealthy families constructed enclaves (*alberghi*) for themselves, their dependants, and their allies.⁷² In constructing these enclaves, they tried to secure control of key resources, such as markets, gates, and wharves—which would help bolster their clan in the face of intensifying economic competition. The *alberghi* gave these clans a common area for transacting business and resolving interpersonal disputes, as well as afforded some security in a city of sometimes violent rivalries.⁷³ The social bonds between clan

⁷¹ Società Ligure di Storia Patria, manoscritto 328/5; a transcription by Francesca Mambrini was provided to me by Sac. Paolo Fontana, the archivist at the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Genova. Calvini, *Nuovo Glossario*, p. 296-297.

⁷² On the *alberghi* see E. Poleggi, "Le contrade delle consorterie nobiliari a Genova tra il XII secolo e il XIII secolo," *Urbanistica* 42-43 (1965), pp. 15-20; Hughes, "Urban Growth"; G. Gorse, "The Family Enclave in Medieval Genoa," in *Journal of Architectural Education* 41 (1988), pp. 20-24; and for the later period Heers, *Family Clans*.

⁷³ Hughes, "Urban Growth," p. 10 recounts how strife between rival clans necessitated the establishment of the church of San Paolo in a secure location within the Camilla's enclave.

members were demonstrated and reinforced by the physical proximity of the enclave's buildings, and both clan and albergo came to be identified by the name of the controlling family. Fourteenth-century tax registers name over sixty alberghi in Genoa, but the system was not so fully developed in the thirteenth century, with the historians Bianchi and Poleggi identifying about twelve significant "noble alliances."⁷⁴

The most substantial thirteenth-century alberghi were discrete compounds, at least five of which had private churches at their center.⁷⁵ These "noble churches" (in Italian, *chiese gentilizie*) served "noble parishes" (*parrocchie gentilizie*) that were made up of members of the affiliated clan.⁷⁶ The most striking surviving example is the church of San Matteo, which still sits on a small square facing the black-and-white striped palaces at the heart of the Doria albergo (Figure 1-3). Sometimes private and public churches were in immediate proximity, as in the case of San Torpete and San Giorgio. Both of these churches were first mentioned in the tenth century, and sat near each other on a modest square southwest of the cathedral. During the second half of the twelfth century, the Volta clan made a nearby area into an albergo, and around 1180 they converted San Torpete into a private church for their use.⁷⁷ San Giorgio, however, carried on as a parish church, open to the public, about sixty feet away.⁷⁸ Clerics from one institution regularly appear in documents drafted at the other, like when Presbiter Guillelmo of San Giorgio

⁷⁴ L. G. Bianchi and E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli x-xvi* (Genoa 1980), p. 113

⁷⁵ Though as Heers points out, there were probably many private churches in Genoa for which we lack records. Heers, *Family Clans*, p. 240

⁷⁶ On the chiesa gentilizies see M. Moresco, "Le parrocchie gentilizie genovesi," in *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* 31 (1901), pp. 163-191; reprinted in *Scritti di M. Moresco*, Milan 1959), pp. 1-27; and more importantly L. M. De Bernardis, "Le parrocchie gentilizie di Genova," in *La storia dei genovesi: Atti del convegno di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della repubblica di Genova, Genova 6-8 November 1981* (Genoa 1981), pp. 199-217.

⁷⁷ Hughes, "Urban Growth," p. 9; Moresco, "Le parrocchie gentilizie genovesi," pp. 165-166.

⁷⁸ A map and historical reconstruction of the square Bianchi and Poleggi, *Una città portuale*, p. 97.

witnessed an investment contract in the “loggia of the church of San Torpete” (*loggia ecclesie Sancti Torpete*) in 1281.⁷⁹



Figure 1-3: San Matteo (13th-century), the private church of the Doria clan (J.B. Yousey-Hindes)

All of Genoa’s known private churches were administered by rectors (or ministers, or simply *presbiteri*). In 1218, Symon de Camilla, the founder of the church of San Paola “positioned next to his house,” approached the archbishop of Genoa and the chapter of San Lorenzo. He asked them to appoint a priest named Azo to the position of minister.⁸⁰ Presbiter Azo was actually a regular cleric, but San Paolo did not have a chapter of canons. In fact, it does not appear that any of the private churches had

⁷⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 121, f. 1r [Castellinus de Portuvenere]; see also *Santo Stefano*, volume 1, ed. Calleri, docs. 246 and 248

⁸⁰ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 100, pp. 126-128

chapters in the thirteenth century. Even at San Paolo, by 1264 the minister was a secular cleric.⁸¹ The minister of San Torpete appears in several thirteenth-century documents, and is never identified with any religious order.⁸² Just like at public churches, these rectors were sometimes assisted by chaplains and other clerics. We catch glimpses of a cleric from San Torpete in 1190, a chaplain from San Matteo in 1205, and of a cleric and a chaplain from San Luca in 1288.⁸³

Regular priests like Azo were not uncommon in Genoa. Regular canons began appearing in Genoa and the surrounding area in the 1140s, but in the thirteenth century, all fourteen of the regular chapters were located outside of the city center.⁸⁴ This important fact suggests that the nobles of Genoa were not interested in having immediate access to chapters of regular canons. Without the nobles' support, regular canons were unable to penetrate the dense ecclesiastical geography of urban Genoa's secular and monastic institutions. This all stands in contrast to other cities in communal Italy, where urban elites were actively pushing their local canons to reform and adopt Rules. Instead, Genoa appears to fit a model like that seen in Northern Europe, where nobles clung to urban prebends, and the newly prosperous segments of society founded regular chapters outside the city.⁸⁵ The most prominent regular clerics in Genoa were the Canons Regular

⁸¹ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 150, pp. 220-221

⁸² To cite two of the unpublished examples, ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 6.72, ff. 16r & 20v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁸³ *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)*, ed. M. Chiaudano and R. Morozzo della Rocca, Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII 1 (Torino 1938), docs. 79 & 81; *Giovanni di Guiberto, 1200-1211*, ed. M. W. Hall-Cole, et al., Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 5, 2 volumes, (Turin 1939-1940), volume 1, doc. 1161, pp. 540-54; *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airal di, doc. 155, pp. 179-181

⁸⁴ On regular canons in Genoa, see Valeria Polonio's "Canonici regolari, istituzioni e religiosità in Liguria (secoli XII-XIII)," in C. Paolucci (ed.), *Gli Agostiniani a Genova e in Liguria tra medioevo ed età contemporanea*, Genova 1995, pp.19-57.

⁸⁵ On this phenomenon see Little, *Religious Poverty*, p. 105. This fact also ties in nicely with Quentin van Doosselaere's recent findings (*Commercial Agreements*, pp. 94-6) that the Genoese nobility became increasingly involved with trade in the thirteenth century. This would have reduced the number of "new men" who might have had access to the wealth and influence necessary to reform or establish churches in

of the Holy Cross of Mortara, who were present at six churches.⁸⁶ The canons from these churches—priests and non-priests alike—appear regularly in the notarial registers and cartularies.⁸⁷

Mendicant friars—who were called to reach out to people in urban areas—were more successful at infiltrating central Genoa.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the mendicants' lives in thirteenth-century Genoa. The first Dominicans appear in the records in 1222, and established themselves at a small church (San Egidio) along the city walls near the Doria albergo. Oberto, son of the late Giovanni Villani, was surely not alone when he liquidated his property and joined the Order in 1228.⁸⁹ Around the middle of the century they used the fruits of many bequests and donations to construct a new, much larger church on the site, which they dedicated to Saint Dominic.⁹⁰ In a city without a university, the Dominican convent also became a center of intellectual life.⁹¹ The Franciscans were first noted in 1226, and they too set about constructing a sizeable church dedicated to their founder.⁹² The Augustinian friars followed a similar model when they arrived in the 1250s, establishing a community in the southern part of the city

the city center. While the nobility kept their prebends *and* made new fortunes in trade, the “new men” where left to found reformed churches in the suburbs.

⁸⁶ San Giovanni di Pavarano, Santa Maria di Albaro, San Teodoro, Santa Maria del Priano, Santa Maria di Granarolo, and San Giovanni di Borbonoso. On the canons regular of Mortara see C. Andenna, *Mortariensis Ecclesia: Una congregazione di canonici regolari in Italia settentrionale tra XI e XII secolo* (Berlin 2007). A number of notarial acts related to the Mortara churches can be found in A. Aromando (ed.), *Le più antiche pergamene della Biblioteca Berio di Genova* (Genoa 1975).

⁸⁷ For example, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 30/II, f. 56 v [Bartholomeus de Fornarius]; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 40; and *San Siro*, volume 4, ed. Machiavello, doc. 961.

⁸⁸ For general overviews, see W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 volumes (New York 1966); J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*, (Oxford 1968); and D. Gutierrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages*, 2 volumes (Villanova 1983-1984). Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 73-113 provides some background, though it focuses on mendicant bishops. Her “Tra universalismo,” pp. 133-138 is more useful as an overview.

⁸⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 16/II, f. 55v [Ursus]

⁹⁰ W. Piastra, *Storia della chiesa e del convento di San Domenico in Genova* (Genoa 1970), pp. 9-13

⁹¹ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 173. Giacomo de Varazze was educated there.

⁹² M. Firpo, “I primordi a Genova della presenza dei Frati Minori: prospettive per una futura ricerca,” in *Arte Medievale*, 2nd series, 10 (1996), pp. 109-119

center, near San Donato.⁹³ One of the few things that we can say with real certainty is that large numbers of Genovesi embraced the friars. Testament after testament bears witness to men's and women's support of the friars, and their desire for the friars' support in return.⁹⁴ The friars do occasionally appear in notarial acts (almost exclusively in the private registers), but very rarely do we see them interacting with the secular and regular clergy with whom they shared the *caruggi*.⁹⁵

HOSPITALS

Any overview of the religious landscape of Genoa would be incomplete without considering hospitals, which played an important role in the physical and spiritual health of the city. Genoese men and women were never far from the poor or downtrodden, regardless of their own personal resources or good fortune. Walking through the narrow *caruggi* each day, wealthy nobles and modest laborers alike brushed elbows with orphans, the destitute, and the severely disabled. Furthermore, nobody was truly safe, for in Genoa's highly commercialized trading environment, the vagaries of the market and the hazards of the sea could easily ruin (or kill) merchants or sailors and leave their families exposed. In Genoa, as in Florence and other cities in communal Italy, groups like the indigent, the ill, and those afflicted with leprosy were without question the churches' responsibility rather than the commune's.⁹⁶ As Steven Epstein has put it, the Genovesi

⁹³ The churches of San Francesco and San Domenico were torn down in the nineteenth century; despite taking heavy damage in World War Two the Augustinian church and cloister of San Tecla (later renamed Sant'Agostino) survive.

⁹⁴ On patterns of charitable giving to the mendicants see Epstein, *Wills and Wealth* and *Genoa and the Genoese*.

⁹⁵ Two examples of friars in Genoese acts: ASG, Notai antichi, carts. 18/II, f. 331v [Thomas de Sancto Laurentio]; and 28, f. 30r [Filippus de Sauro]

⁹⁶ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 169-170. J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, (Chicago 1997), pp. 241-4

came to depend upon the “bureaucracy of the church to ameliorate the suffering of the sick and the poor.”⁹⁷ The clergy provided for the needy largely through money and goods collected from charitable bequests and donations. These resources were turned over to a patchwork of local hospitals, confraternities, lazarettos, and monastic and ecclesiastical almonries which fed, clothed, and sheltered the needy and sick.⁹⁸

Thirteenth-century Genoa had about sixteen active urban and suburban hospitals, each of which was affiliated with a secular or regular religious institution.⁹⁹ According to the notarial evidence, secular clerics were largely uninvolved in the work and administration of these hospitals.¹⁰⁰ Instead, they were typically managed and staffed either by regular clerics or by lay brothers and sisters (known as *conversi*). This was true even for the hospitals that were directly affiliated with urban religious institutions that were themselves run by secular clerics. For instance, San Lorenzo and Santa Maria di Castello both had hospitals that were run by lay administrators. At times in the thirteenth century both churches appointed women (*ministra*) to oversee their hospitals, and had lay

⁹⁷ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 94

⁹⁸ M. Rubin’s *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*, (Cambridge 1987), chapter 7, explores the variety of ways that alms were dispersed in that city. Epstein discusses social charity in Genoa in *Wills and Wealth*, chapter 6, and a broader context can be found in M. Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. A. Goldhammer, (New Haven 1986), especially chapter 8.

⁹⁹ See C. Marchesani and G. Sperati, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo*, ASLSP n.s. 21 (Genoa 1981), which includes a register of notarial acts (most unpublished) that contain relevant evidence. ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 149/II, ff. 40v-41r [Damianus de Camulio] contains documents with detailed lists of Genoese hospitals. Marchesani and Sperati list these documents at #36 and #37 in their register, but they are incorrectly labeled as coming from cartulary 149 rather than from cartulary 149/II.

¹⁰⁰ Only three cases are known where a secular priest acted as the administrator for a hospital. In one of these cases, at the Hospital of San Lazzaro, the priest is identified as being the minister of the affiliated church and was therefore probably stepping in temporarily (see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 19, f. 15r [Nicolosius de Beccaira]; Marchesani and Sperati, *Ospedali genovesi*, p. 80). The other examples come from the chapel and hospital of Sant’Antonio di Prè, which was founded at the end of the twelfth century by Presbiter Guido, rector of the church of San Sisto, and his nephew Raimundo, a canon of Santa Maria delle Vigne and the provost of Santa Maria di Castello. Before the archbishop gave administration of that hospital to the monks of Saint Honorat (near Cannes) in the 1250s, both Guido and later a priest named Guglielmo were in charge (he was even assisted by a second priest). See Marchesani and Sperati, *Ospedali genovesi*, pp. 149-168; and ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 359r [Thomas de Sancto Laurentio].

“brothers” and “sisters” as staff.¹⁰¹ In 1278, Rollando *peliparius* (i.e. the tanner) and his wife Barcella donated all of their property to the Hospital of San Lorenzo (located at the parish church of San Vincenzo outside the walls of the city) and promised to serve “the said hospital and the infirm of the same.”¹⁰²

While San Lorenzo and Santa Maria di Castello operated hospitals that were physically separate from their church, others were more thoroughly embedded within larger religious communities. These indivisible combinations of convents and hospitals are evocative illustrations of the multifaceted responsibilities of both clerics and religious institutions in the medieval world. One excellent example is the Genoese hospital of San Giovanni de Prè, the local outpost of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John. In addition to their hospital, which was a popular beneficiary of charitable bequests, the Hospitallers also administered a parish seat. In fact, the parish’s church and the hospital’s oratory were stacked one atop the other in the same building, as can be seen in Figure 1-4. The entry to the Hospital’s oratory is protected by the portico to the right, above which we see the small two-light windows of the parish church. To the left of these sanctuaries we see later renovations to the loggia of the residential portion of the building, which contained the Hospitallers’ rooms, the pilgrims’ hostel, and the wards for the infirm.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Examples of “ministra” can be found for Santa Maria di Castello: ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 122, f. 39r [Johannes de Finamore], printed in Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 47, p. 221; San Lorenzo: *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall, et al., doc. 1156, pp. 538-539; Santo Stefano: *Santo Stefano*, vol. 2, ed. Ciarlo, docs. 546, 547, 569-571, 573.

¹⁰² *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 178, pp. 264-266.

¹⁰³ In 1245 a real estate transaction between San Giovanni de Prè and the monastery of San Siro was drafted “*in ecclesia superiori dicti hospitalis*.” *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 488, pp. 226-228. Thanks to Kyle Dugdale of the Yale School of Architecture for his help with the architectural vocabulary.



Figure 1-4: The twelfth-century hospital and church of San Giovanni di Prè (J.B. Yousey-Hindes)

THE DIOCESE OF GENOA, AND BEYOND

Outside of Genoa and its immediate suburbs, the ecclesiastical structure of the diocese was organized around a network of churches called *pieve* (Latin: *plebatus*).¹⁰⁴ Throughout communal Italy, from the early Middle Ages well into the fourteenth century, these special churches held exclusive rights to conducting baptisms.¹⁰⁵ (In an episcopal see like Genoa, this right belonged first to the cathedral and then to other churches by episcopal dispensation.) According to notarial records from a meeting of clerics at the cathedral of San Lorenzo in 1311, there were twenty-eight *pievi* within the Diocese of

¹⁰⁴ On the Diocese of Genoa and its institutional structure see Pistarino, “Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie”; and Polonia, “Tra universalismo e localismo,” pp. 156-165.

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 34-35; Susan Reynolds has an interesting discussion of parochial rights and the *pievi* in *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, second edition (Oxford 1997), pp. 81-84.

Genoa.¹⁰⁶ On average, about four dependant churches were represented from each pieve, but two pievi had seventeen churches represented, and one had thirty-one.¹⁰⁷ By 1200, almost all of the pievi were collegiate churches that served as administrative and liturgical centers for a network of oratories and parish churches in their surrounding area. The countryside was also home to monasteries which operated independently of the pieve system, and to several dependant churches that were exempted from the system as well. For instance, the Genoese monastery of Santo Stefano had rights over three churches in the pieve of Albaro just east of the city—San Nazario *de Capite Albaris*, San Vito, and San Giusto.¹⁰⁸ Over the course of the thirteenth century, the privileged status of the pievi eroded as parishes and other churches closer to the faithful (like these dependencies) became increasingly important within the Church. Eventually, in the diocese of Genoa as elsewhere, the pievi came to resemble the other collegiate churches of communal Italy.¹⁰⁹ Pievi close to expanding episcopal sees even found themselves losing much of their independence as they were pulled into a near orbit around the bishop and cathedral.¹¹⁰ This was certainly the case near Genoa.

An archpriest (*archipresbiter* or *plebanus*) appointed by the archbishop headed each pieve and appointed rectors for its subordinate churches. Giacomo, archpriest of

¹⁰⁶ The notary Leonardus de Garibaldo recorded the names and positions of ecclesiastics attending the synod, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/I, ff. 113v-116r, published by A. Remondini, “Syndicatus ecclesiae januensis MCCCXI,” in *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti* 6 (1879), pp. 3-18. A more accessible version of the list can be found in Polonio, “Tra universalismo e localismo,” Table 3, pp. 202-210. For a large map of these churches see the insert accompanying *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV: Liguria maritima*, ed. M. Rosada and E. Girardi, Studi e Testi 425 (Vatican City 2005). The closest pievi were San Martino d’Albaro (about 1.5 miles east of the cathedral), and San Martino di Sampierdarena (about 2.5 miles west).

¹⁰⁷ The pieve with representatives from thirty-one dependant churches was Lavagna, the ancestral home of the Fieschi family; see M. Firpo, *Fieschi: Potere, chiese e territorio: Sant’Adriano di Trigoso e Santa Maria in Via Lata* (Genoa 2007) and Sisto, *Genova nel duecento*, chapter 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Santo Stefano*, vol. 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 586, pp. 391-394

¹⁰⁹ This can be seen in the statutes from the pieve of Rapallo; see Ferretto, “Gli statuti dei canonici.”

¹¹⁰ Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 37, 313

Nervi (on the coast about five miles east of Genoa), came to the archiepiscopal palace in 1240 and stated that his pieve was in the patrimony of the archbishop, and that the archbishop enjoyed the right to appoint the archpriest there. Giacomo also acknowledged that he held from the archbishop the arch-presbiterial house, along with adjoining lands full of figs, vines, and olives.¹¹¹ Archpriests like Giacomo are frequently seen in the notarial registers and cartularies, sometimes as visitors to Genoa and sometimes apparently as residents. When Presbiter Ingo, a chaplain at San Matteo (in Genoa) was selected as archpriest of Montoggio in 1272, Archbishop Gualtiero insisted that he should be personally resident there fulfilling his duties.¹¹² The fact that he needed to stipulate this suggests that other archpriests were not resident in their pievi. Like the provosts who led collegiate churches, many archpriests were *not* actually priests. My survey of notarial acts reveals many thirteenth-century archpriests labeled as “presbiter” and many not. Even more telling are cases like those found in the registers of Tommaso de Sancto Laurentio and Stefano di Corrado. In Tommaso’s register, we find a document where he began to write, “Johannes archipresbiter de Recho,” but struck “Johannes” and replaced it with “presbiter Johannes” (Figure 1-5).¹¹³ Stefano’s register features an act where he wrote “presbiter Bonusiohannes, archipresbiter plebis de Montobio,” but struck the “presbiter.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *Archiepiscopal II*, ed. Belgrano, doc. 351, pp. 391-2; Brentano, *Two Churches*, pp. 70-71

¹¹² *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 17, pp. 23-4; cf. doc. 26 “*ita tamen quod dictus presbiter Ingo personalem residenciam faciat in dicta plebe et facere debeat*”

¹¹³ In 1247; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 328r [Thomas de Sancto Laurentio]

¹¹⁴ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 104, p. 128

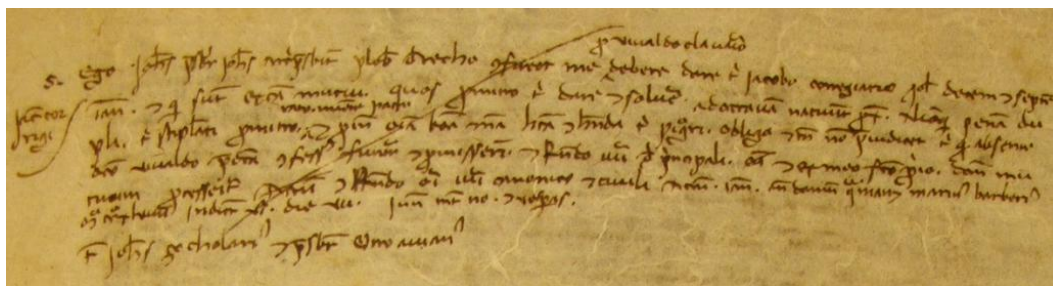


Figure 1-5: An act from 7 June 1249 in which an archpriest issues a promissory note (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

Looking through the notarial records related to the Genoese Church, one of the first things that one notices is how often secular priests from outside of the city appear. A few of these clergymen were even from the furthest reaches of the diocese. For example, in 1247, a priest from Framura, a pieve thirty-three miles down the coast from the Genoa, witnessed a transaction in the cloister of Santa Maria delle Vigne.¹¹⁵ However, it is much more common to find clergymen, like archpriest Giacomo, who have travelled less than fifteen miles to reach the center of Genoa. Despite belonging to a cultural sphere that extended beyond the diocese to include all of Liguria and beyond, it is remarkably rare to see clerics from outside the diocese in Genoa. The strength, and exclusivity, of clerical networks in Genoa is made particularly clear when we look to the west, towards the diocese of Savona. Genoa was a larger and more prosperous city than Savona, and the border between the dioceses was only twelve miles west of Genoa, but Savonese clerics are almost never seen in Genoese records.¹¹⁶ Likewise, surveying a late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century Savonese notarial register with a great deal of material on the Church contains virtually no clergy from within the diocese of Genoa.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 131, pp. 151-152

¹¹⁶ Fewer than ten acts in my sample feature clerics from Savona.

¹¹⁷ *Il Cartulario di Arnaldo Cumano e Giovanni di Donato*, ed. Balleto, et al.; I have yet to consult *Il cartulario del notaio Martino*, ed. Puncuh.

The only times when we really see clerics from outside the diocese active in and around Genoa is when the papacy is involved. Papal involvement with the Genovesi in the thirteenth-century appears to have clustered around three major issues: the provision of benefices, the provision of justice, and the collection of papal taxes. As the papal bulls preserved in the notarial registers show us, each of these required the papacy to appoint representatives to act on its behalf. The appointed clerics were usually leaders from major institutions from Genoa and the surrounding dioceses (Tortona, Savona, and Luni in particular).¹¹⁸ Ultimately we can see two different clerical networks at work in Genoa. The first is a very dense, highly local network made up of repeated relationships between clerics and religious institutions within Genoa and its diocese. The shape and function of this network was determined mostly by local factors. The second is a sparse, regional network made up of occasional relationships between individual clerics from institutions throughout Liguria and Piedmont. This network's shape and function was driven by the papacy, in particular the papal court system and papal patronage. The limitations of this regional network are illustrated by how often papal matters were sub-delegated to representatives active in the local network. When Nicholas IV appointed two dignitaries from Tortona (the prior of the Dominicans and an abbot) to resolve a conflict between the chapter of San Lorenzo and the chapter of Santa Maria Magdalena in Genoa, they promptly sub-delegated the matter to the abbot of Santo Stefano, the provost of San Giorgio, and a canon of Santa Maria delle Vigne.¹¹⁹ My investigation is only preliminary, but it suggests the strength of local ecclesiastical, economic, and social

¹¹⁸ See for example ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 179v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, docs. 60-62; *Santo Stefano*, volume 1, ed. Calleri, doc. 338

¹¹⁹ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 192, pp. 290-3

structures in determining the relationships and activities of Ligurian clerics.¹²⁰ The Church in Italy may have been, in Robert Brentano's words, "a map of rayed lines, of indeterminate and unimportant borders, a pointillist affair of shines and colleges and monasteries," but the notarial records do reveal patterns and boundaries.¹²¹

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have seen that two discrete, formal systems of organization helped shape the lives of the secular clergy in Genoa and its diocese. One organized clerics into an international hierarchy of orders that lead up to the archbishopric (and beyond), while the other organized ecclesiastical institutions (and offices) into a diocesan structure crowned by the cathedral. Operating simultaneously, these two systems generated an array of positions for secular priests and other members of the Genoese clergy. They worked in chapels and private churches, parish churches, collegiate churches, *pievi*, hospitals, male and female monastic houses, the cathedral of San Lorenzo, and the archiepiscopal curia. Their membership in these institutional communities played a large part in determining with whom these priests would interact. Geographical location, economic resources, networks of dependency and historical alliance, religious affiliation, all of these institutional factors would have shaped priests' social lives. And yet, even though priests were attached to offices at particular institutions, they did not lead stationary lives, rather movement of short duration over moderate distances was common. The needs and duties of the institutions discussed in this chapter acted like pumps, pushing and pulling clerics through channels that spanned

¹²⁰ With thanks to Jeffrey Miner for his insightful comments on this phenomenon.

¹²¹ Brentano, *Two Churches*, p. 62

the city, the diocese, and beyond. While moving through the caruggi and byways, priests helped create and maintain the dynamic networks of inter-personal and inter-institutional relationships that constituted the Genoese Church. Now let us begin exploring how priests did this.

CHAPTER TWO

PRIESTS' INVOLVEMENT IN REAL ESTATE AND CREDIT

In November 1314, a “credible person” informed Genoa’s archbishop, Porchetto Spinola, that something was amiss down at the church of San Marco al Molo (San Marco “on the Wharf,” *Sancti Marchi de Modulo*). When Porchetto arrived to investigate, he found that the church’s rector, Presbiter Giovanni de Calignano, had leased parts of the church, its adjacent cemetery, and even his own residence to a group of merchants.¹ They were using the space to store “sails and other things [belonging to] galleys, nefes, and other shipping vessels.”² The Archbishop, in light of canon law and “on account of the integrity and decorum of the church” demanded that the priest end his arrangement with the merchants.³ While he was at the wharf, the Archbishop (a Franciscan, no less) also invested L400 in a commercial contract with a trader heading “to the region of France” (*ad partes Francie*).⁴

If one had to generalize about the attitude of medieval theologians and Church leaders towards clerical involvement in the world of “commerce” or “business,” one would have to say that they were decidedly anxious about it. Anything that might draw a priest’s attention away from his sacramental and pastoral duties was seen as a potential threat to the communities that depended upon him. Dealing with money and worldly

¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/II, ff. 94v-95r [Leonardo de Garibaldo]; Ferretto, “Giovanni Mauro di Carignano,” pp. 43-44

² A “nef” (*navis*), also called a “roundship,” was a single-masted, clinker-built transport ship, perhaps best known for its role in transporting crusaders to the Holy Land; see J. Pryor, “The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships: A Reconstruction of Some Archetypes for Round-Hulled Sailing Ships,” in *Mariner’s Mirror* 70 (1984), pp. 171-219, 275-92, and 363-86. “*tenebat in ecclesia predicta et in domibus et cimiterio eiusdem ecclesie vela et alias res galearum, navium et aliorum lignorum navigabilium quorundam mercatorum laycorum*”

³ He is referring to canon 19 of the Fourth Lateran Council, which stated that churches should not be used to store non-liturgical materials; Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 1, p. 244. “*propter honestatem et decorem ecclesie*”

⁴ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/II, f. 80r [Leonardo de Garibaldo]



Figure 2-1: Originally directly on the harbor, San Marco al Molo was enclosed by a wall late in the thirteenth century (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

rewards could make him susceptible to greed and avarice, and once those had taken hold, suspicion, dishonesty, and a host of other dangers could not be far behind. Even though scholars and decretists were working hard in the thirteenth century to reshape the widespread “anti-commercial morality,” canonical anxiety remained.⁵ This can be seen in the thirteenth-century Church’s prohibitions against clerical involvement in trade for profit (*negotiatio, mercatura*) and the management of lay properties.⁶ Pope Honorius III, for example, was exasperated to hear that certain priests had become shopkeepers and preferred to practice secular commerce (*negotiatio saecularis*) than tend to their divine

⁵ Lester Little discusses this process of shifting the perception and valuation of trade in *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca 1978), especially Chapter 10.

⁶ See for example *Decretales Gregorii IX*, X 1.6.15; X 3.1.15, 16; and X 3.50.6 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 55, 453-4, and 659).

offices and worship (*officia et obsequia divina*). He wrote that priests who persist in secular commerce after three warnings were to lose their clerical privileges.⁷

Yet, despite the strict tone of much of the Church's writing on clerical involvement in commerce, there was no denying the importance of markets to clerical and Church affairs.⁸ Most pertinent to this study is that secular priests were expected to support themselves and manage the property and resources that belonged to their churches. Because of this, there were exceptions in the doctrine—both implicit and explicit—which said that clerics should not manage property *unless it was their own or their church's*, and should not engage in commerce *unless it is necessary for their survival or for aiding the needy*.⁹ As in so many thirteenth-century theological matters, intention was key. Engaging in business out of a desire for personal gain was corrosive to the community and dangerous for the soul, but entering the market out of a desire to strengthen and support the fabric and works (*opera et labores*) of the Church could be beneficial and righteous. There was a long tradition—at least in ecclesiastical writings—of believing that the property of the Church rightfully belonged to the poor, and that clerics were merely its caretakers.¹⁰ Furthermore, maintaining the fabric of the local church and the status of its staff was important to the community. In life, residents wanted a noble church and financially secure clergy not only to ensure efficacious

⁷ *Decretales Gregorii IX*, X 3.1.16 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 453-4)

⁸ J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London 1969) is a useful study of the Church's attitudes towards, and influence upon, economic life in the Middle Ages.

⁹ Gilchrist, *Church and Economic Activity*, pp. 5-7. The first point is implied in almost all canon law about ecclesiastical property, for instance see *Decretum*, C.12 q. 2 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, cols. 687-712); for the second point, see, for example, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II q. 77 a. 4.

¹⁰ For instance, in *Decretum*, C.12 q.1 c.28; C.12 q. 2 c.70; C.16 q.1 c.68 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, cols. 686, 710, 784-5); see Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 63-4. Richard Helmholz observes that medieval churches enjoyed a protected legal status under canon law that was roughly equivalent to the status of human minors. The clergy acted as guardians, and the legal system diligently protected churches' rights and interests. R. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Atlanta 1996), pp. 97-8, 174

practice of the liturgy and sacraments, but also because the building was an important symbol of the neighborhood. In death, men and women wanted a stable institution where local clerics would pray diligently for their souls for many years.¹¹ For these reasons that senior clerics instructed newly installed priests to tend carefully to the “temporal affairs” (*temporalia*) of their churches—temporal welfare was necessary for spiritual welfare.

In addition to managing the patrimony of their churches, many priests had to look after individual benefices or prebends, and even personal or familial possessions. Prebends were a form of benefice (like those possessed by parish priests) that supported a particular member of a collegiate chapter. A canon’s prebend was considered part of the chapter’s patrimony and thus was sometimes treated as a corporate asset. For instance, in 1298 a canon of San Lorenzo, Bartolino de Flisco (Fieschi), acted independently when he rented out a portion of his prebend to a layman, including land and a house, for an annual rent of L14.¹² Two months later, however, the canons of San Lorenzo acted together as a corporate body when they leased out a portion of the archdeacon’s prebend in exchange for L10 and a basket of eggs each year.¹³ The benefices of non-collegiate priests were subject to less oversight, and were more akin to private property. The notarial evidence makes clear that secular priests in thirteenth-century Genoa did own and manage their own property that was distinct from the holdings of their church. This property was known as *adventitium peculium* and canon law allowed secular clerics to hold it and dispose of it as they wished.¹⁴ Beneficed and non-beneficed clergy alike used the money

¹¹ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 44

¹² *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 214, pp. 266-7

¹³ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 269, pp. 335-338

¹⁴ Benefices and prebends (*profectitium peculium*) were subject to the restrictions on the alienation of Church property. D. Williman, *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon, 1316-1415* (Philadelphia 1988), pp. 2-8

and goods from their *adventitia peculia* to supplement their income from the Church.¹⁵ Notaries clearly identified those cases where priests were dealing with their *adventitium peculium*. For instance, when Presbiter Enrico de Castelliono bought land and houses in 1297, the notary recorded that he did so, “in his own name and with his own money.”¹⁶ Actions carried out on behalf of a church, on the other hand, are typically marked by a formula like this, “I, Presbiter Natale, minister of the church of Sant’Antonio de Palatio, in the name of the aforesaid church, rent out...”¹⁷

Whether they were acting on their own behalf or as a representative of an institution, achieving the stability that the Church and community desired required Genoese priests to participate in the local economy.¹⁸ As they tended to their own fiscal welfare and that of their churches, priests and collegiate chapters acted according to their own individual or corporate volitions, taking part in life and business in much the same way as laypeople did. The efforts of ecclesiastical reformers may have more clearly differentiated the clergy from the laity by the thirteenth century, but thanks to the realities of their lives and duties priests continued to engage directly with the laity in many “temporal” capacities. A careful examination of the notarial sources reveals that priests were particularly active in the real estate and credit markets. In doing so, they built complex and long-lasting relationships with laypeople and other clerics.¹⁹ Priests’ participation in real estate and credit brought them into the *caruggi* and countryside, where they met over-and-over again with debtors, creditors, land owners, and renters.

¹⁵ de La Roncière, “Les communautés chrétiennes,” p. 292

¹⁶ Stefano di Corrado, ed. Calleri, doc. 172, pp. 217-19 “*ementi tuo proprio nomine et de tua propria pecunia*”

¹⁷ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 27, f. 5v [Bartholomeus Fornarius] “*Ego presbiter Naalis, minister ecclesie Sancti Antonini de Palatio, nomine dicte ecclesie, loco...*”

¹⁸ For a limited study of Genoese clerics’ involvement with business, see McCormick, “Clergymen and Clerical Bodies as Factors.”

¹⁹ Donations of goods and property could have similar results, as we shall see in the next chapter.

They worked with each of these groups to assess mutual needs and reach consensus over values, terms, and conditions of exchange.²⁰ This process not only integrated priests into the communities around them, but created opportunities for conversation and influence that went far beyond *librae* and *solidi*.²¹

REAL ESTATE

In the later-twelfth and early thirteenth-century new types of short-term investment instruments became ubiquitous in Genoa.²² The structure of these instruments lowered the threshold for investment and allowed a wide range of Genovesi to participate in trade, much of it heading overseas.²³ Men and women of established means who were dedicated investors were joined by professionals, artisans, and wealthy peasants.²⁴ Most of these people should not be thought of as “businesspeople,” rather as individuals who watched the ships returning from Tunis, Alexandria, and Constantinople and sought to

²⁰ On commerce as a means of actively building community see Lianna Farber’s *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing: Value, Consent, and Community* (Ithaca 2006).

²¹ Bornstein, “Living Christianity,” p. 16

²² In particular a type of contract known as a commenda (*accomendatio*). The commenda as used by Genoese merchants in our period came in two varieties, both of which were bilateral agreements between a stationary partner and a travelling partner. The first form was often called a *societas*, and under its terms the investor (stationary partner) contributed two-thirds of the capital and the traveling partner (merchant) one-third, and they split the profits equally. In the second type—simply referred to as a commenda—the investor contributed *all* of the capital and received a fixed share of the profit, typically two-thirds. Under both forms of contract, the investor bore all the risk for their share of the capital. In order to mitigate this risk, investors generally preferred to make a number of modest investments with different traders, which in turn meant that a single merchant’s voyage might be supported by several investors. The commenda would have made it easier for new merchants to begin trading as it shifted some risk onto investors and required very little of their own capital. A third type of loan employed in medieval Genoa was the “sea loan,” a simple loan made to support a trading endeavor where the travelling party repaid a fixed amount, but only if the ship carrying the borrowed goods or money safely completed its voyage. A useful discussion of the types of contract, with examples in translation, can be found in R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (New York 1955), pp. 168-184. J. Pryor, “Mediterranean Commerce in the Middle Ages: A Voyage under Contract of ‘Commenda,’” in *Viator* 14 (1983), pp. 133-194 is a good introduction.

²³ For a compelling new look at commerce and social networks in Genoa see van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*.

²⁴ Genoese women frequently made direct investments in overseas commerce; see M. Angelos, “Women in Genoese Commenda Contracts, 1155-1216,” in *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), pp. 299-312.

benefit from the trade. The Genovesi often wore many hats, and “investor” was only one of them.²⁵ Residing in a prosperous trading center, Genoa’s clergymen were surrounded by business; open any Genoese notarial register and one finds all varieties of commercial and real estate transactions being, “transacted in Genoa in the church of...” (*actum Ianue in ecclesie...*). Clergy frequently witnessed commercial transactions, and occasionally acted as commercial agents on behalf of laypeople.²⁶ Under these conditions we might expect to find that the attitudes of the Genovesi had an impact on the postures and practices of the Genoese clergy, who were themselves local men, and embedded in local social networks. Yet it is actually quite rare to find Genoese priests involved in the trading or commercial investment. Despite the fact that they were in contact with investors every day, most Genoese clerics—whether for doctrinal or economic reasons—simply did not participate. The example of Presbiter Giovanni and Archbishop Porchetto that opens this chapter is remarkable not because it is so typical, but because it is so *atypical*.²⁷

Rather than engaging in trade or investing in short-term commercial instruments, the Genoese clergy—both regular and secular—were very heavily committed to long-term real estate investment. This is consistent with the well-known patterns of clerical economic activity throughout Europe in the medieval and early modern periods.

²⁵ This point is made emphatically by Robert Reynolds in “In Search of a Business Class in Thirteenth-Century Genoa,” in *Journal of Economic History* 5 (1945, supplement), pp. 1-19, esp. p. 18.

²⁶ Trade generated wealth in the community, and that meant more income for clerics and religious institutions. The Archiepiscopal curia long enjoyed the right to tax trading vessels as they returned to Genoa, and testaments suggest that the Genovesi had a generous attitude towards charitable donations. (In the 629 wills he examined from 1154-1253, Epstein found only 34 people who did not make any charitable bequests. See *Wills and Wealth*, p. 141.)

²⁷ While my sample does contain about two dozen cases where a cleric in major orders invests in a commercial instrument, given the massive number of surviving investment contracts this number is very low. It is possible to point to a handful of priests, canons, monks, and even an archbishop investing in overseas trade, but we must be careful not to generalize based on these cases. The clerics I found investing are mostly wealthy men, many of whom were closely affiliated with the cathedral chapter at San Lorenzo.

Agricultural and urban property was almost certainly the primary source of income for the churches of Genoa, and the notarial acts are rich sources on the incomes and expenditures related to these holdings. But clerical property was about more than money, it was also about the interactions and relationships between the concerned parties. The buying, selling, and leasing of property are some of the most well-documented points of interaction between secular priests and the lay and religious communities around them. In her 2003 doctoral thesis, Nicole Jobin used institutional cartularies from five major Genoese religious communities to analyze their place in the land market and urban development of the city.²⁸ My work complements Jobin's by considering a large number of additional thirteenth-century acts about the secular clergy, including 168 acts from private registers and 22 from institutional cartularies that she did not consult. In total, my sample includes 260 acts in which secular collegiate chapters or individual priests enter into agreements with other parties related to real estate.

In June 1273, Presbiter Milone, the provost of Sant'Ambrogio, also took up the office of *massarius* (treasurer) and before he did he met with the two other canons and made an inventory of the church's moveable and immovable property.²⁹ The resulting notarial act is a snapshot of the importance of real estate in the lives of three clerics. Sant'Ambrogio and its canons owned and managed a property in Bisagno, four houses in Predono, three houses adjacent to the church (one of which was built on land rented from a layman for twenty-six solidi a year), a house *in burgo Sacherii*, a house in Albaro, two

²⁸ N. V. Jobin, "An Undetermined Number of Thrushes: The Meaning and Value of Land in the Ecclesiastical Land Market of Genoa, 950-1400," (PhD diss., University of Colorado-Boulder, 2003) (hereafter cited as Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market." Jobin looks exclusively at the monasteries of San Siro, Santo Stefano, and San Benigno di Capodifaro, and the collegiate churches of Santa Maria delle Vigne and San Lorenzo (the latter on until 1160). My sample complements this by adding evidence from San Lorenzo after 1160, the Archiepiscopal cartularies, and the private registers (among other sources).

²⁹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 68, pp. 79-82

houses next to the *domum Todesche* (they rented a quarter of the land there), a house “behind the house of Nicolai de Vedereto,” a house beneath the canons’ refectory (dining room), half a house on the land of Guglielmotto the blacksmith, a house in Fossato, some land in Bavari for which a miller paid 12 denarii per year in rent, and certain holdings listed in an act from 1187 and other instruments not reproduced by the notary. In total they were responsible for at least fourteen houses and two pieces of land scattered throughout Genoa and the surrounding area.

We see in this static picture of Sant’Ambrogio that property was a form of long-term investment. Owning land and houses allowed clerics to collect rents, which provided relatively steady income over many years. The Genoese institutional cartularies and the private registers alike contain many examples of ecclesiastical and clerical rental contacts (my sample alone contains over 100). These leases (*locatio*) were remarkably simple instruments, and landlords and tenants used them to structure their relationship in ways that were agreeable to both parties. Standard terms existed—for instance yearly payments and lease lengths of five, twelve, or twenty-nine years—but people also agreed on different arrangements. A typical example can be found in the register of the notary Bartolomeo Fornarius. In May 1254, the provost of Santa Maria di Castello stood at the door of his church and met with Guglielmo Barbabrune about the lease of a mill along the “*aqua Varene*” in the town of Pegli (about four miles west of Genoa).³⁰ Apparently the two had already reached a verbal agreement, because they told the notary that the lease had started on 10 April and would last for a year. Guglielmo promised to pay the chapter L6, with half being paid on the feast of Saint Michael (29 September) and the other half being paid once the lease had expired. Two men agreed to act as guarantors for

³⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 30/I, f. 96 [Bartholomeus de Fornarius]

Guglielmo: his kinsman Guglielmo Bille, and a certain Ottone de Staiano. The act was drafted in front of two priests from Santa Maria and another layman. In the early fourteenth century, the chapter at Santa Maria delle Vigne had a notary draft a list of its rental income from Rivotorbido, a suburban area just east of the city.³¹ In this document we find the names of the renters, what they held, the amounts of rent, and the dates each year that the rent was due to Santa Maria. Two men on this list rented entire houses for L5 and L3.75 respectively, but the majority of the nineteen renters held plots of land for which they paid between ten and fifteen solidi a year. At least thirteen of the renters held more than one plot from the church.

Small churches—and their priests—also drew income from rentals. Presbiter Bonaventura, the minister of Santa Croce (a dependency of Santo Stefano tucked into the shadow of the archiepiscopal palace) leased nearby land to a layman and his heirs in 1237.³² Sixty years later, Presbiter Bongiovanni Caceta, the rector of the church of Santo Stefano *de Campoflorenzano de Fossis* sent an agent to that palace. The agent was Presbiter Giovanni, the rector of San Vincenzo. With another notary, a priest, and a canon of San Lorenzo as witnesses, Giovanni leased the church of Santo Stefano and the “offerings and profits of the altar” to one Presbiter Facino for a term of six years. Facio was to be present serving the community the whole time, and was not to sublet the church. He was also given the rights to the church’s “kitchen garden, thicket of reeds, meadow, *goretus* (another type of reeds), garden, and vineyard.” As a rule, priests and their tenants could tailor the term, price, and method of payment in ways that suited both of their circumstances and needs. Furthermore, the parties always promised to respect and

³¹ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 158, pp. 183-6

³² *Santo Stefano*, volume 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 525, pp. 317-19

protect each others' rights, which is yet another sign of how these leases served to create allies and build social networks.

The analysis of my sample allows me to bolster Jobin's argument that increasing demographic pressure upon lands within and immediately adjacent to the city changed the patterns of Genoese clerical landholding.³³ She contends that in the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, as the population of Genoa grew and the city became more urbanized, open land became an ever scarcer commodity. In response, Genoa's clerics began subdividing their rental properties, turning large tracts of agricultural land into smaller plots more suitable for housing and workshops. My sample contains eight leases from 1157-1219 and ninety-nine from 1220-1300, confirming that rental contracts become much more common after the first two decades of the thirteenth century as the land was subdivided in this fashion.³⁴ As part of the urbanization process, clerical landowners sometimes encouraged their renters to build houses, dig drainage ditches, and make other improvements to their properties.³⁵ For example, in 1237 a layman named Stabile came to Presbiter Martino *Cremonesi's* room in the cloister at San Lorenzo and promised to build a wall on Martino's prebendal land in the suburb of Bisagno.³⁶ Of course making improvements to a church's land was also a way for a renter to ensure long-term possession. In 1265, an agent from Spain arrived at San Lorenzo and met with four representatives of the chapter (including two priests).³⁷ During the Second Crusade (1147-9) Genoese fleets had helped seize the city of Tortosa in northeastern Iberia from

³³ Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. iv and Chapter Five

³⁴ This finding agrees with Jobin's. See "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 310-12, 336.

³⁵ Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 42, 326-328

³⁶ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 160r [Bartolomeus de Fornarius]. In addition to other examples listed in Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," Chapter Five, see *Stefano de Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 83, and *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 203

³⁷ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 152, pp. 222-227

the Muslims.³⁸ In return, the Genoese commune was given a share of the city, and the church of San Lorenzo was given ownership of certain nearby islands in the Ebro River. Whereas the commune quickly sold off its prize (in 1153), the chapter held onto their rights and rented the lands to local knights and their heirs. The agent, “*Iohanni de Naters*, citizen of Tortosa,” had come to Genoa on behalf of these heirs, and in exchange for a promise to work and improve the islands—and 30 bezants (*massimutini*) a year—the canons renewed the lease for twenty-nine years.³⁹

Genoese rectors and chapters also sold property to laypeople and other clerics, as demonstrated by over fifty acts in my sample. There were many well-known prohibitions against the alienation of Church property, but canon law actually allowed sales and exchanges, provided they were executed for appropriate reasons and in the proper manner.⁴⁰ Medieval canonists recognized four situations in which it was justifiable for clerics to sell or exchange property belonging to their churches: 1) pressing necessity, 2) piety, 3) convenience, and 4) relative utility.⁴¹ There is nothing in my sample to suggest that Genoese clerics did not adhere to these rules, though it is often impossible to know the reasons behind their actions. Sales made in cases of necessity are the easiest to interpret because we can see the clergy turning immovable wealth into ready cash, which they then used to repay debts and cover pressing expenses. For example, after borrowing L20 from the chapter at San Lorenzo so that they could buy grain, the canons of Santa

³⁸ On these events see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 49-52.

³⁹ Bezants were a type of coin that circulated widely in the Mediterranean.

⁴⁰ Prohibitions on alienation are found in *Decretum*, C.12 q. 1-2, while *Decretales Gregorii IX*, X 3.13.7 lays out procedural matters (it was originally a twelfth-century decretal of Pope Alexander III); see *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, col. 687; and vol. 2, col. 514.

⁴¹ J. Cleary, *Canonical Limitations on the Alienation of Church Property: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary*, Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 100 (Washington, DC 1936), pp. 23-49, esp. pp. 39-45

Maria di Castello sold a house in 1203 to repay the debt.⁴² In 1281, the church of Santa Maria Magdalena (a dependency of San Lorenzo) was “burdened on account of having to pay many debts.” Seeing the plight of their daughter church, the canons at the cathedral sold a house and loaned the chapter at Santa Maria Magdalena the proceeds (L100).⁴³

Not one of the sales or exchanges in my sample was obviously for pious purposes (unless one counts the aid to Santa Maria Magdalena), but several could have been made for reasons of convenience or relative utility. If a possession was more trouble than it was worth, then a chapter or rector had the freedom to sell it. One imagines this is why the papacy allowed Archbishop Giacomo de Verazze to sell his rights over the towns of San Remo and Ceriana, which were located over eighty miles away from Genoa.⁴⁴ Harder to detect are those properties close to home that simply required an unreasonable amount of expensive maintenance or frequent attention. Was this why the chapter at Santa Maria di Castello sold a layman a house in the suburb of Carignano in 1214?⁴⁵ Or why Presbiter Galatino, the rector of San Giorgio, stood in the refectory and sold one to a layman in 1273?⁴⁶ Or why the chapter of San Donato sold one on their own land in the center of the city in 1297?⁴⁷

It is difficult to determine the reasons behind sales like these because it is just as likely, indeed probably much more likely, that these clerics sold these properties so that they could use the proceeds to buy more useful or profitable holdings. The intention to generate revenue is never *articulated* in acts where priests and chapters are purchasing new properties or rights, but it is always present just below the surface. In 1204,

⁴² *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 971, pp. 448

⁴³ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 180, pp. 267-8

⁴⁴ In 1297; *I libri iurium*, volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini, docs. 69-75

⁴⁵ Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 13, p. 194

⁴⁶ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 105v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁴⁷ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 189, pp. 238-40

representatives from San Lorenzo, Santo Stefano, and San Pietro di Vesima met in the cloister at San Lorenzo and purchased a piece of land from Fulcone Marçocus and Castagna Danielis de Stroppa for about fifty solidi. The description of the property, however, reveals the clerics' intentions. The strip of land—only ten *palma* (eight feet) wide—made up a crucial pathway that could be turned into a road and used to improve access to a pair of mills.⁴⁸

This case reminds us that partial ownership of land, structures, or rights was common in medieval Genoa, as in Europe generally, and that several individuals or institutions might own shares of a single property.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the rights to lands and the rights to structures or fruits upon them could be held separately. We see both situations at play in the case of Sant' Ambrogio above, and both situations sapped revenue from the church. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that donated land might not be contiguous with—or even near—a church's other property. Genoese clerics often tried to address these issues by buying land and structures that were on, near, or adjacent to existing holdings.⁵⁰ This is particularly clear when looking at lands in the countryside, where Genoese institutions often consolidated their holdings in a small number of villages.⁵¹ Jobin's work shows us that larger, better-documented institutions allow us to reach these conclusions, but even acts from minor churches are revealing. For instance, in 1192 an agent for the church of Santa Margherita in Murvallo purchased land that was

⁴⁸ *Santo Stefano*, volume 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 284, pp. 22-23; P. Rocca, *Pesi e misure antiche di Genova e del Genovesato* (Genoa 1871), p. 108

⁴⁹ Representatives of several Genoese religious institutions gathered at the archiepiscopal palace in 1212 to negotiate how to manage a number of mills that they all held in shares. *Santo Stefano*, volume 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 329, pp. 77-79

⁵⁰ Both Jobin's research and my own find that this was the case. See Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," p. 116. My own sample contains [nearly eighty] acts of purchase and exchange.

⁵¹ Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 274, 277, 298

adjacent to a plot that the church already owned.⁵² Another act features Presbiter Rubaldo (the provost of San Pietro in Vesima) buying a piece of land that was bounded on one side by a ditch (*fossatum*), and on three sides by lands that San Pietro already controlled.⁵³ Consolidating lands in this way, when it was possible, may have helped make them more efficient to manage and thus more profitable. Properties that were closer together required less effort to oversee, and in particular may have allowed the clerics to establish social networks that were more dense, and more robust. For instance, when Santa Maria delle Vigne assembled property around Murta in the Val Polcevera, the same local priest witnessed four of the property transactions, each during a different trip to Genoa.⁵⁴ A trusted local contact like this may have helped monitor the property and resolve disputes for the chapter.

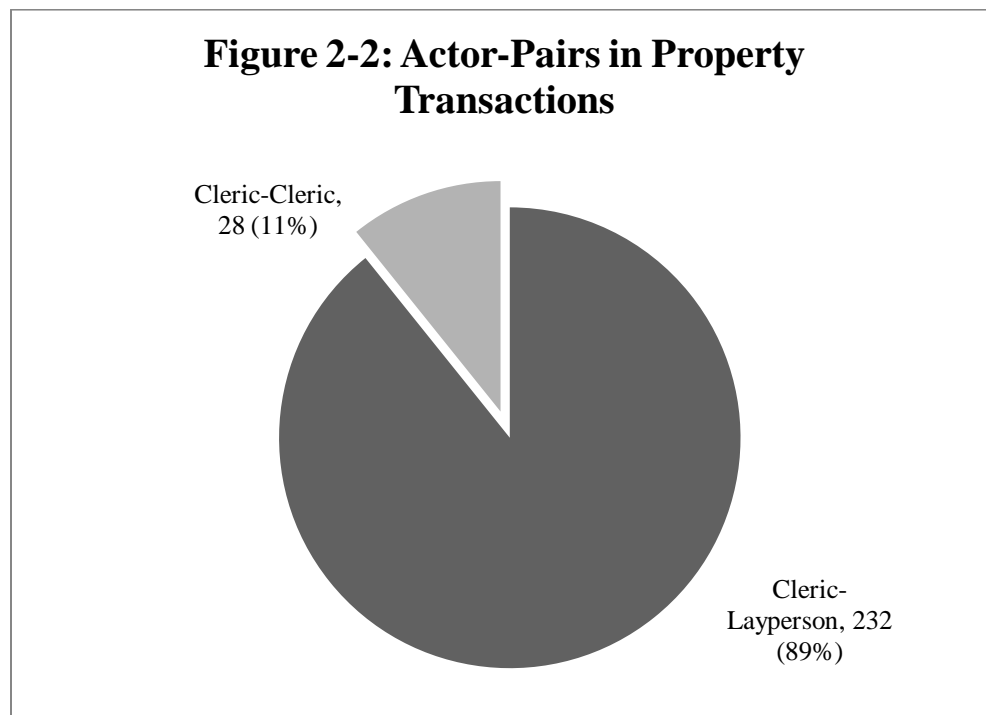
Now let us look at the patterns of social interaction that are revealed in the property transactions discussed above. Beginning with the leases that priests and chapters granted, we find that 100 out of the 107 lessees were laypeople, including 6 widows (though two of them were named alongside their sons). The seven remaining leases were granted to clerics, including one monastery and three secular priests. The secular clergy in my sample sold property to thirty-three laymen and one lay woman, and six clerics or clerical institutions (including four monasteries, but no secular religious institutions). Finally, in cases where priests and chapters bought or exchanged property or rights, sixty-five out of seventy-two transactions were with laypeople. Thirty-one of

⁵² *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190-1192)*, ed. M. W. Hall, et al., 2 volumes, *Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 2* (Turin, 1938), volume 2, doc. 1784, pp. 263-264

⁵³ In 1203; *Lanfranco (1202-1226)*, ed. H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, 2 volumes, *Notai Liguri del Secoli XII e del XIII 6* (Genoa, 1951-1953), volume 1, doc. 25, p. 13

⁵⁴ Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 277-279; *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airoldi, p. ix and docs. 27 (July 1170), 28 (September 1170), 30 (July 1172), and 32 (January 1175). Murta is about six miles from Genoa.

these feature men acting alone or with other men, eleven feature women acting alone (including eight widows), and twenty-four feature married couples.⁵⁵ In total, women were a primary party in 46 (18%) of the 260 acts considered in this section. In all the property transactions, priests and canons transacted with other clerics in only 28 (11%) examples, while laypeople account for a striking 232 (89%) cases (Figure 2-2).



⁵⁵ The marked prevalence of women appearing with their husbands when selling land is explained by a clause found at the end of these documents. In it, these married women renounce the *ius hypothecarum* and the *lex Iulia*, protections granted under Roman law that prevented husbands from alienating their wives' dotal property (even with her permission). On renunciations in medieval contracts, including these two types, see P. Riesenbergs, "Roman Law, Renunciations, and Business in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York 1955), pp. 207-225. The presence of these clauses indicates that the property being sold was part of the woman's dowry, and that she retained control over it until the time of the sale. Jobin does not comment upon the presence of these renunciation clauses, but still comes to the valid conclusion that the sale of property, "needs to be secured in all possible ways against future dispute. If both man and wife appeared in a sale, it is more difficult for a widow to appear later with a claim on the property in question." Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 202-5, quote at p. 205

THE CREDIT MARKET

Priests all over medieval Europe participated in the credit market: they purchased and sold property and other items on credit, and borrowed and lent money. The private notarial registers allow us to see Genoese clerics' involvement in the credit market at an intimate level. The picture that they reveal is one of modest credit passing from layperson to cleric and back again to accommodate the economic demands of everyday life. We find this evidence in several different types of notarial act, some of which provide us with more information than others. Loan originations and promissory notes (recognitions of debt) tend to be the most informative, containing the names of the parties, amounts, terms, and sometimes the reason behind the extension of credit. Acts where parties ceded their rights to collect a debt, or assumed another's obligation to pay one off can be informative as well. Finally testaments give just the most basic information: how much is owed, and to whom. The Genoese were often tight-lipped in their notarial contracts, and so even the most promising acts can have frustrating lacunae. One general point that comes across clearly in the more than one hundred credit-related documents in my sample is that men, women, and priests of all means were involved in the credit market.⁵⁶

Clerical borrowing—even borrowing with interest—was widespread in Europe by the thirteenth century, and was even tacitly accepted by Innocent III as a largely unavoidable fact of life.⁵⁷ My sample contains fifty acts in which a secular cleric is seen as a recipient of credit, including outright loans (*mutuum*), as well as deferred or installment payments for goods or property. About half of these acts offer at least

⁵⁶ I have *not* counted testaments as “credit-related.”

⁵⁷ J. C. Moore, “Pope Innocent III and Usury,” in F. Andrews, et al. (eds.), *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honor of Brenda M. Bolton* (Leiden 2004), pp. 59-75

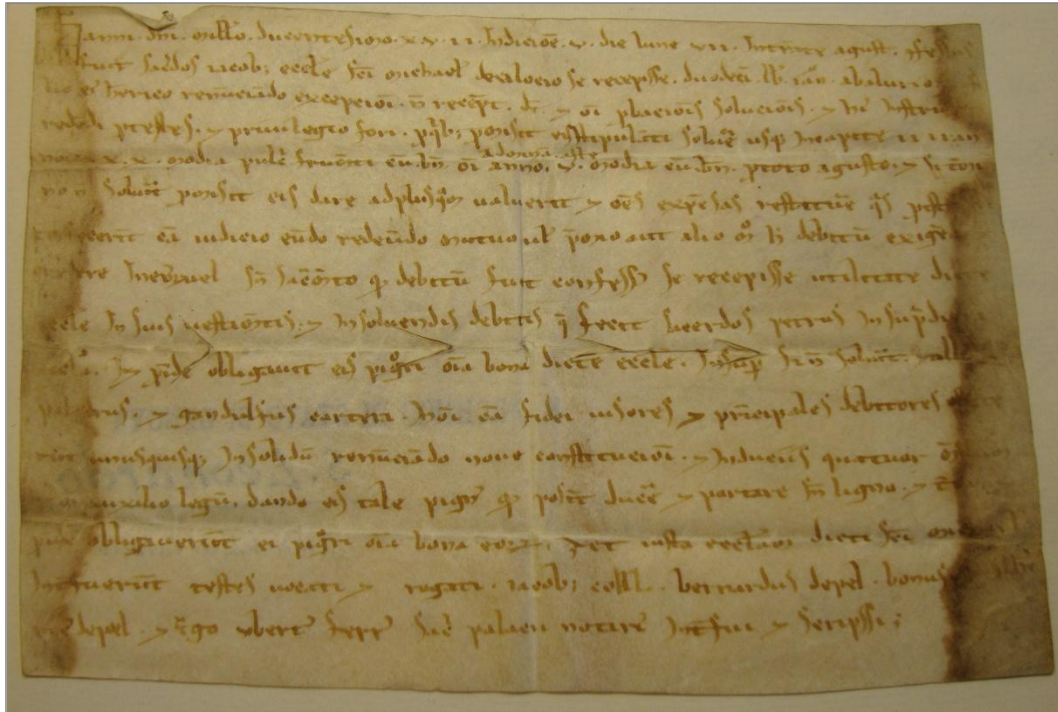


Figure 2-3: A client's formal copy of a notarial act, 7 August 1217 (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

minimal insight into why the loan or credit was needed. The rest of the time, the notaries' generic language obscures any specific reasons for these loans. For instance when Presbiter Alberto of San Pietro *de Vaira* borrowed L5 from a man named Liculfo in 1192, the notary recorded only that the money was “for the use of the church” (*pro utilitate ecclesie*).⁵⁸ In all, fourteen acts in my sample say only that credit was extended in order to support clerics or their institutions. Luckily, other acts are clearer about their intended impact. One example survives in the form of a formal act, on parchment, drawn up by the notary Uberto Ferrus in 1217.⁵⁹ In this document, Presbiter Giacomo, the priest at San Michele di Calosso (a dependency of San Siro) accepted a L12 loan from a man named Balurio and his son, Enrico. The priest acknowledged that he accepted the loan

⁵⁸ *Guglielmo Cassinese*, volume 2, ed. Hall, et al., doc. 1543, pp. 171-2

⁵⁹ ASG, Archivio Segreto, n. 1552; *San Siro*, volume 1, ed. Calleri, doc. 311, pp. 388-9. This formal act is a rare example of the document that a client would receive from a notary after he had recorded the relevant details in his personal register (see Figure 2-3).

for the utility of the church, and more specifically for vestments and for paying off certain debts for which another priest (Pietro) had “pledged all the goods of the said church.”⁶⁰ Standing outside the church that day, Alberto Palararus and Gandolfo Cartera agreed to act as guarantors for Presbiter Giacomo.

At other times loans or credit were used to address immediate needs, such as food security. The “consumption” and “distress” loans may well account for much of the unidentified credit we see in the sample.⁶¹ By way of example, three credit-related documents from Santa Maria di Castello give us an extremely rare view of how canons provisioned a collegiate church. In the first, from 1203, we learn that the canons of Santa Maria were forced to borrow L20 from the chapter at San Lorenzo in order to buy grain.⁶² Things must not have been much better in 1214 when Santa Maria’s provost accepted a L10 loan in the church’s name from one of his relatives. Seven of these librae were to be used to pay a papal tax, and the remaining three were for buying grain and wine.⁶³ Finally we have a promissory note from 1248, in which the provost and canons met in their refectory with Manfredo de Vignolo and pledged to pay him nine librae and nine solidi for sixteen *minas* of grain. These examples show us that clerics had to purchase items for their own use and for outfitting their church with necessary liturgical materiel. While these duties may have been in the hands of staff people, even lay staff, at collegiate churches, the priests at smaller churches tended to this business themselves.

⁶⁰ “*Quod debitum fuit confessus se recepisse utilitate dicte ecclesie in suis vestimentis et in solvendis debitis que fecit sacerdos Petrus in supradicta ecclesia et proinde obligavit eis pignori omnia bona dicte ecclesie.*”

⁶¹ For a useful comparative perspective on credit generally, see K. Reyerson, *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto 1985), chapters 2 and 3; on clerical lenders in particular see Nightingale, “The English Parochial Clergy as Investors and Creditors.”

⁶² *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 971, p. 448

⁶³ Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc.1, p. 181



Figure 2-4: The twelfth-century façade of Santa Maria di Castello (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

Priests and chapters also bought property on credit, using it as a tool for managing their affairs during times of restricted cash flow. In 1201, Richelda, the widow of Giovanni Fossati, issued a quittance to Guglielmo, the provost of Santa Maria di Castello, indicating that he had made the last payment on two shares of a house in the parish of Santa Maria delle Vigne. The church already owned the third share, so with this L16 payment behind them the canons owned the entire building.⁶⁴ Presbiter Andrea, the rector of San Michele in Gallaneto (ten miles northwest of Genoa) purchased half a piece of land in that village from Marrufo di Coronata and his wife Aidele in April 1230.⁶⁵ The act of sale says nothing about the terms of payment, but the next act in the notary

⁶⁴ ASG, Manoscritto, n. 102, f. 174v [Wilielmus de Sauro]

⁶⁵ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 243, pp. 111-2

Lanfranco's register is a promissory note in which the priest acknowledging his L3 balance on the L13 purchase price.⁶⁶ He agreed to pay the balance by the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist in late June. In the register of Giovanni di Guiberto we find another promissory note, this one issued by Presbiter Corrado, the provost of San Nazario.⁶⁷ In it he acknowledges that he owes Guglielmo Battifoglio L15 for a house which he bought for his mother in the neighborhood near his church. He agreed to pay the sum in three installments over the coming year: one at Christmas, one at Easter, and the last at the beginning of August. Since Genoese acts of sale typically did not mention credit, we are left relying on promissory notes and quittances like these to see the credit market operating. Since the Genoese institutional cartularies rarely contain these messy, intermediate acts, the private registers are crucial for understanding the role of credit in ecclesiastical land transactions.

In nine cases, we find priests accepting credit in their own names, as private actors rather than as representatives of a church. In five of these examples they were acting in partnership with one or more brothers. In 1262, Presbiter Guadagno, the minister of San Damiano, paid off a L3 debt that was owed by his brother, Salvatore de Castagola.⁶⁸ The lender, one Giovanni de Castagola, was represented in the transaction by an agent, which suggests that the creditor and borrower may have been living back in Castagnolo, a village about twelve miles from the city. Presbiter Simone, the provost of San Giorgio, and his brother Francesco appear together borrowing L63 in May 1291. The document does not indicate what the loan was going to be used for, but one could

⁶⁶ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 244, p. 112

⁶⁷ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 716, pp. 341-2

⁶⁸ ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 6.72, f. 7v [Facijs de San Donato]

easily buy a house for this sum. The fact that they could secure this amount of credit indicates that the brothers were seen as a good credit risk, and likely of some means.

Robert Lopez once observed that, in medieval Genoa, “the master lent to his servant, the servant to his master; minors and women, clergymen and farmers were actively involved in ... credit.”⁶⁹ So who was lending to priests? According to my sample of notarial acts, Genoese priests typically borrowed from laypeople, usually men. Male lenders are featured in thirty-seven of the forty-five acts in which secular priests are borrowing money or receiving credit. This is a surprising finding considering that clerics in other communal Italian cities displayed much more solidarity, and were even organizing their own confraternities.⁷⁰ As we can see in some of the examples above, these men lent both large and small sums, for a variety of reasons. In only two examples do we find women as lenders, and in both of these cases the reasons for the loan cannot be determined. However, in one we do know the amount that was lent. In early May 1291, Giacoma, the daughter of the late Lanfranco de Molaxina, acknowledged that she had received satisfaction for a L24 debt that was owed to her by the minister of Santo Stefano in Geminiano.⁷¹ Members of the clergy—like those seen above—account for the remaining six lenders in my sample. Some were making loans, while others were selling on credit. This was the case in 1211 when a canon from Santa Maria delle Vigne sold a piece of land to Presbiter Azzo de Ri.⁷² Azzo and the canon agreed that he had until Christmas to make the final payment.

⁶⁹ Lopez, “Market Expansion,” p. 448

⁷⁰ See Rigon, *Clero e città* and di Carpegna Falconieri, *Il clero di Roma*.

⁷¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 63ii, f. 226r [Angelinus de Sigestro]

⁷² *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airal di, doc. 75, pp. 86-87

The three-and-a-half librae that Presbiter Azzo borrowed were actually a very modest amount compared to other examples of clerical borrowing. Of the roughly fifty examples of clerical borrowing, five do not state the amount, and another three feature priests borrowing in partnership with other men. If we remove these acts from the sample, the average amount of the loans is about 175 solidi or L8.75. Looking at borrowing trends over time, we see that acts from before 1250 range from 8 to 300 solidi and average around 130 solidi (L6.5), while acts from 1250-1300 range from 20 to 510 solidi, and average 190 solidi (L9.5). Priests affiliated with churches outside the city center appear as borrowers in three quarters of the acts. These priests were more likely to accept small loans than their colleagues at Genoa's more prominent collegiate churches—such as San Donato, Santa Maria di Castello, and San Lorenzo. Of the fifteen loans in my sample worth less than L5, only one features a borrower from one of the city's major religious institutions, and all told only a quarter of all the loans were extended to priests from these institutions.⁷³ It is difficult to determine whether priests at smaller institutions lacked access to informal sources of credit (like fellow canons), or simply needed smaller loans. What is clear, however, is that even priests from institutions outside the city were able to secure loans of relatively large size. For example, in 1298 Presbiter Pasquale, the minister of Santa Maria in Molassana, came to the Archiepiscopal Palace and borrowed L20 from a layman, pledging certain lands as surety.⁷⁴

⁷³ A priest from San Damiano borrowed L3 in 1261, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 27v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]. The other central institutions in the sample include Santa Maria di Castello, San Lorenzo, San Pietro della Porta, San Donato, San Nazario, and the Archiepiscopal Curia.

⁷⁴ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 232, p. 286

The Genoese clergy also lent money and extended credit to the men and women in their communities, as can be seen in forty acts in my sample. Of these, we know the reasons behind twelve of the cases. Logically, all five of the acts where priests extended credit as part of a purchase agreement tell us what was being purchased. Most of these feature clerics selling property on credit, such as when the canons of San Damiano, Presbiter Guadagno and Presbiter Manegodo, sold one of the church's houses.⁷⁵ The sale was made in September 1272 for L18, but the buyer, Enrico, son of the late Oberto de Servo, did not pay off the debt until April of the following year. Depending on the needs of the buyer, even very small amounts of credit might be extended. In 1225, Rubaldo de Quartino promised to pay Presbiter Niccolò, the minster and agent of San Martino in *Manenzano*, 50 solidi for a house adjacent to the church.⁷⁶ In June they agreed that Rubaldo would pay half the amount in July, and the other half in August. Credit transactions like these also afford us glimpses of clerics selling things other than property. Theologians and canonists agreed that the clergy were allowed to sell goods that they had obtained for their own use and later needed to sell out of necessity, provided that their intentions were pure. Despite this, we very rarely see priests selling goods in the notarial sources. This was no doubt due to a combination of the restrictions on clerical trade, prohibitions on the alienation of Church property, and the low value of clerical possessions. In any case, Presbiter Corrado of San Nazario sold a black mule to two laymen for L5 in November 1203.⁷⁷ The priest agreed that the men could make payments over time, paying the first libra eight days after the sale in early November, the next two by Easter, and the final two by the feast of Saint Bartholomew in late August.

⁷⁵ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 105r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁷⁶ *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 1415, p. 210

⁷⁷ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 985, pp. 455-6

We know something of the reasons for seven cases in which priests made outright loans. Three of these involve food, including the case discussed above where the chapter at San Lorenzo lent L20 to the canons of Santa Maria di Castello so that they could buy grain.⁷⁸ The two other cases also involve priests at San Lorenzo, though the loans were much smaller. One document from 1236 recounts how Presbiter Enrico, the *custos* of Santa Maria di Castello, bought L2.5 worth of “food or nourishment” (*alimento sive nutrimento*) to support the brother of a certain Giovanni.⁷⁹ Later, Presbiter Guadagno, the *custos* at San Lorenzo, assumed the debt from Presbiter Enrico and agreed to let Giovanni repay him in two installments over the next eleven months. On April 1 of the following year, two chaplains from San Lorenzo lent Niger, son of the late Pelegrino de Monelia, L2.5 to buy food for his brother, Obertino.⁸⁰ The priests and Niger agreed that he would repay half the sum by Palm Sunday (which fell on April 12 that year) and the balance by Christmas.⁸¹ On the whole, however, the particular reasons that lay behind most clerical lending in Genoa remain a mystery.

With the exception of a man who borrowed, “three *meçarolias* of good, clear, and pure oil” from a priest-canon in the pieve chapter at Rapallo, all the clerical lending in my sample was reckoned in Genoese coinage.⁸² Looking at the forty cases in my sample where Genoese priests made loans and extended credit, we see values that range from 20 solidi to 3440 solidi. If we exclude this highest value (it is nearly 75% larger than the next largest loan), we find that the average amount of credit being extended over the

⁷⁸ In 1203; *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 971, p. 448

⁷⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 141r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

⁸⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 18/II, f. 173v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

⁸¹ C. R. Cheney and M. Jones (eds.), *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, new edition, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 4 (Cambridge 2000), p. 229

⁸² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 155v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]. A *mezzaruolo* (*meçarolia*) was a liquid measure equivalent to about 160 liters, see R. E. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia 1981), pp. 146-147.

thirteenth century was 250 solidi or L12.5. Looking for rough trends in the amounts of credit being extended, we find that before 1250 the average amount was 125 solidi or about L6, and after 1250 the amount was 380 solidi or L19.⁸³ Fully half of these loans were made by secular priests affiliated with the collegiate churches of central Genoa, and their loans are evenly distributed throughout the range of amounts and terms. The other half were made by priests from *pievi* and minor churches outside the city. The fact that priests and priest-canons affiliated with the prominent institutions of central Genoa account for half of the lending in the sample, but only a quarter of the borrowing is probably an indication that they tended to have access to greater resources—whether through income derived from their benefices or from private sources.⁸⁴

Turning to the terms of these loans, we find that many of the documents that mention clerical lending in passing do not mention the length of time within which payment was expected. Testaments, for example, never indicate the length of term, whereas receipts sometimes provide the date of the original loan, allowing us to calculate the elapsed time. Of the eighteen documents that contain information about the terms, two anticipated repayment within a few weeks, and one recorded the satisfaction of a debt that was over seven years old. Excluding these unusual cases, we find that the average term for a loan from the clergy was about 7.5 months. We also have two examples where the borrower agreed to repay the loan upon the lender's request. In one of these cases, Giovanni Lavezzarii promised to pay Presbiter Giovanni de Sesto the L7

⁸³ This is a noteworthy change, especially since clerical borrowing remained much more stable across the century (early decades S130, late decades S190).

⁸⁴ The notarial acts are almost completely silent on the sources of clerical capital for lending. Unlike acts of purchase or investment, loan originations do not identify transactions as being conducted “in my own name (*meo nomine proprio*).”

that he owed him “whenever you shall wish and at your will.”⁸⁵ Furthermore, all the loan originations in my sample indicate that the priests granted the loans “*gratis et amore*,” a common phrase in medieval lending that Robert Lopez renders as “without interest and in a spirit of charity.”⁸⁶ There is no way to be certain that the inclusion of this phrase ensured that a loan would be interest-free (lenders had many ways of building interest into contracts or collection practices), but there is nothing in the notarial evidence to suggest that clerical lending at interest was a problem.⁸⁷

If the notarial sources sometimes leave out the amounts or terms of clerical loans, they never fail to mention who was borrowing the money. According to the acts in my sample, Genoese priests lent to laypeople as well as other clerics. Lay men borrowing alone made up the largest group of borrowers, accounting for twenty-eight out of forty transactions. In 1210, Presbiter Alberto of the church of San Salvatore stood in his church and lent L3 S3 to Recuco de Terenzasca and his nephew Giovanni.⁸⁸ Presbiter Enrico, also the minister of the church of San Salvatore, lent twenty-seven solidi *gratis et amore* to a certain Niccolò “who lived in the Castello” in 1266⁸⁹ In another case we find that a certain Presbiter Niccolò had lent money to his brother Enrico. We know this from

⁸⁵ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 153, p. 195; the other case is from 1315, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 194, f. 150r [Franciscus de Silva]. “*Quas tibi dare et solvere promitto quandocumque volueris et ad tuam voluntate*”

⁸⁶ R. S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Englewood Cliffs 1971), pp. 72-3

⁸⁷ The writings of the Franciscan theologian Alexander Lombard of Alessandria (d. 1314), who lived, disputed, wrote, and preached in Genoa during the last decade of his life may reveal contemporary local thinking on this issue. See A. M. Hamelin (ed.), *Un traité morale économique au XIV^e siècle: Le Tractatus de usuris de maître Alexandre d’Alexandrie* (Louvain 1962).

⁸⁸ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 657, p. 294

⁸⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 85r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

a document in which Enrico sold lands that he inherited from their late father, “for paying debts to Presbiter Niccolò, his brother.”⁹⁰

It is hard to imagine that none of these men were married, yet their spouses never appear in these documents. Only one document out of the forty acknowledges that the burdens of debt also fell upon the wives of the lenders. In 1233, Pietro Pelatus de Livelato and his wife Adele gave the chapter of Santa Maria delle Vigne a piece of land in Livellato as satisfaction for a L9 debt that they owed the canons.⁹¹ In this case it makes sense that Adele is named because it appears that the land that they turned over was part of her dowry. We can tell this because at the end of the act, Adele renounces two Roman law protections and offers her consent to the transaction. The protections she renounced were the *senatus consultum Velleianum*, which prevented women from assuming another person’s debts, and the *ius hypothecarum*, which prevented husbands from alienating portions of their wives’ dowry.

Priests did lend directly to women, however, as can be seen in five acts from the sample. The notary Angelino de Sigesto recorded two such cases in 1287, both involving Presbiter Clariel, a canon of Santa Maria delle Vigne. The first act is damaged, but it is clearly an acknowledgement that a widow named Carmina owed the priest L4 S10.⁹² The second act is a testament in which Balsema (a widow) bequeathed a modest 43.5 solidi to satisfy her debt.⁹³ In another case Aimelina, the wife of Verasio “the beltmaker,” borrowed L33 from her kinsman, Presbiter Baudo.⁹⁴ Several weeks earlier, Baudo, who

⁹⁰ Guglielmo Cassinese, volume 2, ed. Hall, et al., doc. 1156, pp. 21-22 “pro pagare debita presbyteri Nicole sui fratris”

⁹¹ Santa Maria delle Vigne, ed. Airaldi, doc. 120, pp. 136-7

⁹² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 63/II, f. 27v [Angelinus de Sigestro]

⁹³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 63/II, f. 48r-48v [Angelinus de Sigestro]

⁹⁴ In 1210; *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 889, p. 389

was the provost of San Giorgio, had made a L12 loan to a widow named Montanara.⁹⁵ Perhaps what is most notable about this small cluster of loans is that their average amount—about 220 solidi or L11—is very similar to the average for all loans (250 solidi).

The thirty-five loans that Genoese priests made to lay men and women far outnumber the five loans that they made to other members of the clergy. The loan made by the canons of San Lorenzo to the canons of Santa Maria di Castello was discussed above, but the other cases are also worthy of note. Presbiter Giovanni, the provost of San Pietro della Porta, loaned the archpriest of the pieve of Carantio forty solidi in 1216, “for the profit and utility of the aforementioned church.”⁹⁶ Even wealthy institutions sometimes made use of modest amounts of credit, as can be seen in a document from in 1297. It records how Presbiter Tommaso de Roboreto, the minister of San Martino in Pegli, lent L10 to the chapter of San Lorenzo so that repairs or restorations could be made to a room belonging to one of the canons.⁹⁷

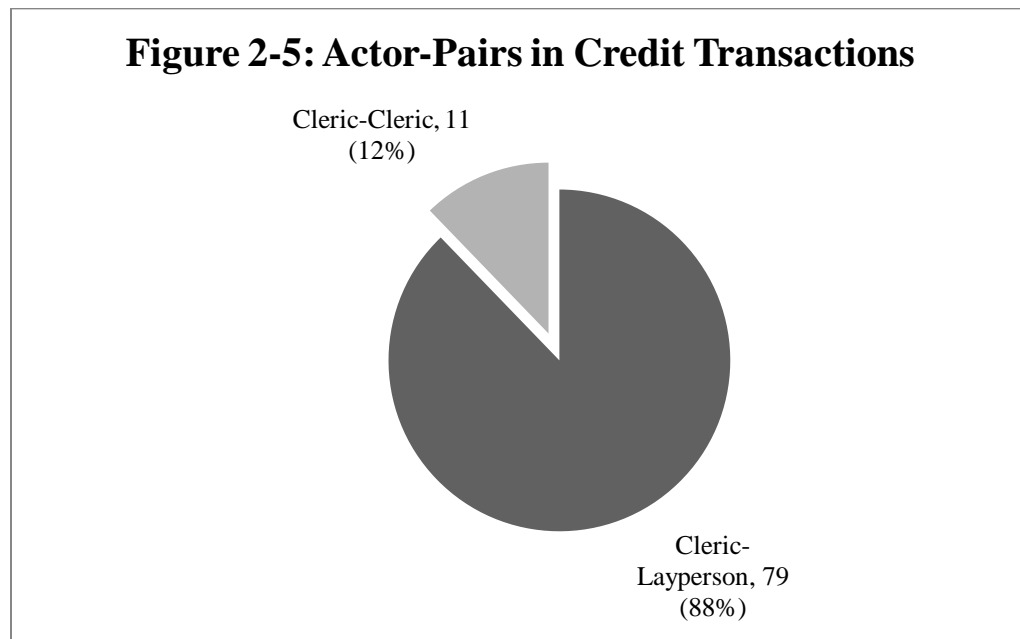
Considering all the credit transactions together, we find that the credit market—like the real estate market—integrated secular priests with the laity in a significant way. According to my sample of notarial acts, secular priests accepted credit from or extended credit to laypeople far more often than to other clerics. In 79 (88%) out of the 90 acts we find priests interacting with laypeople rather than other clerics (Figure 2-5). The evidence discussed in this section supports the more impressionistic findings of scholars who have observed that lending and borrowing were a common part of priests’ lives in

⁹⁵ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 831, p. 367. Verasio was present for this transaction, listed as a “*propinquus et vicinus*.”

⁹⁶ *Lanfranco*, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 950, p. 19

⁹⁷ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 161, pp. 204-5, “*expendendas in refectio[n]e domus et camera domini Petri Bianci, canonici Ianuensis...*”

medieval Italy.⁹⁸ More importantly, it proves that the Genoese notarial registers are a viable source base for a more detailed examination of this question than has yet been offered for the thirteenth century.



CONCLUSION

Genoa was on the cutting edge of economic and urban development in the thirteenth century, with a remarkable number of women and men engaging in occasional short-term commercial investment. Yet, despite living among the markets of the laity, the Genoese clergy participated in the economic life of the city primarily in the most established and traditional way: real estate. How can we account for this? One part of the explanation is probably that priests and chapters did not have the money to invest in trade. As van Doosselaere's analyses have shown, trade was beginning to become more

⁹⁸ De la Roncière, "Dans la campagne Florentine," pp. 300, 304; Dameron, *Florence and Its Church*, pp. 144-5

and more vertically integrated by the middle of the thirteenth-century, with smaller numbers of merchants collecting and controlling larger amounts of capital.⁹⁹ This capital came increasingly from wealthy investors belonging to the aristocratic or professional families, which drove the threshold for entry into the investment market up, likely beyond the reach of all but independently wealthy clerics. But why do we not see clerical investment before mid-century, when the average investment in trade was only about L4, an amount within reach for many more Genoese priests and canons?¹⁰⁰ There is no way to be sure, but I believe that at least three factors were likely at play. The first was tradition. The clergy and religious institutions had been involved in real estate management for hundreds of years by the thirteenth century; in many ways the Church conceptualized itself as a landowner. Accompanying this were the Church's prohibitions against clerical involvement with trade. While the impact of these prohibitions is hard to measure, it is reasonable to believe that doctrine would have had a hand in guiding clerical behavior. The final factor was risk. Priests were beholden to not only to their colleagues within the Church, but to the lay community that they served. It is possible that these groups encouraged priests to focus investment in low-risk areas such as real estate rather than higher-risk ventures such as trade. What is more, these low-risk activities built different, more durable social bonds than did speculative investments. These bonds relied more on genuine partnership, and provided visible proof of clerics' engagement in the community. Whatever their motivations or intentions, it is clear that these priests and groups of clerics were willful actors, not ecclesiastical functionaries. Whether acting as individuals or as part of corporate bodies, Genoese clerics were guided

⁹⁹ van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*, Chapter 3, "Equity Partnerships of Heterogeneous Ties"

¹⁰⁰ van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*, p. 88-9

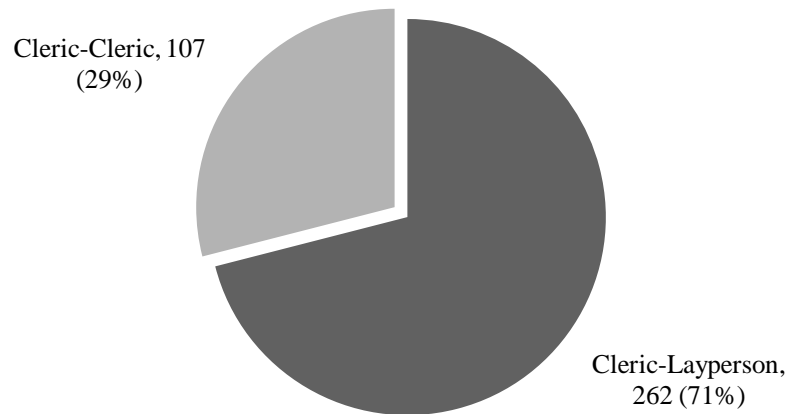
by their own judgment, trying to do what was best for themselves, their churches, and their parishioners with little direct input or oversight from the institutional Church. This assessment holds true for the issue of credit as well.

The evidence in this chapter has shown that priests' and chapters' involvement in credit and real estate generated a dense web of social connections with the laity, as well as with other clerics.¹⁰¹ While the intensity or types of involvement may have been different for priests of different positions and from different institutions, all together the effect is clear: commercial involvement bound secular priests to the men and women in their communities, and vice versa. And it is important to bear in mind that the notarial acts discussed in this chapter record only one point in what was often a long series of personal interactions and negotiations. Before the act was drafted—whether a long-term rental, a sale, or a loan—parties with different aims and needs had to reach consensus about the value of the item in question, then agree to terms that would allow an exchange to take place. After the act was drafted the relationships usually continued, with payments, rents, oversight, and often renegotiation of terms. In the case of property transactions, these relations often went on for years, passed down from provost to provost, father to son. All of these transactions—both real estate and credit—were social events that created opportunities for members of different communities to come together and creatively meet each other's needs. Economic transactions, like the majority of transactions recorded by notaries, provide us with a snapshot of a social arrangement where each side could influence the other.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ See Figure 2-6

¹⁰² Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," p. 299

Figure 2-6: Actor-Pairs in Credit and Property Transactions



Priests were members of the community: neighbors, brothers, sons, men who owned and controlled lands and their fruits, men who helped shape the society around them. Ultimately the Genoese sources make clear that a secular priest's profession—to say nothing of his preexisting familial and social relationships—demanded creative involvement in worldly affairs. The private notarial registers make it possible to see the contours of priests' engagement with their communities. Of the 269 acts about property in my sample, 168 (62%) are from private registers, while for credit the figure is a remarkable 94 out of 100.¹⁰³ A history of the clergy in thirteenth-century Genoa based on traditional sources would effectively miss one of the most important means by which clerics engaged with their communities. Thanks to the private registers, we can see that priests and chapters interacted with a range of people in these real estate and credit transactions. Specific institutions might have had especially close connections to

¹⁰³ In total, 262 (71%) out of 369 property acts in my sample are from private registers.

particular social groups or geographic areas, but they did not form exclusive relationships. Churches sometimes had long-standing ties to particular villages or families, but it appears that priests were ultimately free to engaging in property or credit transactions with whomever they chose. Depending on the nature of the transaction, we see priests engaging with women and men of all ages, professions, and social statuses. And it is likely that the intensity of priests' economic transactions is under-represented by the notarial acts, for priests, like laypeople, must have preferred to conduct business with people with whom they shared a system of informal institutions that helped generate trust and lower transaction costs. Some transactions within these dense nodes of interaction may not have required the security of written acts. In any case, one thing is clear from the notarial evidence that we do have: economic contact integrated the secular clergy with the surrounding communities.

CHAPTER THREE

PRO ANIMA: GENOESE PRIESTS AND THE CARE OF SOULS

The thirteenth-century Genovesi lived in a world of constant threats. Accident, disease, war, civil strife—all threatened the health and safety of the Genoese both at home and abroad. The vagaries of the market and the hazards of the sea could ruin merchants or sailors and leave their families exposed. Yet the risks to the soul were even greater. In life, pride, avarice, lust, and other sins went hand-in-hand with the riches born of commercial success (or failure), and after death, maybe, just maybe, the gaping maw of hell awaited. While robust networks of familial, professional, and social relationships could help address many physical dangers in this world, averting the spiritual dangers of the next required direct contact with priests and the Church. In the most basic assessment, this is why priests existed in the community at all: to provide the “care of souls” (*cura animarum*), helping ensure that each member of the community could enjoy an eternal reward in Paradise. When religious officials charged priests to care for the *spiritualia* of a particular church, this is what they were talking about.

In basic terms, one can describe *cura animarum*—literally “the cure of souls,” but more idiomatically “the care of souls”—as a priest’s responsibility to instruct and sanctify the faithful within a particular area.¹ The provision of *cura animarum* was a

¹ In the past thirty years many articles have been published and congresses held on *cura animarum*, several of which focus on medieval Italy. However, this scholarship has little to say about priests. Instead, it is dominated by institutional questions, particularly those regarding the geographical organization of parishes, the establishment of baptismal churches (*pievi*), and the administration of collegiate chapters. In other words, they are mainly concerned with the institutional history of how the faithful were divided up than on the social history of how they were cared for. (Bornstein also makes this observation, “Parish Priests in Late Medieval Cortona,” p. 165.) Some examples of this trend include: C. D. Fonseca and C. Violante (eds.), *Pievi e parrocchie in Europa dal Medioevo all’età contemporanea* (Galatina 1990); *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Societas Christiana dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, *Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974* (Milan 1977); L. Mascanzoni, *Pievi e*

central issue in the “pastoral revolution” of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which was in part an effort to improve lay understanding of Church doctrine.² Virtually every prescriptive source identifies the “care of souls” as the most important responsibility of the medieval clergy, yet descriptive sources from the thirteenth century are often largely silent about priests’ involvement in the spiritual life of their communities.³ While the traditional sources of clerical history are useful for identifying *expectations* about priests’ duties, they typically offer scant evidence about actual practices. Synodal and chapter statutes might dictate priests’ responsibilities surrounding the sacraments, but they do not record how or if they were actually fulfilled. Hagiographic accounts of service to the faithful are inherently exceptional or unnaturally exaggerated. Records of episcopal visitations have more to say about clerical activities, but they tend to dwell on situations where priests failed to adhere to the Church’s rules.⁴ For Genoa the challenges are even more acute because these traditional sources are almost completely absent for the thirteenth century.⁵ So is it impossible to reconstruct how the secular clergy protected

parrocchie in Italia: Saggio di bibliografia storica (Bologna 1988-1989); *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso Medioevo (sec. XIII-XV)*, *Atti di VI Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, (Firenze 21-25 Settembre 1981)*, 2 volumes, (Rome 1984); M. Ronzani, “L’organizzazione della cura d’anime e la nascita della pieve di Figule,” in G. Pinto and P. Pirillo (eds.), *Lontano dalle città: il Valdarno di sopra nei secoli XII-XIII: atti del convegno di Montevarchi-Figline Valdarno, 9-11 novembre 2001* (Rome 2005), pp. 213-277; and M. Ronzani, “L’organizzazione della cura d’anime nella città di Pisa (secoli XII-XIII),” in C. Wickham, et al. (eds.), *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Toscana medioevale* (Galatina 1980), pp. 35-85. The little that has been written on *cura animarum* in Genoa falls comfortably in line with these trends. For example, Boldorini’s “Aspetti e momenti della *cura animarum* nel Basso Medioevo Ligure (secc. XIII-XV)” discusses the ways that Genoa’s parish boundaries were delineated and investigates the composition of the chapter at Santa Maria delle Vigne. While this sort of institutional framework is necessary for a complete understanding of the relationships between clergy and laity, it leaves much left to accomplish.

² Bornstein, “Introduction: Living Christianity,” pp. 23-24; Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, p. 489

³ Dameron, *Florence and Its Church*, pp. 29-30

⁴ Furthermore, as legal sources, they have their own inherent challenges of interpretation related to the assessment of witness testimony, and other issues.

⁵ Thirteenth-century chapter statutes survive for the cathedral of San Lorenzo and the pieve of Rapallo (fifteen miles away), but not for other churches. See Puncuh, “I più antichi statuti” and Ferretto, “Gli statuti dei canonici di Rapallo.” The earliest surviving statutes of the chapter at Santa Maria delle Vigne are from 1375, see A. Boldorini, *I più antichi statuti*. The earliest statutes from Santa Maria di Castello are

and cared for the souls of the Genovesi in the thirteenth century? Thanks to the notarial sources, it is not.

Among the mountains of notarial acts that record contracts in which valuable goods and services changed hands or were promised, we find engaging examples of “spiritual” or “religious” contacts between priests and laypeople. A variety of different acts—wills and testaments, acts of donation, appointments to office, inventories—can help us piece together some of the means by which secular priests worked with their lay communities to address the vulnerabilities of the soul. This chapter offers descriptive evidence that tending to the spiritual health of their lay communities brought priests not only to the altar and pulpit, but also into the caruggi and piazze. It considers some of the special interactions that secular priests had with the laypeople around them specifically because they were professional religious figures. Blacksmiths, tanners, drapers, potters—each were skilled tradesmen who catered to specific needs in the community. In the following pages I show that in many ways priests were no different. In structuring this chapter, I have taken a cue from canon three of the Fourth Lateran Council, which says, “Clerics should not, of course, give the sacraments of the church to such pestilent people [i.e. heretics] nor give them a Christian burial nor accept alms or offerings from them.”⁶ First I sketch the liturgical and sacramental responsibilities of secular priests. Next, I discuss their crucial role in the process of death and its commemoration. Finally, I consider lay devotional giving and the multifaceted role of priests therein. The notarial

from 1348, see Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 8, pp. 187-189. Evidence from church councils (synods) is still harder to come by. We know that major councils were held in Genoa in 1216, 1237, 1248, 1293, 1310, and 1311, but the earliest synodal statutes to survive are from 1375. See D. Cambiaso, “Sinodi genovesi antichi,” ASLSP o.s. 63/I (Genoa 1939). Genoa apparently had one local saint in the thirteenth-century, Sant’Ugo di San Giovanni di Prè, but contemporary sources do not seem to exist for his life (see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 119-120).

⁶ Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 1, p. 234

records make it possible to understand more fully priests' involvement in these three core duties of the clergy and illuminate potential avenues of research that can supplement complementary studies that are built upon prescriptive sources.

THE LITURGY AND SACRAMENTS

In 1290 Presbiter Ugo, the syndic of the parish church at the monastery of Sant'Andrea della Porta, wrote to a judge-delegate about a conflict over parochial rights with a neighboring parish. In his letter, he described a parish church as a place where parishioners could receive the *ecclesiastica sacramenta* and attend divine services daily, on Sundays, and on feast days.⁷ His thinking was well in line with theological and prescriptive sources, which held that celebrating the liturgy and administering the sacraments to parishioners were the primary religious duties of parish priests and chaplains who served communities of laypeople. One would not expect the notarial registers—either private or institutional—to be particularly rich sources for these obviously “religious” aspects of the secular clergy’s lives, but carefully examined these acts do provide valuable evidence about priests’ responsibilities inside their churches. Three classes of Genoese notarial acts are particularly useful in this endeavor: documents recounting conflicts between parishes or religious institutions, acts of endowment that establish churches or chaplaincies, and internal agreements about clerical duties. This evidence may not be sufficient to construct a detailed local history of liturgical and sacramental practice in the Genoese Church, but when interpreted in light of scholarship

⁷ *Santo Stefano*, volume 3, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 871, pp. 421-423

about clerical life in other communal Italian cities, it allows us to see secular priests at work in their churches.⁸

Let us start with the celebration of the liturgy, which consisted of the Divine Office and the solemn Mass. Together the Office (also known as the Liturgy of the Hours) and the Mass formed a daily sequence of eight distinct ceremonies built around prayers, readings from scripture, and hymns.⁹ Both the Mass and the services of the Office (vigils, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline) were more or less elaborate depending on whether the day was a Sunday or major feast day, a minor feast day, or simply a regular day of the week. The solemn Mass was the centerpiece of religious worship in the Middle Ages, the moment when the mystery of the transubstantiated Eucharist made Christ physically present before the community. As Augustine Thompson so eloquently puts it, saying the Mass “was the priest’s unique privilege and his most serious obligation. Failure to celebrate was to deny the living their rights and the dead their succor.”¹⁰ While most Genoese laypeople were surely not able or willing to attend every day, Sunday Masses, and festal Masses in particular, offered a chance for entire neighborhoods to come together and worship.¹¹ There would have been

⁸ Because of the limitations of the Genoese sources and historiography, the following framework is based largely on scholarship about clerical life in other communal Italian cities. It draws heavily from Thompson, *Cities of God*, particularly Chapter Six, “The City Worships.”

⁹ L. Collamore, “Prelude: Charting the Divine Office,” in M. Fassler and R. Baltzer (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford 2000), p. 3

¹⁰ Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 248

¹¹ On feasts in the Genoese Church, see D. Cambiaso, *L’Anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi in Genova nel loro svolgimento storico*, ASLSP o.s. 48 (Genoa 1917).

some variations from church to church, but the thirty-one feasts listed in the statutes of the chapter at San Lorenzo (1278) were probably the major feasts for the city.¹²

The importance of the liturgy is evident in notarial sources that talk about the foundation of churches or chaplaincies, where the founders (whether laypeople or clerics) always list the celebration of the liturgy as a primary motivation. Simone de Camilla founded a private church for his *albergo* in 1216 (the church of San Paulo, “next to his palace”) because he wanted a priest to celebrate the Office for him and his family.¹³ This was also the case when Guglielmo de Valdavanto endowed a chaplaincy at San Marco al Molo in 1311.¹⁴ In the act of foundation Guglielmo emphasized the importance of the Office and the Mass repeatedly, stating that the chaplain was to “serve God perpetually” by celebrating the Office “as much by night as by day” (*tam nocturnis quam diei*). Guglielmo insisted that if the chapter at San Lorenzo delayed installing the chaplain at San Marco, the priest was to celebrate the liturgy at San Damiano until he was allowed to move to the Molo (the wharf adjacent to the port).

The installation ceremony for new rectors is another illustration of the importance of the liturgy for the secular clergy. When a priest was installed as rector of a Genoese church, he was handed symbolic objects to signify his new position and responsibilities. Sometimes these were pieces of clothing that traditionally marked the clerical order, particularly the hooded cloak (*capucium*) or distinctive square cap with three ridges (*biretum*).¹⁵ More commonly, however, the priest was handed the altar cloth and the bell

¹² D. Puncuh, “I più antichi statuti,” doc. 50, pp. 109-110. We know that conflicts could emerge between mother and daughter churches over the donations given by the faithful on major feast days, for example between San Lorenzo and Santa Maria di Quarto in 1157 (*San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 49, pp. 67-8).

¹³ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 100, pp. 126-128

¹⁴ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 187, pp. 280-286

¹⁵ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 339 and 342 (*capucium*), and doc. 337, pp. 430-1 (*biretum*)

ropes for calling the faithful to services (*pannos altaris et funes campanarum*).¹⁶ Examining my sample's six inventories from Genoese churches reveals that each one held several books, vestments, and other objects for celebrating the liturgy. In 1253, the church of Santa Maria di Castello had a copy of the Old Testament, multiple antiphonaries for the day and night Offices, several missals and homilaries, and the Gospels (which they kept in a pine box), among other books used for celebrating the Mass and the Office.¹⁷ In the Sant'Ambrogio inventory from 1273, we also find several books, as well as a large assortment of crosses (including one made from a piece of the True Cross), a small vessel (*capistulam*) for holding the consecrated and unconsecrated hosts, chalices, as well as linens and candles for the altars.¹⁸ When Presbiter Gandolfo took over the church of San Nazario di Albaro in 1229, among the other items he listed were the liturgical vestments, namely "three albs with their stoles and amices."

While it is clear that the celebration of the liturgy was intended to be a central part of the secular clergy's life, it is very difficult to know how attentive the average priest was to celebrating the Office or the Mass. No doubt the likelihood of consistent celebration was influenced by how thoroughly staffed one's church was, and the extent of pressing duties and responsibilities away from the altar. Taking into consideration the number of extra-liturgical activities that Genoese priests engaged in, and how often we find priests in areas of the city far from their own altar, it is difficult to imagine that many

¹⁶ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 168 (1227); *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 8 and 32 (1272); ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/I, ff. 57r, 64r, 96r, 107v, 149r (1310-11) [Leonardus de Garibaldus]; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/II, ff. 48r, 79r (1314) [Leonardus de Garibaldus]

¹⁷ Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 6, pp. 184-5; cf. doc. 7, pp. 185-7

¹⁸ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 68, pp. 79-82; cf. doc. 33, p. 41



Figure 3-1: The twelfth-century octagonal campanile at the church of San Donato (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

priests had the time to say the entire liturgy every day.¹⁹ It strikes me as more likely that they focused their ceremonial energies on celebrating Matins, Vespers, and the solemn Mass, which, according to Augustine Thompson, were seen as minimum requirements for the priests of every church.²⁰ Matins was traditionally chanted at daybreak, with the solemn Mass celebrated a bit later, around mid-morning (sometime before Terce), and

¹⁹ In this I agree with George Dameron's assessment of the Florentine clergy in *Florence and Its Church*, p. 31.

²⁰ Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 242-243

Vespers just before dark. Compared to their colleagues at smaller institutions, priests at collegiate or monastic churches may have been more likely to celebrate the entire liturgy—though clearly not all did so. In internal church acts we often find penalties for those clerics who neglect the liturgy. For example, when the Archbishop imposed reforms upon the chapter at San Nazario in 1273, one of the rules was that if any canon failed to take part in the Divine Office, the minister could take away some of his food allowance (*companaticus*, which at the time was four *denarii* per day).²¹ The chapter at San Lorenzo had to spell out a range of rules and penalties surrounding the celebration of the liturgy as well.²² In the end, however, many priests in Genoa were supported in part by direct donations from the lay community, and this system would have penalized priests who had a reputation for neglecting their duties. In a competitive market with several providers of religious services to choose from—including the Franciscans and Dominicans—Genoese secular priests must have satisfied at least the basic liturgical functions demanded by their communities.

In addition to the daily celebration of the liturgy, priests were responsible for providing the sacraments to their parishioners. Of the seven sacraments laid out by Peter Lombard (in 1164) and addressed in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (in 1215), priests were actively involved in baptism, confession, the Eucharist, marriage and last rights.²³ While the sacraments themselves did not produce notarial acts, very occasionally we do see priests carrying them out in records generated by other exchanges, especially records generated by disputes between churches over parochial rights. Since

²¹ Stefano di Corrado, ed. Calleri, doc. 74, pp. 90-92

²² *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 175, pp. 254-8

²³ Tanner, *Decrees*, vol.1, pp. 227-71. Confirmation and ordination were sacraments reserved to bishops. The seven sacraments as found in Lateran Four were first spelled out by Peter Lombard in his *Quatuor libri sententiarum*, book 4, distinctions 1-26.

parishioners customarily paid dues to the clergy when they received a sacrament (except baptism), priests rigorously protected their right to provide those sacraments in a particular area. In dense urban spaces like thirteenth-century Genoa, where development was rapidly changing the geography of the city, conflicts over parish boundaries and the rights of non-parochial churches to deliver the sacraments erupted regularly.²⁴ In the notarial acts that these conflicts produced we sometimes see priests carrying out the sacraments. For instance, in the early 1230s, the clergy of San Pietro della Porta and Santa Maria delle Vigne engaged in a five-year dispute over rights that included the celebration of marriage masses.²⁵ In 1232 a canon of Santa Maria dispatched a notary to record a wedding at San Pietro because that church was supposedly under interdict at the time. Unfortunately the document provides little detail, saying only that Presbiter Oberto, “celebrated a mass at the altar of San Pietro where the betrothed were one of the sons of the late Guglielmo Maliocelli and the daughter, it was said, of Giovanni, the marchese of Gavi.”²⁶ Visions of the other sacraments are equally rare and thus notable when they appear.

Consider baptism, through which an individual was symbolically welcomed into not only the mystical community of all Christians, but also into the physical life of his or her local community. In many ways it was both a sacred and a civic act, and as such was taken seriously by clerics and laypeople alike. While baptism could be performed by any person at any time if there was a danger of death, most infants in communal Italy were

²⁴ My sample includes five disputes over parish boundaries.

²⁵ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airal di, docs. 112-117, 119, 121, 123, 124-125, pp. 129-142. It was customary to have a public blessing at the church door and a mass in honor of a wedding, and canon 51 of the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that, “when marriages are to be contracted they shall be publicly announced in the churches by priests, with a suitable time being fixed beforehand within which whoever wishes and is able to may adduce a lawful impediment. The priests themselves shall also investigate whether there is any impediment”; Tanner, *Decrees*, vol.1 p. 258.

²⁶ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airal di, doc. 115, pp. 131-132

baptized by priests or bishops, often in groups on Holy Saturday or the vigil of Pentecost.²⁷ Unlike in most communal Italian cities, however, baptisms in Genoa were not limited to the baptistery at the Cathedral, rather children could also be baptized at Santa Maria di Castello and Santa Maria delle Vigne. In 1193, Pope Celestine III encouraged the community to take part in the baptisms at Santa Maria di Castello by granting an indulgence to anyone who helped with the ceremony at Pentecost and then visited the church each day during the following week.²⁸ Among the items listed in an inventory of goods held by the same church in 1282 we find, “a book called ‘the rite for baptizing.’”²⁹ Adult baptism also took place in Genoese churches, bringing “pagan” and “Saracen” slaves and servants into the Christian fold. In 1201 a chaplain at San Lorenzo, Presbiter Oberto, baptized a slave from Tunis who “rejected the Saracen error” and wished to enter the “Catholic faith” (*catolicam fidem*).³⁰ Baptism served as the ceremonial moment of entry into the community for infants and adults alike, and priests’ involvement with such a central ritual must have helped bind them to the men and women around them in the community.

FUNERALS AND COMMEMORATIVE MASSES

The fear of death, whether from illness or misfortune encountered at home or abroad, spurred Genoese men and women to make arrangements for the health of their soul as well as for the welfare of their family. These arrangements were made by having

²⁷ Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 312

²⁸ P. F. Kehr, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum: Italia pontifica*, volume 6, part 2 (Berlin 1914), p. 298, doc. 23; Koudelka, “Pergamene di S. Maria di Castello,” doc. 4, p. 12

²⁹ ASG, Cart. 122, f. 3r [Johannes de Finamore]; Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 7, pp. 185-7 “*liber vocatur ordo ad batizandum*”

³⁰ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 412, pp. 197-198. It is not clear why this act was recorded, but it may have been to provide proof in case the man’s legal status was questioned later, such as in the event that he was manumitted.

a local notary record a last will and testament in front of at least five witnesses.³¹ Within the private notarial registers, these testaments are the most predictable avenue for detecting points of spiritual interaction between priests and the laity, since they typically contain information about funeral and burial preferences, commemorative masses, alms, and charitable bequests. Fewer than two dozen wills have been preserved in institutional cartularies from thirteenth-century Genoa, but Steven Epstein was able to locate over 600 in the notarial registers just for the period 1155-1253. Wills remain fairly abundant in registers after this point as well. Even the notary Stefano di Corrado, who greatly favored institutional clients over individuals, drafted at least eight testaments over a thirty-month period.³² The abundance of surviving wills allows us to put together a relatively clear picture of a priest's role in the period following a testator's death. Almost every will has instructions for where the deceased wanted to be buried and what types of religious services they wished to be performed on their behalf. Despite the fact that rituals for the deceased were not among the sacraments defined by the Fourth Lateran Council, medieval Christians undeniably viewed these rituals in a sacramental light.³³ Laypeople, clergy, and canonists alike expected that deserving Christians would be given a proper funeral and buried in consecrated ground.³⁴ The attention that testators and their executors paid to the matter suggests providing the deceased with a proper funeral and burial was one of a priest's most fundamental and important responsibilities in the

³¹ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth* provides essential context and background on many of the topics considered below; Thompson, *Cities of God*, chapter 10, is relevant as well, though based solely on prescriptive sources. It is not uncommon to find priests among those called upon to witness a testament.

³² *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 100, 118, 122, 123, 208, 242, 322 and 329

³³ Epstein discusses Genoese sensibilities about burial briefly at *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 162-3. For a broader introduction to the topic, see C. Daniell's *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*, (London 1997), especially chapter 1, "Death in the Middle Ages."

³⁴ On burial and the canonists see A. Bernard, *La sépulture en droit canonique: du décret de Gratien au Concile de Trente*, (Paris 1933).

community, and probably valued more highly than some of the Church's "official" sacraments.³⁵

A priest's duties surrounding a person's death were defined by custom and religious doctrine and were constant across the thirteenth century.³⁶ If possible, shortly before death a priest would be summoned to perform the last rites and give the final Eucharist (the viaticum). After death the body was wrapped in a shroud and conveyed to the church and cemetery where burial would take place. The procession that accomplished this and the mass that the priest said over the body constituted the funeral services (*exsequiae funeris*), while the actual burial (*sepultura*) was the simple process of putting the body into the grave. At the time of the funeral and burial, bread was traditionally handed out to the poor at the cemetery or the door of the church. In the weeks and months after these events, priests often sang masses to benefit the soul of the deceased, and perhaps distributed some of the testator's charitable bequests.

Because these rituals were so central to the community, by the late twelfth century, it was customary for testators to leave a gift to the church or priest who would perform them.³⁷ While in Gratian's *Decretum* (c. 1140) collecting a fee for funeral services and burials constituted simony, over time canonists conceded that priests could accept these bequests, partly to repay their efforts and partly to benefit the soul of the deceased.³⁸ Canon sixty-six of the Fourth Lateran Council even expressly permitted them as long as they were voluntary, and, of course, it was always insisted that priests

³⁵ Evidence for the important place of burial can be seen in the large amount of canon law dedicated to it. See *Index analytico-alphabeticus ad secundam partem corpus iuris canonici (secundum editionem Aemilii Friedberg)*, ed. F. Germovnik (Ottawa 1980), pp. 264-5.

³⁶ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 156-7

³⁷ See Bernard, *La sépulture*, especially pp. 141-162; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 151.

³⁸ For Gratian, see *Decretum* C. 13 q. 2 c. 12-15 (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 1, cols. 724-6). Prohibitions against obligatory payments remained in force throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, see the *Decretales Gregorii IX*, X 5.3.8, 9, 29, 42 (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 750-1, 759, and 766).

bury the indigent for free.³⁹ In 1203, Presbiter Guido of San Sisto sold half of a house that he had received from Deliana de Quinto as a means of paying for her burial expenses.⁴⁰ Testators' donations made funerals and burials profitable endeavors for the clergy (much like they did for other religious services), and clerics defended their right to perform these functions against other clerics. In general, there is little evidence of animosity between the mendicants and more traditional clerics (both secular and regular) in thirteenth-century Genoa, but burials is one area where there must have been some conflict. In 1278 the archbishop was asked to arbitrate an agreement between the two groups on the matter of burial fees.⁴¹ Eventually he decided that one third of the payment left by a testator for burial at a Franciscan or Dominican church—"whether in money, in candles or wax or other offerings"—should be given to the person's parish church and its minister. This was a more generous arrangement than would later be instated by Boniface VIII's bull *Super cathedram*, which required Mendicant churches to pay out only a quarter of the money that they collected for funerary and burial services.⁴²

Some of the elements discussed above can be seen together in the simple will of a bootmaker named Giacomo de Rippa.⁴³ On 22 July 1276 the notary Giovanni Vatacius was called to the house where Giacomo was staying. Surrounded by three other bootmakers, another notary, and two other men, Giacomo laid out his final wishes. As the church bells rang for vespers, he explained that he wanted to be buried at the church of San Giorgio, and that he was leaving forty solidi for his burial and funeral services.

³⁹ Bernard, *La sépulture*, p. 138; Tanner, *Decrees*, vol. 1, p. 265

⁴⁰ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 221, p. 101 "*pro expensis sepulture sue*"

⁴¹ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, docs. 183-184, pp. 271-4

⁴² *Super cathedram* was promulgated in 1300, abrogated by Benedict XI in 1304, and reinstated by Clement V in 1312. A copy is found in the institutional cartulary at San Lorenzo, see *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 196, pp. 296-300.

⁴³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 16/II, f. 275r [Johannes Vatacius]. Epstein lays out sixteen characteristics of Genoese wills on *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 6-7.

He left another forty solidi for commemorative masses, and for his wife, Nicolina, to distribute to the poor. With the health of his soul accounted for, he turned to settling his debts (he had purchased some high-quality leather on credit) then dictated how his movable and immovable goods should be divided between his wife, daughter, and five sons. At the end of the document the notary added the formulae that gave the testament legal force, including the date and location of its drafting, and the names of the witnesses.

The funeral services and burial were the priests' minimum responsibilities, and all Genoese testators who anticipated the location of their death dictated where they wanted these ceremonies performed. For 1155-1253, Epstein found that only ten churches accounted for over half of the recorded burials, with the Dominican church rising in popularity rapidly after its foundation in 1227.⁴⁴ The forty-four wills I examined for the period 1254-1311 name twenty-four different burial locations in and around Genoa, with San Lorenzo accounting for the largest number (six, 14%), and various mendicant churches for eleven (25%). In 1259, the archdeacon of Genoa and the canons of San Lorenzo had a house adjacent to the church torn down in order to expand the cemetery—and enhance the “beauty and illumination” of the church.⁴⁵ The most notable change in burial pattern is the decline in burials at Benedictine houses. These monasteries (some of which doubled as parish churches) accounted for about a fifth of the burials in the earlier period, but in the later sample they account for only half that. The mendicant churches were changing the landscape of Genoese graveyards in the thirteenth century, which helps explain the negotiations that took place in 1278.

⁴⁴ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 145-6

⁴⁵ *I libri iurium*, volume I/4, ed. Dellacasa, doc. 767, pp. 374-5 “*decorum et illuminacionem ipsius ecclesie*”

We know very little from any source about the ceremonies surrounding the deaths, funerals, and burials, of Genoese men and women in the thirteenth century, but the notarial acts provide some important clues about the involvement of priests. Testifying at a trial about the allotment of the late Vivaldo de Carlo's bequests in the 1240s, Presbiter Oberto, a chaplain of San Siro, stated that he had given Vivaldo his last rights. "He had stood in [Vivaldo's] house in order to give him penance" during the illness that killed him, and "he gave him the Eucharist and Holy Oil during the same illness."⁴⁶ After performing the last rights, priests and other clerics took part in the funeral services and burial. Most of our evidence for this involvement is indirect, coming from the almost universal testamentary bequests left to a church or cleric as payment for these services. The value of these bequests covered a range from as little as five solidi to over twenty-five librae, suggesting that the services could be simple affairs or grand and dramatic displays, depending on the wealth and desires of the testator.⁴⁷ While most acts tell us very little, we occasionally catch a glimpse of a cross or a candle as it flits by in the hands of a priest or other cleric. When Portella, the wife of Oliverio de Bisano, drafted her testament in 1206 she left two small bequests to the priests of Santa Croce and San Vincenzo, asking them "to come during her death with a cross and sing a mass."⁴⁸ In the 1282 inventory from Santa Maria de Castello we find a "large cross for the dead" (*crux magna pro mortuis*) as well as "three palls for the dead" (*patea tria pro*

⁴⁶ *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 475, pp. 195-6 "*et dixit quod sepe stetit in domo sua ad dandum penitenciam in infirmitatem in domo sua et sibi coluit penitenciam in infirmitatem in qua decessit et eidem dedit eucharistiam et oleum sanctum in eadem infirmitate*"

⁴⁷ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 150-153

⁴⁸ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1937, pp. 416-8; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 160 "*venire cum cruce in suo obitu et canere missam unam*"

mortuis).⁴⁹ Sant’Ambrogio also owed three such palls (*palia*).⁵⁰ Presbiter Guglielmo, the minister of San Salvatore, hoped that the Archbishop would attend his burial along with the canons and chaplains of San Lorenzo. He left money so that each of them could hold a special candle during the service.⁵¹

In addition to the funeral and burial services, many Genoese testators wanted priests to celebrate commemorative masses for their souls after their death.⁵² Whereas the funeral and burial were brief, one-time events, masses for the dead could be carried out regularly over longer periods of time, often in multiple churches. The popularity of these masses grew over the course of the thirteenth-century, but on whole the Genoese evidence is notable because of its variety.⁵³ Some testators earmarked nearly all their charitable bequests for masses, while others preferred not to request any at all, despite leaving generous sums to charity. Of those people who did request masses, some sought just a few, while others spelled out detailed instructions for series of masses that could last for six months or even a year. Some wealthy Genovesi even provided endowments that required institutions to celebrate mass annually to mark the anniversary of their death. Perhaps the best way to get a sense for this variety is to consider a few examples.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ ASG, Cart. 122, f. 3r [Johannes de Finamore]; Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 7, pp. 185-7. The word “*pateum*” is used throughout this inventory to refer to a something that must have been equivalent to the “*palia*” listed in the inventory of 1253 (Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 6). The 1253 inventory does list the church as having “*palia duo pro mortuis*.”

⁵⁰ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 78, p. 80

⁵¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 71v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁵² On masses for the dead in Genoa, see Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 152-6.

⁵³ Epstein surveys general trends in Genoese charitable giving at the end of each chapter in *Genoa and the Genoese*; he discusses the increase in bequests for masses on pp. 185-7.

⁵⁴ In light of the excellent work that Epstein has done on the first half of the thirteenth century (*Wills and Wealth*, pp. 152-6), I have drawn my examples from the period after 1250.

Anselmo de Cassina, who drafted his will in the town of Quarto in August 1254, left small bequests to six churches in the area, but only requested masses at the two that were in the town itself: San Giovanni and Santa Maria. He hoped priests would celebrate masses for his own soul at San Giovanni, and for the souls of his mother and father at both churches; he left the modest sum of five solidi for each set of masses.⁵⁵ Adalaxina, the wife of a man from Lucca (a group of Lucchesi merchants lived in Genoa's Sarzano neighborhood), wanted to be buried at San Giorgio, and she left the undifferentiated sum of thirty solidi for her burial, funeral expenses, candles, and the celebration of masses.⁵⁶ In 1298 a widow named Marineta left the cathedral of San Lorenzo L8 for her funeral expenses, L4 to endow an anniversary mass, and L5 "for singing masses for my soul," but no other charitable bequests.⁵⁷ In all, of the forty-four post-1253 testaments that I examined, sixteen included requests for commemorative masses or anniversaries. Among these, five of the testators were women.

All of the women and men in my sample "paid" for their funerals, burials, and commemorative masses through bequests left to institutions, rather than to specific priests. In the case of masses, this may partially be explained by familiarity, as there must have been many circumstances when the testator did not know what priests would have been active at churches they did not frequent. On the other hand, we also see this in cases where the testator must have known the priests at the church. When the noblewomen Caterina (a daughter of Luchetto Grimaldi and the wife of Pietro Fieschi) drafted her will in 1299 she left donations to two specific Franciscan friars, but left L15

⁵⁵ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 53, f. 11r-11v [Simon Bastonus]

⁵⁶ In 1264; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 69r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]. On the Lucchesi, see A. Boldorini, "Santa Croce di Sarzano e i mercanti lucchesi a Genova (secc. XIII-XIV)," in ASLSP n.s. 2 (Genoa 1962), pp. 77-96.

⁵⁷ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 242, pp. 299-300

for the funeral services and L5 for masses to the “community of Genoese Franciscans.”⁵⁸ Six chaplains of San Lorenzo witnessed Presbiter Guglielmo of San Salvatore’s will, but he did not name any specific priests to participate in his funeral at the same church.⁵⁹ Why did testators who clearly knew the priests prefer to designate the institution rather than the individual? It may say something about the testators attachment to the institution (and the saint it represented) being greater than their attachment to the priests who served it, but it could also be a matter of contractual precision. In general the Genovesi liked their contractual arrangements to be as precise and unambiguous as possible, perhaps testators were averse to singling out specific priests unless they felt certain that he would still be in office when the bequests were delivered. The last thing one would want is for his or her soul to be stuck in purgatory while lawyers were sorting out who was entitled to one’s bequests.

The notarial acts can also tell us something about how the bequests were delivered to the priests and religious institutions. Some Genoese testators left instructions that the bequests for their funeral expenses should be paid at the time of the services, but others allowed the payments to be made when the rest of the estate was settled. Druda, the wife of Merlone Guaraco, wished that the L14 that she left for her burials and anniversary masses “be given at once.”⁶⁰ On the other hand, in April 1300, sometime after the death of Pietro de Aguiso, his executors paid Presbiter Giovanni, the minister of Santa Croce, the L8 that Pietro had bequeathed “for his burial and other

⁵⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 147/I, ff. 53v-54v [Johannes de Avundo]

⁵⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 71v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁶⁰ In 1161; *Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba*, ed. M. Chiaudano and M. Moresco, 2 volumes, Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Dritto Commerciale Italiano 1-2, (Turin 1935), volume 2, doc. 843, p. 193; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 159.

funeral rites and furnimentum associated with his burial.”⁶¹ When the immigrant Goffredo de Bruniaco drafted his will in Genoa in 1273, he still owed 7 solidi to the church of Sant’Alessandro in Pontremoli (over 120 kilometers away) for the burial of his wife, Palma.⁶² Funeral services and masses were almost always paid for in coin, but some testators preferred to leave material gifts or wanted some of their possessions to be sold and the proceeds used to pay for masses. For instance, a woman named Amalora left several items of clothing to the recently-founded Humiliati church of San Colombano to pay for her burial services in lieu of money.⁶³ Oftentimes people chose to have someone else determine how much should be spent on their funeral service and burial. These decisions were often left in the hands of someone other than the estate’s executor, with a spouse, family member, or cleric being a common choice as an overseer.⁶⁴ Casale de Cucurno’s will states that, “whatever and however much shall be pleasing to lord Giacomo de Cucurno, canon of Genoa [i.e. San Lorenzo]” should be paid for his funeral.⁶⁵

Funerals and commemorative masses clearly had an economic aspect for both the testator and the clergy, but it is important to look past the economic issues to what was expected of priests in these important ceremonies. The men and women of their communities—lay and religious—expected priests to ensure the bodies and souls of their departed brethren were accorded the services appropriate to their new status in the interconnected community of the living and the dead. Based upon what we see in the notarial sources it appears that they attended to these responsibilities with due diligence.

⁶¹ *Santo Stefano*, volume 4, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 988, pp. 129-130

⁶² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, ff. 111v-112r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁶³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 123r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

⁶⁴ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 221

⁶⁵ In 1297; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc.119, pp. 149-150

Performing these funerals, burials, and masses was not only an important source of income for local priests, but must have been an important way for them to build lasting ties with the families that they served. Diligent performance of these services may also have contributed to a priest's reputation for piety, leading to more requests for masses, more bequests, and other social and professional benefits.

CHARITABLE DONATIONS

In addition to the bequests that Genoese men and women made as “payment” for particular ceremonies following their death, they also made many donations to benefit their souls. These devotional donations carried the implied obligation that the receiving cleric or clerics—and those who followed them at that institution—would pray for the donor in remembrance of their pious gift. By accepting these donations and praying for the donors, the Genoese clergy facilitated an activity that benefited the donor and their family, as well as strengthened their own place within the community. The notarial sources lack much of a “spiritual dimension,” but the records of these donations hint at the intangible experiences of faith that much medieval scholarship over the past thirty years has sought to recapture.⁶⁶ The meeting between priest and donor (or executor) for the sake of a donation was charged with spiritual and social significance, and represents the vitality of the relationships between laity and clergy. At these moments, the spiritual and the temporal dimensions of secular priests' lives intersected.⁶⁷

In general terms, people made two types of donation to the clergy and churches of medieval Genoa: donations *inter vivos* (“between the living”) and donations *causa mortis*

⁶⁶ Miller, *Formation of a Medieval Church*, p. 97

⁶⁷ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 146

(“upon death”).⁶⁸ Donors usually had notaries record inter vivos donations in a discrete act of donation, while causa mortis bequests were included in one’s testament. Of these two types of act, the testaments are far more numerous, but the acts of donations tend to render the exchange in much more detail.⁶⁹ Part of this detail is the appearance of named priests and clerics who accept the donation, usually on behalf of their church or institution. In causa mortis donations, we are far less likely to see clerics, unless a donation is being made to one as an individual distinct from their affiliated institution. Much as bequests for the singing of masses or the performance of funeral rites, donations designated for a church were meant to support that institution regardless of who was staffing it, and testators did not want any confusion to arise in the event that a specific priest was no longer present at their target institution. Donations to a named priest, on the other hand, probably indicate a personal bond between the donor and recipient. The Genoese were thorough and cautious with their notarial acts. In causa mortis bequests it was safer to name the institution, but when the transaction was being carried out inter vivos it makes sense that a real priest would appear as the church’s representative.⁷⁰

Looking at the Genoese notarial evidence from the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries we see a general trend away from giving land to the clergy, and towards giving money. This was a trend seen throughout Europe, and there are many possible explanations for it. First is the increasing monetization of the economy. With more money in circulation, more money could be given to the church. Whereas most people could only give land to

⁶⁸ See Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence*, pp. 172-173

⁶⁹ Acts of donation are common in the institutional cartularies of Genoa’s major monastic houses and secular religious institutions, but as we see throughout this study the private registers provide valuable additional evidence.

⁷⁰ Osheim comes to a similar conclusion about reasons for naming religious institutions—rather than specific clerics—in Lucchese testaments, see *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 149.

one or two institutions, they could make cash donations to several—often choosing a mixture of new and old, secular and regular.⁷¹ Spreading one's donations between more institutions meant more clerics praying for one's soul and family. Another issue, in Genoa at least, was the increasing value of land.⁷² The same processes of urbanization that lead to increased ecclesiastical rental contracts in the thirteenth century may have discouraged people from alienating their land, even to the Church. Whereas income from suburban land had previously been tied to unpredictable crop yields, as urbanization progressed landowners had increasing opportunities to collect stable rents. By doing so they were able to decrease their risk, thereby increasing the perceived value of their land. Given that the total number of inter vivos donations falls off precipitously after about 1240, it is reasonable to speculate that most Genovesi were not interested in making inter vivos donations of cash. After 1240, the only people we find donating land to churches are clerics themselves, like Presbiter Rollando and Giovanni de Cameçana, both of whom were canons at San Lorenzo.⁷³

Almost all inter vivos donations were made through direct, face-to-face contact between donors and the cleric or clerics representing the target institution. When Adalaxia, the sister of Ansaldo Lacavelli, and her nephew donated land to the church of San Nicolò di Capodimonte, they met the provost and a subdeacon of the church in a house in Genoa. No doubt Giovanni and Gerardo were only too happy to accept the property, which included vines, forest, and clear areas (*terram vacuum*).⁷⁴ My sample contains twenty-four examples of inter vivos donations being made to secular priests and their institutions

⁷¹ This pattern is seen in Verona and Lucca as well, and is discussed in Miller, *Formation of a Medieval Church*, pp. 106-9 and Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 146-165.

⁷² Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," p. 46

⁷³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 16r-16v; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 132, pp. 197-201

⁷⁴ ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 1.XXIV, not foliated, 27 September (1228?) [Simon de Palzolo]

between 1155 and 1240, and only four between 1240 and 1300. In five of the cases the donors were clerics, and in the remaining nineteen they were laypeople. What stands out from this evidence is the number of women making donations. Lay women were the only donor in nine cases, and in three additional cases women accompanied their husbands to make a joint gift.⁷⁵ One such act comes from 1203, when Vassallo de Fontana, his wife Bordella, and his two sons met with Presbiter Rubaldo of San Pietro di Vesima and gave him their rights over an aqueduct.⁷⁶ Vassallo de Campello and his wife Benenca donated lands to San Giovanni in Quinto (on the coast east of Genoa) in 1205, meeting directly with the church's priest, Presbiter Ottone, at the door of his residence.⁷⁷

Land and buildings were the most popular gifts, appearing in eighteen of the *inter vivos* donations in my sample. In thirteen of these cases land was the only gift, such as when Gisla Selvana donated a piece of a chestnut forest (*castagnetum*) in Livellato to Santa Maria delle Vigne. (The church already owned the land on three sides of her plot.)⁷⁸ The donor gave both land and buildings in three other cases. The canon Giovanni de Cameçana, paid L200 for one-eighth of a piece of urban land and the structures upon it in 1270.⁷⁹ Nine years later, he donated the land as well as the baths, workshops, houses, wells, cisterns, and other rights to the chapter at San Lorenzo. He made the donation on the condition that the chapter celebrate three mass on the anniversary of his death each year—one for his soul, and one each for the souls of Innocent IV and Adrian V (the Fieschi popes). In three cases the donor gave a house, but not the land that it was on, and in the remaining examples they gave rights to particular

⁷⁵ Four of these cases feature widows.

⁷⁶ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 358, pp. 163-4

⁷⁷ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1545, pp. 209-210

⁷⁸ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 77, pp. 88-9

⁷⁹ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 132, pp. 197-201

income sources (like the aqueduct) but not outright possession of the property itself. Donations of property and rights like these were important to virtually all Genoese religious institutions. As noted in the previous chapter, the revenues generated by managing and selling property were vital for the operation of these institutions and the support of their affiliated clergy.

Those individuals or couples who wished to enjoy the worldly benefits of making an inter vivos donation to the clergy, but could not afford to part with their property completely had at least two options. The first was to make an inter vivos donation but retain complete rights and possession of the property for their lifetime. When the widow Verdilia donated a house to Santa Maria delle Vigne in 1212, she did so on the condition that she retain use of it until she died, and that after her death the canons had to celebrate her anniversary.⁸⁰ The second option was to forfeit possession of the donated property, but collect an annuity from the receiving institution. For example in 1198 a woman named Gisla donated her lands in the village of Roso to Presbiter Giovanni, who was acting in the name of the local church, Santo Stefano.⁸¹ The woman retained her rights to the fruits of the land until her death, upon which her husband would retain the rights until his death. Towards the end of the document Presbiter Giovanni promised that he would not violate the agreement and that he would work the land responsibly so that Gisla, and then her husband, could collect a good income from it.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 76, pp. 87-8

⁸¹ *Bonvillano (1198)*, ed. J. E. Eierman, et al., *Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 3* (Torino 1939), doc. 26, pp. 13-14 (hereafter cited as *Bonvillano*, ed. Eierman, et al.)

⁸² The fact that the husband, Rofino, does not appear to have any role in determining what happens with these lands suggests that they may have been part of Gisla's dotal property. On dowries in medieval Genoa, a good starting place is Hughes, "Urban Growth." For Mediterranean Europe generally see D. O. Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," in M. A. Kaplan (ed.), *The Marriage Bargain: Women and Dowries in the European History* (New York 1985), pp. 113-158.

Before turning to causa mortis donations, it is worth pausing for a moment to talk about the obligatory tithes placed on “pro anima” bequests in Genoese wills.⁸³ In 1174 the commune of Genoa, lamenting the fact that the cathedral of San Lorenzo had “for many years stood incomplete and very much deformed,” established that a tenth (decima) of the total amount that each Genoese testator bequeathed “for the soul” was to be passed along to the cathedral of San Lorenzo. Half of this money was to support the building projects (literally “works,” opera) of the cathedral, while half was to be given to the canons.⁸⁴ Notaries adhered to this law, and virtually all testaments from that point forward feature the tithe. The testament of Aidela, wife of Lanfranco Balbi, from 1203 is typical when it says “I leave 40 sol. for my soul, of which a tenth for the works of San Lorenzo.”⁸⁵ This tithe was more akin to a tax than an act of charity, and should not be confused with the charitable donations that will be discussed below. By the 1230s, some testators were even pushing back against the tithe, changing the structure of their wills to contain smaller amounts in the “pro anima” section.⁸⁶ It seems that nothing prevented people from leaving charitable bequests as straightforward legacies, bypassing the “pro anima” section of the will and thus the tithe. While the tithe to the cathedral was still common around 1250, moving into the second half of the century it appears that people were allowed to direct their tithe towards the opera of Genoa’s port and pier (portus and modolum) instead.⁸⁷ Presbiter Guglielmo, the minister of San Silvestro, left L5 for the

⁸³ V. Polonio Felloni, “Da ‘opere’ a pubblica magistratura. La cura della cattedrale e del porto nella genova medioevale,” in M. Haines and L. Riccetti, eds., *Opera: Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all’inizio dell’Età Moderna* (Florence 1996), pp. 117-136.

⁸⁴ *I libri iurium*, volume I/1, ed. Puncuh, doc. 230, pp. 331-2

⁸⁵ *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Kreuger and Reynolds, doc. 373

⁸⁶ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 140-144. Epstein was not aware that a copy of the commune’s proclamation from 1174 had survived.

⁸⁷ Polonio Felloni, “Da ‘opere,’” p. 128

“works of the pier or San Lorenzo” in 1273.⁸⁸ Apparently, with Genoa’s spiritual heart in good health, civic attention could turn towards improving her commercial heart.⁸⁹

Causa mortis donations were distributed by a person’s executors in accordance with the instructions in the testator’s will. Guglielmo de Quinto wished to be buried at the monastery of Santo Stefano and he left the clergy there L20 and a piece of land in Bavali for his funeral, burial, masses, and anniversaries.⁹⁰ In addition, he left L7 to the canons and church of San Donato, and L3 each to the Franciscan, Dominican, and the Augustinian friars (for the construction of Santa Tecla, which had begun in 1260). He then bequeathed 20 solidi apiece to San Desiderio in Bavali, San Pietro in Quinto, Santa Maria di Castello and San Daminao in Genoa proper, and to the monastery of Sant’Agata along the river Bisagno just outside the city. Next he left 5 solidi to each of five hospitals, and 10 solidi to the “patients of [the hospital of] San Lazzaro” (*infirmos Sancti Laçari*). He also made other charitable bequests to specific needy individuals “with the advice of Frater Bonifacio and the provost of San Donato,” and then left Bonifacio, the unnamed provost, and Guglielmo, the prior of Santo Stefano, 20 solidi apiece. Guglielmo de Quinto was clearly a man of substantial wealth, but causa mortis donations provided a way for men and women of more modest means to make donations to the clergy as well. After all, some people who could not afford to part with money or goods during their lifetime might do so painlessly in death. ⁹¹ When Giovanni Rubeo died in 1261, he owed small sums to many people “on account of loans” (*ex causa mutui*) and

⁸⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 71v [Facijs de Sancto Donato] “*operi moduli sive Sancti Laurenti*”

⁸⁹ In the late 1250s the superintendent of the works for the Molo (pier) was Brother Oliviero, a Cistercian monk from Sant’Andrea di Sestri Ponente. Because they were good sources of stone, he bought properties in Carignano and Albaro on behalf of the “*operario et ministero moduli et portus Ianue*” in 1257 and 1260. See *I libri iurium*, volume I/4, ed. Dellacasa, docs. 756 and 758.

⁹⁰ In 1264; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, ff. 50v-51r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁹¹ Some Genoese testators—more often women than men—also bequeathed clothing or other movable objects rather than cash.

“for iron” (pro ferro) that he had purchased on credit. But even so, this knife maker set aside ten solidi for the Dominican church.⁹² Vassallo, the son of the late Filippo Galli, made a few very modest bequests in the late 1220s, among them twenty solidi “for my soul.”⁹³

Over time, many Genovesi moved away from unrestricted cash donations to churches and priests, and towards donations offered in exchange for the commemorative masses discussed above. This reflects broader European trends in which an intensifying belief in purgatory was encouraging testators to solicit prayers from as many people as possible.⁹⁴ Since secular priests ultimately benefited from the bequests either way, we should not assume that this shift was inherently problematic. However, in the competitive environment created by the growing mendicant presence, secular clerics were clearly subject to the tastes of the populace. Epstein’s survey of thirteenth-century wills suggests that the Dominicans and Franciscans were drawing bequests away from the secular clergy in Genoa, though this is an issue that required further research.⁹⁵ In any case, not all testators made their bequests in exchange for masses, since we sometimes find cash gifts earmarked to support churches’ physical upkeep or other causes. For instance, in 1251 Giovanni Niger lived in the village of Calvari in the Val Bisagno and wished to be buried there at the church of Sant’Andrea. When he drafted his testament at home, he told the witnesses (including the local priest) that he wished to leave 2 solidi for the “upkeep or works of the same church.”⁹⁶ In 1287, the widow Balsema de Stella

⁹² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 27r-27v [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

⁹³ ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 1.XXIV, not foliated, 13 February [Simon de Palzolo]

⁹⁴ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 154-5

⁹⁵ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 129-33, 185-7

⁹⁶ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, ff. 11v-12r [Filippus de Sauro]; see also *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 595, *Giovanni Scriba*, volume 2, ed. Chiaudano, appendix III, doc. 3; *Bonvillano*, ed. Eierman, et al., doc. 183 “*operibus sive laboribus eiusdem ecclesie*”

bequeathed five solidi for the maintenance of the campanile at Santa Maria delle Vigne.⁹⁷ Six of the forty-four testaments I surveyed for the period 1254-1300 included bequests such as these.

In the end, the notarial acts show us that priests played a crucial part in serving the spiritual needs of their communities by providing a market for devotional gifts. As several scholars have established over the past forty years, this responsibility was not about simply accepting money, goods, and land, but also about offering the donor a fair price in return.⁹⁸ Ultimately that price was to be paid in prayers, but along the way gifts built, sustained, and repaired social relationships between people. Causa mortis donations would have enhanced the relationship between surviving family members and the clerics and churches that the decedent named as beneficiaries. When Guglielmo de Quinto instructed his son, Nicoloco, to work with Frater Bonifacio and the provost to distribute charitable bequests in a way that “seemed most useful for my soul,” he must have intended that some of the generosity that glorified his soul in death would help create or strengthen positive bonds for his son on earth.⁹⁹ Likewise it is hard to imagine that the clergy of Santo Stefano were thanking only the spirit of Baiamonte Barlaria when his son appeared and gave them L150 worth of rights over two mills, the balance of a

⁹⁷ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 63/II, f. 48r-48v [Angelinus de Sigestro]

⁹⁸ For instance, J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London 1972); S. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to the Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill 1988); and B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca 1989). Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld provides a useful introduction to this literature in “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach,” in E. Cohen and M. B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations: Medieval Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden 2001), pp. 123-156.

⁹⁹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, ff. 50v-51r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]

L200 bequest Baiamonte had made to support the construction of the monks' cloister.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile inter vivos donors would have reaped the social benefits of their gifts in person. And in addition to the prayers and social ties, donors could take satisfaction in knowing that their donations were helping support their local clerics (some of whom were surely friends and family) as well as their churches.



Figure 3-2: The twelfth-century campanile at the church of Santa Maria delle Vigne (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

¹⁰⁰ In 1212; *Santo Stefano*, volume 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 331, pp. 79-80

CONCLUSION

In 1244 and 1245 the clergy at the monastery of San Siro, which was also a parish seat, pursued at least two legal cases trying to claim bequests that had been left by their parishioners to the hospital of San Lazzaro. Two lengthy sets of depositions were copied into the monastery's cartulary and these preserve some of the only examples we have of secular clerics' "voices" in thirteenth-century Genoa. We have already heard a few words from Presbiter Oberto about providing last rights to the dying, but he also talked about how the chaplains of San Siro spent their time celebrating the Divine Office, and, "giving penance and the divine sacraments to the people—both healthy and ill—who lived within the confines [of the parish] and to others whom I do not know for certain if they are of this parish or not."¹⁰¹ Clearly the chaplains would serve all those who sought them out. Oberto's statements speak to the intimate contact that clerics could have with the faithful that they served. While it may be tempting to fixate upon San Siro's desire for financial gain, the monastery defended their rights, at least in part, so that Presbiter Oberto and his colleagues could continue to provide the care of souls.¹⁰² Secular priests were paid for much of the spiritual work they did for their communities, but the notarial sources show us that this was not necessarily extortionary. The lay community demanded the spiritual services that the Genoese priests provided, and they compensated them—willingly or begrudgingly—as they did the other artisans and professionals with whom they lived.

¹⁰¹ *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 474, p. 181 "*per ipsum tempus dando penitencias et divina sacramenta hominibus tam sanis quam infirmis habitantibus infra dictos confines et etiam ultra aliis quos non bene scio si sint illius parochie necne*"

¹⁰² In the second case, Oberto was asked to define a parish, and he replied, "*parochia est vicina que commissae est ecclesie seu ministro curam animarum habenti.*" *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 475, p. 196

Relying on the notarial sources, it is difficult to detect those relationships between priests and laypeople that did not involve contractual agreements, and nearly impossible to sense the vibrancy and texture of actual interpersonal contacts. Yet, despite some forms of *cura animarum* going almost completely unnoticed by notarial records (in particular some of the sacraments), the acts can help us see beyond the prescriptive sources. Each inventory tells us what tools priests really had at their disposal; each testament shows us priests praying for the souls of their parishioners; each *inter vivos* donation reveals real moments of human contact. These acts cannot replace the traditional sources, but they add important shadows to the outlines that those sources present. In the churches and houses of Genoa, these acts show us that secular clerics integrated themselves into the spiritual landscape of their communities in deep and meaningful ways—celebrating the sacraments, committing loved-ones to the grave, facilitating pious donations. In short, providing the care of souls.

CHAPTER FOUR

SACRED TRUST: PRIESTS AS AGENTS AND ARBITERS

In December 1250, Presbiter Conforto, a canon of San Damiano, arrived in the cathedral of San Lorenzo carrying a letter bearing a “wax seal with the image of a dove holding in its beak an olive branch.”¹ This was the seal of Presbiter Corrado, the minister of San Nazario, and Conforto presented the letter to Presbiter Guglielmo, the minister and rector of San Silvestro.² The letter told Guglielmo that, rather than going through the normal process of electing a cleric for the next open administrative position at San Silvestro, he was to reserve the position for Conforto. The grounds for the request were included in the letter as well: a bull from Pope Innocent IV. In the bull, the pope instructed Corrado to secure a new “rectorship or administrative position (even if it shall have the care of souls) or other prebendal benefice” for Conforto somewhere in Genoa or its diocese as soon as possible.³ Based on the text of the bull, it appears that Conforto had petitioned the papal curia, informing it that he was ready to resign his position at San Damiano because his income was so low (less than L10 per year).⁴ In this chapter, I will concentrate on just one dimension of this complicated episode: priests, like Corrado, who acted as agents or representatives for other parties. By doing this I will map out some of the layers of human contact that made up the Genoese Church.

¹ “*cum sigilo cereo in quo erat imago cuiusdam colombe tenenti in beco ramum olivarum*”

² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 27, f. 34v [Bartholomeus Fornarius]; see also *Lettere di Innocenzo IV*, ed. Guerello, doc. 57, pp. 90-91.

³ “*rectoria vel administracione eciam si curam habeat animarum vel de alio beneficio prebendali*”

⁴ Genoese petitions and related bulls were particularly frequent during the pontificate of Innocent VI. Born Sinibaldo Fieschi, he was the son of Ugo Fieschi, the Count of Lavagna and the head of a powerful Ligurian noble family. Sinibaldo was a prominent canonist by the 1220s and named a cardinal in 1227. He was elected pope in 1243 and served until his death in 1254. The best recent account of his life is A. Melloni, *Innocenzo IV: La concezione e l'esperienza della cristianità come* “regimen unius personae,” with preface by Brian Tierney (Genoa 1990).

The legal mechanisms that enabled one person to appoint another to make binding decisions as his or her proxy may have been one of the most significant legal developments of the Middle Ages.⁵ The use of agents in place of principals allowed religious, economic, judicial, and political affairs to become more complex and to be carried out more effectively across greater distances. By the thirteenth century, proxies of one sort or another were ubiquitous throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world, acting not only on behalf of kings and popes, but even the most small-scale merchants and investors. In this chapter, I shall take up the issue of secular priests serving as proxies: as individual actors chosen to carry out specific tasks or hold particular responsibilities on behalf of other individuals or groups. Here the Genoese notarial registers reveal a world where secular priests engaged in a range of activities that helped contribute to the orderliness and efficiency of their clerical and lay communities. The priests I investigate below, like Presbiter Corrado, were appointed directly by principals to provide a specific service, and thus they held responsibilities *ex mandato* rather than *ex officio*. Whereas provosts, rectors, and abbots regularly appear in institutional cartularies as the visible representatives of their institutions and their staffs, they held these responsibilities by virtue of their office. Many complex social relationships may lie hidden behind the cloaks of these officials, and the private notarial registers let us see more direct connections between individual actors. This is crucial for understanding the dynamic role of the clergy—distinct from religious institutions—in Genoese society.

⁵ R. S. Lopez, “Proxy in Medieval Trade,” in W. C. Jordan, et al., *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Stayer* (Princeton 1976), pp. 187-194



Figure 4-1: The church of San Damiano (11th-century), hidden among the caruggi (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

In medieval Genoa the appointment of an agent (*procurator*) was a common practice and an important tool for clerics and laypeople alike.⁶ The notarial registers are full of Genovesi entrusting their private or corporate matters to more skilled, influential,

⁶ On agency and *procuratores* in the Middle Ages, see K. L. Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden 2002), pp. 128-140; E. A. R. Brown, "Representation and Agency Law in the Later Middle Ages: The Theoretical Foundations and the Evolution of Practice in the Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Midi," in *Viator* 3 (1972), pp. 329-364; D. E. Queller, "Thirteenth-Century Diplomatic Envoys: *Nuncii* and *Procuratores*," in *Speculum* 35 (1960), pp. 196-213; Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence*, pp. 150-151; Lopez and Raymond (eds.) *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, pp. 212-220; and Lopez, "Proxy in Medieval Trade." Anglophone scholarship uses many translations for the words *nuncius* and *procurator*, including proxy, agent, representative, envoy, and messenger.

or mobile individuals. The act of procuration was remarkably flexible, allowing principals to carefully define their agent's responsibilities and the limits of their power.⁷ Sometimes agents carried out simple duties within a narrowly-defined sphere, such as collecting a debt or making a payment. At other times they were granted a general mandate as a "trusted messenger and general procurator" (*certum nuncium et generalem procuratorem*), under which they could handle far more complex transactions, such as carrying out legal cases or negotiating contracts. In these intricate and unpredictable situations, agents behaved like ambassadors: aware of their principal's goals, but free to pursue them according to their own judgment.

Agents are often discussed in scholarship about medieval business, but they were ubiquitous in all facets of Genoese life. Based on my sample of notarial acts it appears that lay men and women rarely named priests as agents regarding secular business. For instance, I have found only five examples of laypeople entrusting commercial matters to priests. In three of these cases they were asked to collect money that was owed to the principal, and in the other two they were asked to pay a debt on behalf of the principal.⁸ Generally, lay Genovesi preferred to entrust their secular affairs to secular agents rather than to the clergy. Priests entrusted their church's or their own temporal affairs to laymen only slightly more often (in eight cases).⁹ It appears that priests and laypeople respected the division between lay and clerical business affairs that had been firmly

⁷ According to Roman law the agent was not supposed to receive any payment for their services, and the notarial acts never mention monetary payment for these services—though *quid pro quo* arrangements must have taken place.

⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 20/I, f. 36r [Bonusvassallus de Maiori]; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 23r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]; ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 6.72, 12 April and 30 April 1262 [Facijs de Sancto Donato]; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 255 and 334.

⁹ ASG, Archivio Segreto, num. gen. 1552, San Leonardo, 1304; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 23r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]; cart. 63/II, ff. 110v-111r [Angelinus de Sigestro]; cart. 194, f. 153r-153v [Franciscus de Silva]; cart. 69, f. 5r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]; cart. 3/II, f. 197r [Facijs de Sancto Donato]; cart. 15, f. 24r [Salamonis]; and Vigna, *Santa Maria di Castello*, doc. 13, p. 194

codified in canon law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰ The general spirit of these rules was that the secular clergy should not put church property into lay hands, nor should they act as administrators for lay property and affairs—unless they are doing so charitably on behalf of widows or orphans. Given the level of priestly involvement in many aspects of Genoese secular society, it seems plausible that priests were fully *capable* of acting as agents in commercial affairs, but did not do so because of canon law. In general, Genoese priests named other priests and clerics as their agents in tending to commercial and institutional affairs. My sample contains fifty-eight examples of priests acting as agents for other priests or religious institutions in these capacities.¹¹ In these acts priest-agents carried out a wide variety of transactions, including tending to financial matters, paying and appealing papal taxes, and standing in during elections and other administrative procedures. In the pages that follow I will consider the many additional acts in which priests appear as testamentary executors, as procurators heading to the papal curia, and as judges and arbiters.

PRIESTS AS EXECUTORS

While priests may have preferred to have other clerics handle their affairs, this does not mean that priests never acted as agents for the laity. Looking at testamentary evidence we find appreciable numbers of secular clerics serving as executors for the

¹⁰See for example *Decretum* C. 21 q. 3 c. 1; D. 87 c. 1; D. 88 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 1, cols. 855-6, 304, 306-10); and *Decretales Gregorii IX* X 3.50.6 and X 3.50.2 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 658-9); this division had been articulated piecemeal in canons and Church councils over the preceding centuries. The *Decretales Gregorii IX* (1234) recommended that communities of regular clerics put their temporal affairs in the hands of a lay syndic (see X 1.39.1, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, col. 218). The Genoese notarial registers indicate that some communities did this, see for example ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 2.2, ff. 111v-112 [Andreas de Fraxento] and ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, ff. 23r and 42v [Filippus de Sauro].

¹¹ I also located an additional thirty-one acts where other clerics served as agents. The archiepiscopal curia in particular provided steady administrative work for its priest-vicars.

estates of the deceased—both lay and religious. Testaments in the Middle Ages were a crucial opportunity for a deceased woman or man to settle their affairs and redistribute their money and goods in ways that would not only benefit their own soul, but benefit the living as well. The complicating factor, obviously, was that the decedent could not be physically present to ensure that their wishes were carried out honestly and without undue delay. Because of this many testators designated one or more agents to carry out their wishes as executors and trustees, and hoped for the best.¹² As Duane Osheim and others have observed, executors played a crucial role in society.¹³ Like testators across Europe, the medieval Genovesi occasionally included priests among their appointed executors.¹⁴ When Steven Epstein studied Genoese testaments from 1155-1253, he found that among 242 testators who named executors, 30 (12%) appointed at least one cleric who was not a family member.¹⁵ A comprehensive survey of wills for the remainder of the thirteenth century was outside of the scope of this study, but in the forty-four Genoese wills that I encountered for the period between 1254 and 1300, I found an additional three examples of clerical executors in Genoa. Thirty-three examples may be a modest quantity, but it is not insignificant given the importance of executors in stabilizing and reshaping social networks for both the living and dead after a person has died and joined the everlasting community of family and friends in the local cemetery.

¹² Epstein found that less than half of the surviving Genoese testaments from 1155-1253 name executors. For a discussion of the cases where an executor was not necessary see *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 220-221.

¹³ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 9

¹⁴ In technical legal language, an executor (*executor*) and a trustee (*fideicommissarius*) had different levels of responsibility in the execution of a will. The executor was in charge of the entire enterprise, while a trustee was charged with carrying out only a specific aspect of the testator's instructions, for more information see Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 220. Since both executors and trustees were agents, I have used the term "executor" in this chapter to refer to both.

¹⁵ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 223-6. Epstein is ambiguous about what he means by the word "cleric," but the context elsewhere in the book indicated he is clearly referring to men in, at least, the major orders. He excludes from his statistics clerics who were identified as family members of the testator. Based on Epstein's total sample of 632 testaments, this would mean roughly five percent of surviving wills from that period name a member of the clergy as an executor.

Lay or religious executors were responsible for verifying that a testator was in fact dead, then moving to pay out legacies and carry out the provisions of the will.¹⁶ Banderia and Pietro de Silvagnino were the executors for the estate of Pieter Saonerii, and one of their duties was delivering L10 to the *minister operis* at San Lorenzo in 1227.¹⁷ In 1288 the executor of Carolina, daughter of the late Gandolfo Paravani, met the minister of San Siro di Rappalo in Genoa and delivered a modest five-solidi bequest.¹⁸ Many Genoese testators had money tied up in investments and other commercial affairs which took time to terminate favorably, but in general there was a one-year time limit on paying out legacies. Sometimes an executor held money or goods in trust on a minor's behalf after the death of his or her parents. This was the case when Presbiter Bonifacio, the prior of San Teodoro, transferred L78 to a boy from the neighborhood, "Giovanni, son of the late Alberto Clerici."¹⁹

Genoese testators who selected only one executor overwhelmingly selected their spouse, or a close relative. However, in rare cases they chose to entrust their entire estate to a member of the clergy. When Greca, who "lived in the house of Ugolino Malloni and his wife" drafted her will in July 1225, she stated that she wanted Presbiter Alberto of Santa Marie di Castello to be her sole executor. "I wish that all these things be given and distributed through the hand of the aforesaid Presbiter Alberto of Santa Maria di Castello."²⁰ In this case, Alberto was "the aforesaid" because Greca had already

¹⁶ Testators who left behind minor children appointed a guardian for their children, but there are no known thirteenth-century cases where a member of the Genoese clergy was named as a guardian. See Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 90.

¹⁷ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 7, f. 275r [Jacobus Taraburli]

¹⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 129, f. 28v [Nicolaus de Camilio]

¹⁹ In 1191; *Guglielmo Cassinese*, volume 1, ed. Hall, et al., doc. 564, p. 225

²⁰ *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 1432, pp. 216-217. "*que omnia volo dari et distribui per manum dicti presbyteri Alberti Sancte Marie de Castello.*"

identified him as a recipient of a personal bequest: one of her woven cotton shirts.²¹ It is clear that Greca felt a special connection to Santa Maria di Castello as she selected it as her place of burial, left it several times more money than any other institution, and singled out another of its employees for a special bequest (a shirt and a pillow). Giovanni de Cucurno, like many testators, drafted his will before setting out to sea. In it he named Presbiter Ugo de Cucurno of San Lorenzo as the executor of his estate, which included “90 new and choice bezants” (*mussimutinos LXXXX novos et electos*).²² In 1297 the notary Guirardo de Lagneto designated the provost of the chapter at San Lorenzo as the sole executor for his elaborate will, even though he did not know who would be in that office at the time of his death.²³ Clearly, some people wanted a clerical executor for reasons that had little to do with interpersonal relationships.

Executing a will could be a complex and time-consuming process, so many Genovesi (wealthy individuals in particular) appointed more than one executor. Appointing more than one executor might also reduce the risk that unpopular provisions of a testament would go unfulfilled. Epstein and Osheim have both noted that testators appointing multiple executors normally named one close family member and then one or two people to whom they were not related.²⁴ This suggests that people appointed non-family members in cases where they did not entirely trust their kin. It is not uncommon to find priests or clerics in this role of non-family executor, as was the case in thirty of the cases identified by Epstein. The choice of a priest as an executor may also be connected to the testator’s desire for the health of their soul. Priests may have been more

²¹ “...presbytero Alberto Sancte Marie de Castello camisiam unam de tela mea bombecinam...”

²² In 1205; *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1461, pp. 152-153

²³ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 122, pp. 156-9; Guirardo was a relative (*cognatus*) of Stefano di Corrado’s wife, Marietta.

²⁴ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, pp. 9, 150; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 224-5

likely to take seriously their spiritual intentions and carry out otherwise contentious charitable bequests. Perhaps this helps explain why Agnese, the wife of Enrico de Porta, passed over her husband and named the provost of Santa Maria delle Vigne as her sole executor, entrusting him with over ten separate bequests.²⁵ With the uncertainties of death, testators may have found it comforting to know that a cleric or priest would be involved in making their final marks on the world.²⁶ On the other hand, as we have seen throughout this study, Genoese secular priests were integrated into their lay communities in diverse ways, many of which could have made them a viable choice as an executor. For instance, sometimes priests and clerics served as executors because they were related to a testator by blood. This may have been part of the reason that Giovanni de Cucurno selected Presbiter Ugo de Cucurno above, or why Casale de Cucurno named Giacomo de Cucurno his executor over ninety years later.²⁷ Giacomo was a canon of San Lorenzo, and Casale wished to be buried at that prestigious institution. He was from a noble family and clearly had the status to be buried there, though at the time he wrote his will Casale and his brother still owed San Lorenzo half of his father's bequest to the institution, a full L20.

Some of the most illuminating evidence that we have about priests acting as executors comes from the testaments of other clerics. All four of the clerical testators in my sample, selected exclusively other clerics as their executors, and three included priests.²⁸ One of the best examples comes from the private registers of Facius de Sancto Donato, among whose 147 surviving folios we find over 100 acts featuring the Genoese

²⁵ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 108, pp. 123-125

²⁶ Osheim, *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 160

²⁷ In 1297; *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 118, pp. 149-150

²⁸ The fourth, Presbiter Alberto, the *custos* of San Lorenzo in 1226, named a deacon who worked with him at the cathedral; *Salmonus*, ed. Ferretto, doc. 1513, pp. 559-60

clergy. In 1273, Presbiter Guglielmo, the minister of San Silvestro since at least 1250, went to the cathedral to draft his will and appoint his executors.²⁹ He selected two priests: Presbiter Bonaventura and Presbiter Enrico de Sarzano. The first, Bonaventura, was the chaplain at San Silvestro, and one of the primary beneficiaries of Guglielmo's estate. The second priest may have been Enrico de Castelliono, whom we have met before, and who was a chaplain for the archbishop by 1272 and the minister at San Silvestro by 1297.³⁰ For his part, Ottone, the archdeacon of Genoa, named the archbishop and two priests (along with two *magistri*) as his executors in his 1206 testament.³¹ Presbiter Matteo, a chaplain at San Lorenzo, helped deliver bequests to Genoese hospitals as an executor for "Iohannes dicti Cardinalis" (a prominent canon in the chapter at San Lorenzo).³² Just as Genoese laypeople often appointed family members as their executors, it appears that the clergy preferred to appoint their spiritual brothers to tend to their final wishes.

PRIESTS AS AGENTS TO THE PAPAL CURIA

The Genoese Church was primarily a regional body, made up of local actors engaged in local affairs, but these actors and their institutions did have contact with the papacy (as mentioned in Chapter One). As the Roman Church grew in complexity and power in the central Middle Ages, creating what some historians have called the "Papal Monarchy," more and more people (both lay and religious) became potentially subject to

²⁹ His testament is in ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 69, f. 79v; Presbiter Guglielmo is seen in this office in December of 1250, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 27, f. 34v [Bartholomeus Fornarius].

³⁰ See *Stefano de Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 2, pp. 4-5 for his first appearance as chaplain, then doc. 84, pp. 102-103 for his appearance as minister of San Silvestro. It is possible, though not certain, that he is even the same "presbiter Enricus" known to have been the minister of nearby San Salvatore de Sarzano in 1266, see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 16/II, f. 129v [Johannes de Corsio].

³¹ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1884, pp. 381-383

³² In 1303; *Santo Stefano*, volume 4, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 1059, pp. 267-268

its systems of laws, taxes, rights, and patronage.³³ As various avenues of papal authority came to transect the diocese of Genoa, more and more clerics and laypeople found themselves with reasons to petition the papal curia. A petition (or supplication) was a request for the pope to either grant a particular favor or appoint judges to hear a case.³⁴ By the early fourteenth-century, the papal curia was entertaining petitions about a wide range of issues, among them benefices, dispensations, canon legal cases, ecclesiastical administration, and others.³⁵

Prior to the early thirteenth century, most people had to visit the curia in person to make their supplication, but the papacy's expanding reach and influence went hand-in-hand with an increasingly bureaucratic structure that aimed at managing the petition system more efficiently. One important change was the introduction of procurators (*procuratores*), agents who could carry out business at the curia on a petitioner's behalf. While a supplicant remained comfortably at home, their procurator would travel to the curia, meet with a notary to have the petition drafted, and present the petition to the appropriate curial department or officer—sometimes even directly to the pope. In the event that the case at hand was beyond their legal abilities, the procurator could enlist the aid of university-trained attorneys (*advocati*) at the curia. Moreover, they could also encourage cardinals and other influential men to put in a word on their employer's behalf. If the petition was granted, the procurator could then go through another process to have

³³ A useful overview of this process can be found in Morris, *Papal Monarchy*.

³⁴ The description of petitioning that follows is based on P. Zutshi, "Petitions to the Pope in the Fourteenth Century," in W. M. Ormrod, et al., *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance* (Woodbridge 2009), pp. 82-98; and B. Bombi, "Petitioning between England and Avignon in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in the same volume, pp. 64-81.

³⁵ Perhaps the most illuminating way to get a sense for what petitions were reaching the papacy can be found in a guide for the notaries who worked at the curia drafting them; see G. Barraclough, *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia: A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium notariorum Curie from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century* (London 1934).

papal letters issued confirming or enforcing the outcome. The procurator (or his messenger) would then return to their employer with the letters in hand.

A steady stream of papal letters flowed into Genoa in response to supplications, and many found their way into the notarial registers.³⁶ Sometimes they were copied out as evidence of papal instructions in a particular matter or legal case. For instance, when a student was tonsured by Archbishop Porchetto in 1310, a papal dispensation for the young man's illegitimacy was copied into the document recording the act.³⁷ Other times bulls were simply copied out for the sake of preservation. This usually took the form of a notary recording the act of a messenger presenting a bull to its intended audience. In February 1248 the notary Matteo de Predono was called to the church of Sant' Ambrogio, where he watched a scribe "give, offer, and present" a letter from Innocent IV to the chapter. He then copied the entire text of the letter into his register for safekeeping.³⁸ While institutional cartularies preserve some of these bulls, they often say nothing about who acted as the institution's procurator at the curia. Fortunately, the Genoese notaries recorded the appointment of procurators heading for the papacy the same way they recorded the appointment of any other agent: with the primary parties naming their representatives and spelling out their responsibilities. My sample contains ten cases where a secular priest was dispatched to the papal curia as a procurator, and I have located another twelve acts where other secular clerics in major orders were appointed. I found twenty-one of these twenty-two cases in private notarial registers.

³⁶ Franco Guerello, S. J., found 104 bulls of Innocent IV preserved in Genoese notarial registers; see *Lettere di Innocenzo IV*, ed. Guerello.

³⁷ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/I, f. 29r [Leonardus de Garibaldo]

³⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 31/I, ff. 186v-187r

The papacy *was* extending its influence within the lives of laypeople in the thirteenth century, but I found only one example of a layperson appointing clerical procurators. After Manuele Granellus was excommunicated for travelling to Egypt “against the order of the Church” (*contra mandatum Ecclesie*), he called upon a secular priest and a canon to petition the papacy on his behalf in 1297.³⁹ Manuele claimed that he had been taken to Alexandria against his will, presumably as a merchant on a boat which he did not own, and he asked his agents to tell the curia that “he obeyed the aforesaid order of the Church in [his] soul.”⁴⁰ One of Manuele’s agents was Presbiter Giacomo de Zignago (or Zignaculo), a canon in the chapter at Santa Maria di Castello from sometime in the late 1290s until at least 1325.⁴¹ The second was *magister* Giovanni de Ianua, who was a canon of the cathedral in Savona, the episcopal see just west of Genoa.⁴² Of the forty-three papal bulls from the curia of Innocent IV collected by Franco Guerello that do not concern benefices, eleven are clearly in response to lay petitions. This suggests that Genoese lay people did petition the papal curia regularly, but appear to have dispatched lay procurators on their behalf.⁴³

Because the papacy could have influence in many areas of clerical life, members of the clergy had more reasons to petition the papacy than the average layperson. The notarial evidence, the private registers in particular, clearly demonstrate that priests and

³⁹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 166. According to the *Decretales Gregorii XI* (1234), Christians who sold weapons or other war materiel to the Muslims could be excommunicated, and over the remainder of the century different popes pushed the issue more or less forcefully. *Liber extra*, X 5.6.6, 5.6.12 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 773 and 775); J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool 1979), pp. 4-5

⁴⁰ “*in anima mea super predictis parere mandatis Ecclesie*”

⁴¹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 235; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/II, f. 114v [Leonardus de Garibaldo]

⁴² Going through Stefano de Corrado’s register, we find Giovanni acting as an agent in papal affairs eight times between April 1297 and February 1298, but his service on behalf of Manuele is the only example of him working for a layperson. *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 127, 143, 145, 166, 171, 176, 192, 239

⁴³ *Lettere di Innocenzo IV*, ed. Guerello, docs. 11, 12, 22, 54, 61, 64, 65, 68, 88, 95, 99

other clerics were active as procurators in the papal curia. In many acts of appointment, notaries employed formulaic language that stated simply that a priest was appointed as a general agent, with the power to tend to any relevant business that might come up at the curia. Presbiter Pagano of San Pietro della Porta named the archpriest of Rivarolio a general agent in 1248, “to procure letters [from the papal curia] and to contradict (in court) any person seeking to bring action against the same Presbiter Pagano, and for selecting judges and meeting with them, and finally, for doing what shall be necessary regarding the aforesaid matters and whatever might surround them.”⁴⁴ This language remained fairly constant across the thirteenth century. Notaries writing on behalf of Presbiter Guglielmo, the minister of San Marcellino, in 1222; Opizo, the archpriest of Caranza in 1248; Presbiter Silo, chaplain at the monastery of Santo Stefano in 1255; and Archbishop Porchetto of Genoa in 1311 all used similar clauses.⁴⁵ The fact that clerical agents were instructed to “procure letters” indicates that even as “general” procurators they had been privately charged with specific petitions that were not detailed in the notarial acts.

In other acts, however, we can see clerical procurators leaving Genoa with a range of specific duties. When Presbiter Tommaso de Roboreto was given the opportunity to become the *mansionarius* of San Lorenzo in 1297, he first had to renounce his position as minister of San Martino in Pegli (about six miles west of Genoa). He did this by having *magister* Giovanni de Ianua and Corrado, provost of Santa Maria Maddalena, bring the

⁴⁴ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 46v [Bartolomeus Fornarius] “*ad impetrandum litteras et ad contradicendum cuilibet persone volenti contra ipsum presbiterum Paganum aliquid impetrare et ad iudices eligendum et in iudicibus conveniendum et demum ad omnia faciendum in predictis et circa predicta que neccessaria fuerint.*”

⁴⁵ Salmonus, ed. Ferretto, doc. 132, p. 49; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 57v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]; ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 10.104, not foliated, February 20, 1255 [Iohannis Vegius] (see *Santo Stefano*, vol. 2, ed. Ciarlo, doc. 616); ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 210/I, f. 95r [Leonardus de Garibaldo].

matter before the papal curia on his behalf.⁴⁶ By March of 1298 Tommaso was in his new position at the cathedral.⁴⁷ Conflicts with other clerics or religious institutions could also lead to the appointment of agents to the papacy, though we typically learn few details of these cases from the acts of appointment alone. For instance, we have no idea what was at stake when Presbiter Giovanni, the minister of the church of San Vincenzo, appointed a cleric and a layman to appeal a sentence made against him (or his church) by a papal legate in 1297.⁴⁸ We learn more from a document preserved in the cartulary of Santa Maria delle Vigne. In October 1225, Presbiter Raimondo, a canon of Santa Maria and the minister of the chapel and hospital of Sant'Antonio, gave his nephew, a cleric at the chapel, broad powers to initiate legal action at the papal curia against the archdeacon of Genoa.⁴⁹ According to Raimondo, the archdeacon had violently seized the chapel of San Sisto from him, and had violated the terms of a *transactio* involving goods and houses.

Some clerics, especially those who were members of prominent families, appointed other clerics as agents to the papal curia hoping to secure offices or benefices. When Giovanni Ricius was hoping to gain a place in the chapter at San Nazario in 1227, he appointed as his agent Presbiter Lanfranco, the minister of the church of San Martino in Struppa (about 6 miles outside Genoa). Lanfranco agreed to go the *curia Romana* and try to obtain letters that would secure Giovanni a prebend.⁵⁰ Seventy years later, Opicino de Auria (Doria), a cleric “born of the nobleman Lord Oliverio Doria,” asked an

⁴⁶ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 192

⁴⁷ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 265

⁴⁸ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 149

⁴⁹ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 102

⁵⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 16/II, f. 49r [Ursus] The documentation from San Nazario is sparse and I have not been able to locate the papal response. A priest named Giovanni was active in the chapter in the early 1250s, but there is no way to know if this is the same person. See ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, ff. 33r-33v [Filipus de Sauro].

archdeacon and two canons to petition the papacy for a benefice.⁵¹ I do not know if these particular petitions were successful, but similar ones certainly were, as can be seen in a cluster of acts that the notary Filippo de Sauro drafted while Innocent IV was visiting Genoa in 1251.⁵² In June, for instance, the provost of San Giorgio went to the church of Sant’Ambrogio on behalf of the pope and instructed Giacomo, a canon of Sant’Ambrogio as well as the archpriest of Monteggio, to grant a certain cleric a benefice there and welcome him with the kiss of peace.⁵³ The same day Filippo stopped by the monastery of Santo Stefano to record a similar act, and four days later he did the same at San Nazario.⁵⁴

Corporate bodies, such as monasteries and collegiate chapters, also appointed clerics to carry out business with the papacy. For example, in 1229 the nuns of Sant’Andrea della Porta named a chaplain from San Lorenzo as their procurator and instructed him to obtain letters from the Pope against the citizens of Tortona in an unnamed conflict, and tend to “all the other business of the said church to be done in the said curia.”⁵⁵ At the end of the century, now caught up in internal conflict over leadership of their community, the nuns once again sent procurators to the papacy. This time they hoped that the Pope would help resolve a contested election involving daughters of some of Genoa’s most powerful families, the Grilla and the Camilla.⁵⁶ The three clerics that the nuns selected reflect Sant’Andrea della Porta’s connection to

⁵¹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 171

⁵² Some of these are not found in *Lettere di Innocenzo IV*, ed. Guerello.

⁵³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, ff. 32v-33r [Filippus de Sauro] The cleric was named “Thomaino,” demonstrating the Genovesi’s love of diminutives.

⁵⁴ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, f. 33r-33v [Filippus de Sauro]

⁵⁵ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 16/II, f. 61r [Ursus]; “*et ad omnia alia negocia dicte ecclesie faciendum in dicte curia*”

⁵⁶ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 239; see also *Le Carte del Monastero di Sant’Andrea*, ed. Soave, p. xxxix.

wealthy and influential Ligurian families and institutions. We met two of these representatives above, the canon Giovanni de Ianua and Presbiter Giacomo de Zignago, but the third cleric is more significant in this case.



Figure 4-2: The eleventh-century church at the monastery of Santo Stefano was home to a parish throughout the Middle Ages (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

At the time of the petition in February 1298, Guisolino de Pedona was a cleric attached to the household of cardinal Guglielmo of San Nicola *in Carcere Tulliano*. Guisolino's contacts at the papal curia were crucial to the success of the nuns' petition,

for it was cardinal Guglielmo who managed to bring the matter directly to Boniface VIII's attention.⁵⁷ In early March, the Pope instructed the leaders of the mendicants in Genoa—the prior of the Dominicans and the guardian of the Franciscans—to resolve the conflict. Guisolino had actually been a cleric attached to the archiepiscopal curia in Genoa since at least November 1272, but in June of 1297 the minister of the church of San Vincenzo named him his “trusted messenger and procurator” to the papal curia.⁵⁸ By early 1298 he was being identified as a member of the household (*familiarius*) of Cardinal Guglielmo de Longhi, which indicates that he must have entered his service in the intervening period, probably while visiting the curia as an agent.⁵⁹

This case illustrates an important general point about clerical—and lay—petitions to the papacy, namely that social and familial networks could be important when trying to gain access to the curia and the resources at its command. The institutional Church rarely—if ever—operated as a pure meritocracy, and being aware of social networks among religious figures helps us understand the shape of not only the Genoese Church, but the ecclesiastical system across Europe. For every poor student who enrolled in a cathedral school and rose to the status of canon or archpriest through hard work and piety, there are probably dozens who secured these same positions through direct or indirect personal connections. Here we find clerics taking advantage of any connection they can find, like the nuns of Sant'Andrea della Porta selecting a Genoese cleric attached the household of a cardinal. Similarly, Presbiter Salvo, a canon from the pieve of Rapallo, chose the cleric Guiberto as his “trusted messenger and procurator to the curia

⁵⁷ *Le Carte del Monastero di Sant'Andrea*, ed. Soave, parte I, doc. 53

⁵⁸ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 2 and 149

⁵⁹ Cardinal Guglielmo de Longhi's name was subscribed to bulls issued between June 1295 and February 1302, indicating that he was present at the papal curia when Guisolino was there. See G. Marchetti Longhi, *Il cardinale Guglielmo de Longis de Adraria di Bergamo: la sua famiglia e la sua discendenza; studio storico* (Rome 1961), and C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, volume 1 (Munich 1913), p. 12

of the most high pontiff” in 1248.⁶⁰ Guiberto was a scribe for Ottobuono Fieschi, the nephew of Innocent IV, who would himself be named a cardinal three years later and eventually be elected as pope Adrian V.⁶¹ The more we can learn about how local networks of priests and clerics connected to the papal curia—and the private notarial registers are a crucial source for this—the more we can understand about the thirteenth-century Roman Church as its influence deepened throughout Europe.

PRIESTS AS JUDGES AND ARBITERS

Many of the petitions that went to the papal curia were from women and men seeking justice. The canon legal process that these petitions initiated was part of a dynamic social and institutional system that tried to prevent conflict, or at least resolve it with the minimum of violence and social disorder.⁶² Playing an active part in the resolution of disputes—whether through the ecclesiastical courts or through extra-judicial arbitration—was one of the most important ways that Genoese priests integrated themselves into Genoese society and capitalized on their membership in both lay and clerical communities. Medieval Genoa has a well-deserved reputation for civil strife, but the large-scale outbreaks of violence that attracted the attention of chroniclers (and historians) are not indicative of everyday life in the city. In particular it should not be assumed that civic violence reflected the failure of dispute resolution institutions on the level of individual persons. Genoa’s violence was more about broad movements—

⁶⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, ff. 68v [Bartolomeus Fornarius] “*certum nuncium et procuratorem in curia summi pontificis*”

⁶¹ Ottobuono was elected pope in July 1276, but died the following month, without having been ordained as Bishop of Rome.

⁶² As Katherine Jansen has pointed out, much recent scholarship has focused on conflicts within communal Italian society, but far less has been written about these methods of peacemaking. K. Jansen, “Peacemaking in the Oltrarno, 1287-1297,” in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honor of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. F. Andrews, et al. (Leiden 2004), pp. 327-344

Guelphs versus Ghibellines, nobles versus *populo*, clan versus clan—than it was about conflict between individuals or even modestly-sized groups of individuals. Moreover, as my research on the clergy and van Doosselaere's efforts at broader social mapping suggest, the boundaries between social groups in Genoa were more porous than has been traditionally believed—at least in the commercial sphere.⁶³ In this environment, as men and women entered into transactions with people from outside their own social group, they may have found robust institutions for dispute resolution particularly valuable. Conflicts with one's brother or sister—whether by blood or by religious association—could usually be resolved through informal institutions operating within the dense node of social relations that surrounded both parties. On the other hand, disputes that took place *between* nodes of social relations may have needed formal institutions to help bridge the gap between social networks.

When parties sought relief through formal channels, they had a choice between either litigation—before ecclesiastical or communal judges—or arbitration. These two means of conflict resolution were not exclusive of one another, and both might be employed over the course of a single dispute.⁶⁴ Formal lawsuits often pushed parties into negotiated settlements, while arbitration typically relied on the norms and enforcement mechanisms of the legal system. Under some circumstances, arbitral rulings could be appealed to a court based on the contractual agreements that arbitration produced. On the whole, both were sophisticated systems that tried to achieve peaceful settlements, and neither litigation nor arbitration was successful every time. Regardless of the system of

⁶³ For example, van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*, pp. 178-180

⁶⁴ T. Kuehn, *Law, Family & Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago 1991), pp. 19-26; the broader anthropological issues are framed in S. Roberts, *Order and Dispute: An Introduction to Legal Anthropology* (New York 1979)

resolution that the parties chose, the Genovesi recorded the outcomes of the procedures in the notarial sources. Since we possess no separate collection of archival materials from any thirteenth-century Genoese court, lay or ecclesiastical, we must rely on the notarial registers and cartularies for our understanding of dispute resolution.⁶⁵ In the paragraphs that follow, I will outline the place of the Genoese priests within these systems of dispute resolution by examining a collection of 192 acts that feature clerics as litigants, judges, or mediators.

Let me start by pointing out that priests and other clerics did *not* play an active role in the communal courts. In Genoa and the surrounding countryside, these courts were presided over by specially-appointed municipal officials, consuls *de iusticia*, who had rights to hear pleas wherever it suited them. For instance, in 1216, Bertoldo Bungella “consul of justice for the city and boroughs” heard pleas and pronounced sentences in the archiepiscopal palace.⁶⁶ These justices were always laymen, even in cases where religious parties or properties were involved. When the canons of Santa Maria delle Vigne went to court because a layman had demolished a house constructed on their land, the case was heard by Lantermo de Piscelogo, a “Genoese consul of justice for diverse boroughs.”⁶⁷ Jurisdictions outside of Genoa were typically centered on the pieve cities, where the chief municipal officers appear to have heard cases themselves.⁶⁸ Only in the

⁶⁵ V. Piergiovanni, *Gli statute civili e criminali di Genova nel Medioevo: La tradizione manoscritta e le edizioni* (Genoa 1980)

⁶⁶ ASG, Archivio Segreto, num. gen. 1552 (“Pergamene riguardanti le Monache de San Leonardo in Carignano ed altri Monasteri ed Ecclesiastici”), San Bartolomeo del Fossato, 1216 - 5 Guigno [Oliverius de Iohanne]; “*consul de iusticia civitatis et burgi*”

⁶⁷ In 1270; *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airdi, doc. 148, pp. 170-172; “*consul Ianuensis de iusticia diversis burgum*.” Lantermo was a citizen of Milan. Bringing in non-native men to fill senior positions in the commune was one way that the citizens of Genoa had tried to control factionalism since at least 1190; see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 88.

⁶⁸ For example: *Oberto Scriba (1190)*, ed. Chiaudano and Morozzo della Rocca, docs. 58-65, pp. 25-37; *Lanfranco*, volume 1, ed. Krueger and Reynolds, doc. 278, pp. 127-128; *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1469, pp. 156-158

handful of towns and villages where Genoese ecclesiastical institutions enjoyed feudal overlordship—such as San Remo and Santo Stefano al Mare—do we find clerics sitting as judges in a “lay” capacity.⁶⁹ Clerics were rarely even *litigants* before communal justices, appearing in this capacity in only five acts in my sample.

Turning from the lay courts to the ecclesiastical courts, we find priests playing a much more prominent role in dispute resolution. Parties wishing to bring a case into the canon legal system could petition either the archbishop or the pope, depending on their resources and the nature of the dispute. Sometimes a case was heard directly by the archbishop or the papal court, but far more often these authorities appointed representatives to decide cases on their behalf. Papal judges-delegate were typically given a brief mandate that stated the nature of the litigation at hand, instructed him to investigate the matter thoroughly, and empowered him to pronounce an unappealable final judgment on the case.⁷⁰ As canon jurisprudence grew more sophisticated and more pervasive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this practice of appointing judges-delegate became common and formalized.⁷¹ The *Decretales Gregorii IX* (promulgated in 1234) dedicated forty-three chapters to outlining the duties of the judge-delegate.⁷² My sample contains notarial acts from 105 cases heard locally within the canon legal system.⁷³ Sixteen of these were disputes between lay people; twenty-one were conflicts

⁶⁹ The archbishop held the rights to San Remo until 1297. Examples of justice being exercised in the town can be found in *I libri iurium*, volume II/2, ed. Lorenzetti and Mambrini (Genoa 2007), docs. 97, 98, 110. Santo Stefano al Mare, known then as Villaregia, was a possession of the monks of Santo Stefano. See Basso, *Un'abbazia e la sua città*, pp. 51-62.

⁷⁰ Examples from the notarial registers can be found in *Lettere di Innocenzo IV*, ed. Guerello, docs. 10, 19, et passim.

⁷¹ R. Schmutz, “Medieval Papal Representatives: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate,” in *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972), pp. 441-463, esp. pp. 460-463

⁷² *Decretales Gregorii XI*, X 1.29.1-43 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, cols. 158-183)

⁷³ These are cases where it is clear that a judge was appointed and a case actually heard in Liguria. It does not include records of petitions to the papacy unless we have additional evidence about how the petition was handled locally.

between laypeople and clerics; and the remaining sixty-eight were conflicts between clerics or religious institutions. Priests were appointed as judges-delegate by the papacy or archbishop in twenty-three of these cases.

Genoa's archiepiscopal court met at the archbishop's palace in the Castello, and my sample features thirty-one cases that were brought before it.⁷⁴ The archbishop heard eleven cases personally, but delegated the other twenty to a range of Genoese clerics, often appointing two or three to serve together. Along with the deacon, abbot, archdeacons (four cases), and canons of San Lorenzo (five cases), we find secular priests sitting as judges-delegate in ten cases. One of these cases was brought before Presbiter Enrico de Castelliono by a twelve year-old girl named Franceschina in December of 1272.⁷⁵ When she was less than nine years old, Franceschina had entered into a marriage with a boy named Januino, himself still below the age of puberty (*inpubes*) at the time of the hearing. Three years later Franceschina wanted to have the marriage dissolved and permission given for her to marry someone else. After "diligently considering" all of the testimony and pleas, Enrico dissolved the marriage.⁷⁶ All told seven of these cases were between laypeople, including four cases related to matrimonial issues, and three about usury.⁷⁷ Two other cases were between a layman and a cleric (one a conflict over land, the other over a pig), and the final case was a dispute between two priests at a church in the village of Pegli. In this last case Presbiter Enrico quieted the "great scandal"

⁷⁴ Sixteen of these cases were disputes between laypeople, five were between laypeople and clerics, and ten between clerics or religious institutions.

⁷⁵ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 27, pp. 35-6

⁷⁶ It appears that Franceschina and Januino were from the western district of the city, near the monastery of San Tomaso. Was it only a coincidence that Presbiter Benevenuto, the chaplain of that establishment, was a witness to the act?

⁷⁷ See also *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 38, 39, 41, and 44

(*scandalum magnum*) by drawing up a set of rules to structure the relationship between the two priests.⁷⁸

Genoese petitions to the papal court resulted in a steady stream of mandates for judges-delegate. My sample includes seventy-four cases which were brought before of clerics serving as representatives of the pope. Since they were usually appointed in groups of two or three, my sample actually contains evidence of 108 unique appointments. The archbishop of Genoa was appointed to hear four of these cases, and bishops from other dioceses to hear eight.⁷⁹ Abbots of various monasteries in the region were judges in twenty-three cases, all of them conflicts among the clergy and religious institutions. A variety of lesser clerics also heard cases, including canons, provosts, archpriests, and priests.⁸⁰ The notarial acts in my sample feature at least eleven Genoese secular priests acting as judges-delegate in eight thirteenth-century cases.⁸¹ The judge in one of these conflicts was Presbiter Pagano, the provost of San Pietro della Porta. Initially the archbishop had been named as the papal delegate in the case, but he sub-delegated the matter to Pagano.⁸² The monasteries of San Siro and San Benigno di Capodimonte were fighting over the rights to taxes from the town of Cornigliano (two miles west of the city center). The case must have been complex, because Pagano consulted with two lawyers while considering “all the petitions, positions, witnesses,

⁷⁸ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 51, pp. 61-2

⁷⁹ Bishop of Tortona (2 cases), bishop of Luni (2 cases), bishop of Savona (2 cases), bishop of Albenga (1 case), bishop of Burgnato (1 case)

⁸⁰ These men were joined by archdeacons, deacons, and monks. My sample also contains two cases heard directly by a papal auditor, and one by a cardinal.

⁸¹ Ambiguity in some documents coming from the papacy makes it impossible to determine an exact number. Of these eight cases, two conflicts are between laypeople, and six between clerics.

⁸² *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 555, pp. 303-5

instruments, opinions and privileges and allegations and reasons.”⁸³ In December 1252 he handed down his ruling (San Benigno won) in his own church. In another case, Presbiter Corrado, the rector of San Nazario, joined the provost of Santa Maria delle Vigne in presiding over a conflict between the monastery of San Siro and the church of San Giovanni di Prè.⁸⁴ Unfortunately the document containing the ruling (not to mention the nature of the case) has not survived.

One of the two conflicts between laymen is worth noting because the dispute took place in Tortona, the episcopal see thirty-five miles north of Genoa. In 1211 two citizens of Tortona were engaged in a dispute over potential usurious extractions in that city.⁸⁵ In response to a petition made by one of the men, the papal curia delegated Presbiter Donadeo (provost of a hospital in the Val Bisagno), Presbiter Giovanni (provost of Santa Maria Maddalena), and *magister* Ugone (canon of San Lorenzo) to hear and rule on the case. This panel of judges-delegate remained in Genoa and allowed the parties and their witnesses to travel to them. Eventually they issued their ruling from the cloister at San Lorenzo. Sometimes judges-delegate located far from a conflict like this sub-delegated their duties to local clerics who had easier access to the parties in conflict. This was the case in 1291 when an abbot and the prior of the Dominicans from Tortona sub-delegated their judicial duties to three Genoese clerics rather than try to untangle the web of problems between the chapter at San Lorenzo and its daughter institution, Santa Maria

⁸³ “*visis petitione, positionibus, testibus, instrumentis, sententiis et privilegiis et allegationibus et rationibus omnibus utriusque partis diligenter consideratis*”

⁸⁴ *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, docs. 468-470, 502, 513, 516, 553

⁸⁵ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 2058, pp. 497-99

Maddalena. The three clerics were Presbiter Simone, the provost of San Giorgio, Presbiter Clariel, a canon of Santa Maria delle Vigne, and the abbot of Santo Stefano.⁸⁶

While litigation before judges-delegate was not unusual for priests and clerics, looking at Genoese society as a whole in the thirteenth century it seems that people preferred to arbitrate disputes rather than take them into court. Going through the private notarial registers and institutional cartularies, we see very few attorneys and little evidence of litigation.⁸⁷ Instead, what we find are acts of arbitration, often with priests or other clerics serving as mediators. (Notarial evidence from other Ligurian cities suggests that other communities, such as Savona, were more litigious.)⁸⁸ In my sample I have evidence of fourteen disputes in which a secular priest was named as a mediator. Of these, six conflicts were between clerics, two were between laypeople, and six were between mixed groups of clerics *and* laypeople. During my research I also located an additional nineteen disputes that featured clerics other than priests as mediators, and this group also features a mixture of clerical and lay disputants.⁸⁹ These disputants appointed their mediator(s) through a *compromissum* contract. In addition to identifying the mediators, the *compromissum* traditionally listed the issues that they were to consider, and stated the penalty that would bind the disputants to observe the arbitral ruling.⁹⁰ In 1231, for instance, the archpriests of Bavari and Molassana named Presbiter Ugone, the provost of San Giorgio, and Presbiter Guglielmo, the provost of San Damiano, their arbiters in a conflict over a pieve boundary in an area known as “Colubraria.”⁹¹ After

⁸⁶ *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 192, pp. 290-3

⁸⁷ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 64

⁸⁸ Cf. in particular Savona as seen in *Il cartulario del notaio Martino*, ed. D. Puncuh, op. cit.

⁸⁹ Eight conflicts were between clerics, five were between laypeople, and four were mixed.

⁹⁰ On the *compromissia* and *lauda* see Kuehn, *Law, Family & Women*, pp. 34-35 and Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence*, pp. 127-128.

⁹¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 14, f. 384r [Salmonus]

identifying themselves, the archpriests stated that they had chosen Ugo and Guglielmo as their arbiters. The archpriest Oberto of Bavari then stated that he believed the house of Ventura Malbecus was in his parish, and archpriest Giacomo of Molassana disagreed. The arbiters promised to look into the matter carefully and announce their decision within fifteen days after the following Easter. The archpriests pledged to abide by the priests' decision and pledged L10 apiece as surety, secured by the goods of each of their pievi. The matter in this case was straightforward but sometimes the Genovesi preferred the flexibility—or privacy—afforded by a commission that did not specify the issues to be resolved.⁹²

Private arbitration was present in Roman law as the *compromissum in arbitros*. This *arbiter* was a mediator who would carry out a formalized legal process that in many ways mimicked the justice system.⁹³ Most twelfth-century mediators, however, did not play the same role as the *arbiter* described in the *Corpus iuris civilis*, who was supposed to act like a judge and rule according to the law. Rather, contemporary mediation had less formalized procedure, and mediators acted more like the “good men” (*boni viri*) who had traditionally settled disputes in the early Middle Ages by deciding cases in the manner most likely to bring about peace. Because of this discrepancy, jurists in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries set about legitimizing the contemporary style of mediation within the law. They did this by reserving the term “arbiter” for mediators who were adhering to the arbitration practices of Roman law, and embracing the term

⁹² For example, see *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 187; *Sant'Andrea della Porta*, ed. Soave, doc. I 9; *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Machiavelli and Traino, doc. 510; and ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 119v [Bartholomeus Fornarius]

⁹³ On these matters see L. Fowler, “Forms of Arbitration,” in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 21–25 August 1972*, ed. S. Kuttner (Vatican City 1976), pp. 133–147. See also Kuehn, *Law, Family & Women*, pp. 24–26, and J. A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago 2008), pp. 460–462.

“arbitrator” to describe mediators who were using more negotiatory methods. The distinction between the two was beginning to become widely understood in the 1220s, but was only comprehensively articulated in the 1270s. All the while, notaries preferred to use both terms in their *compromissa* contracts, perhaps as a way of providing the mediator and parties with the freedom to choose which type of arbitration would be most effective.⁹⁴ In the Genoese evidence that I surveyed for this study I found that local practice mirrored wider developments in this area. In *compromissa* drafted prior to about 1230, Genoese notaries refer to mediators strictly as arbiters, but thereafter they use the phrase “arbiters and arbitrators” (*arbitros et arbitratores*) and often add “and peacemakers” (*et amicabile compositors*).⁹⁵

The mediators named in a *compromissum* (a mediator could not delegate his authority) announced their decision in a *laudum* contract. Since both of these were binding agreements, if their terms were violated the wronged party had recourse to the courts under breach of contract. A ruling presented by Presbiter Lanfranco, a canon from the pieve of Serra, and Balduino de Saligola, a layman, in January 1251 contained the key components of thirteenth-century Genoese *lauda*. First they stated the parties who had named them as arbiters (the archpriest of Rivarolo and the sons of the late Falcono de Verano) and the nature of the dispute (control over a chestnut grove). They went on to explain their ruling in the matter (the sons received control of the land), but not the reasons for this decision. Finally, they named the witnesses, and when and where the ruling was issued (at the main door of the archiepiscopal palace, in the late

⁹⁴ Fowler, “Forms of Arbitration,” pp. 143-145

⁹⁵ Given this uncertainty, I use the term “arbiter.”

afternoon).⁹⁶ In general the *lauda* say little about what steps arbiters actually took to settle disputes, though some include a phrase or two attesting to their diligence in investigating the issue before them. Two lay arbiters in 1205, “diligently considered” the “witnesses, confessions and accounts from both parties,” and took counsel with “wise men” (*sapientis*) before reaching their decision.⁹⁷ Other similar phrases are not uncommon. Unfortunately, the lack of explanation for the ruling is typical (and in keeping with practices seen in the lay and ecclesiastical courts as well).

The disputes that Genoese priests and other clerics helped their lay and clerical community members resolve tended to revolve around property and rights to income. Sometimes these were conflicts were between religious institutions, as we just saw in the case of the archpriests of Bavari and Molassana.⁹⁸ At other times conflict emerged within a single institution, where control over a church’s resources and access to benefices could lead to tension. When Presibter Ugo, the minister of the church of San Pietro in Cravano, and Crescimbene de Cerredo, one of the clerics (*clericus*) of the same church, got into an unspecified dispute about Crescimbene’s benefice, they named Presbiter Giacomo, a canon of Sant’Ambrogio, and Amadeo, the archpriest of Sori, to resolve the discord (*discordia*).⁹⁹ In 1306, Santa Maria delle Vigne was also plagued by conflict, this time between the nine canons and the four chaplains.¹⁰⁰ According to the *compromissum* there was disagreement over how the groups should split the proceeds from selling houses that were built upon the church’s land. They turned the matter over to the archbishop’s vicars: Giacomo de Cucurno, a canon at San Lorenzo, and *magister*

⁹⁶ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 28, f. 8v [Filippus de Sauro]

⁹⁷ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1468, p. 155-6

⁹⁸ Other examples include

⁹⁹ In 1251; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 31/I, f. 58r [Matheus de Predono]

¹⁰⁰ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airdi, doc. 160, pp. 188-90

Pietro de Castellario, who was also a canon Santa Maria delle Vigne (but apparently trustworthy enough to be considered impartial).

The issues of rights and property were at play when priests arbitrated disputes between clerics and laypeople as well. In November 1232 the *magiscola* of San Lorenzo, *magister* Ugo, was named an arbiter by sons of the late Baldonio de Turri, and Giovanni, the rector of a church in the pieve of Cicagna. They were fighting over control of various lands and rights in a place called “*Ca Berardi*.”¹⁰¹ Giovanni was also the archdeacon of Genoa, and two years later he was chosen to arbitrate a complex dispute over lands, mills, houses, and other pertinences in Pegli that a layman had bequeathed to the monastery of San Siro.¹⁰² The archbishop himself could even be named an arbiter, as we see in a case from 1298 when he was asked to resolve a dispute over a “certain house or building and the empty land positioned behind it” (*cuiusdam domus sive edificii et terre vacue retro ipsam posite*).¹⁰³ The disputants were a woolworker named Oberto Musso de Clavaro and the rector of San Vincenzo, Presbiter Giovanni. This piece of land must have been quite valuable, or the dispute very heated, because the two men pledged L50 to guarantee adherence to the archbishop’s decision.¹⁰⁴

Looking at the entire set of cases where we find clerical arbiters, we notice some suggestive trends. First of all, laymen were not put in a position where they could dictate the outcome of a conflict involving the Genoese Church’s internal affairs. All seventeen disputes between clerics were submitted to clerical arbiters. As well-integrated into Genoese society as priests may have been, the laity was not granted similar access to the

¹⁰¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 15, f. 39v [Salmonus]

¹⁰² *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, docs. 402, 418-22

¹⁰³ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed Calleri, doc. 297, pp. 374-5

¹⁰⁴ Oberto offered his own goods as security; the priest offered those of his church.

formal dimensions of clerical affairs. Looking at the ten disputes between clerics and laypeople, however, we do find cases with lay arbiters. In all three of these cases, however, the lay arbiter is paired with at least one clerical arbiter. Finally, in the seven disputes between laypeople alone, we find exclusively clerical arbiters in six of the cases, and one cleric and one layperson in the last. Perhaps laypeople who sought priests and other clerics as arbiters were eschewing lay arbiters and actively seeking out a connection to the Church? Unfortunately *compromissum* and *laudum* contract for lay conflicts are particularly taciturn.

There were many reasons why the Genovesi chose from to resolve disputes in front of arbiters and arbitrators rather than judges. First of all, as we have seen, private arbitration had a long history as a favorable alternative to litigation, and ecclesiastics in particular embraced arbitration as preferable to the alternatives. Second, if litigation before a judge was comparatively slow, expensive, and public, arbitration could be fast, economical, and private. Furthermore, the processes of arbitration could be adapted to the needs and interests of the parties in ways that the rigid structures of the judicial system could not easily match, allowing arbitration to resolve even the most complex disagreements.¹⁰⁵ As a number of studies have shown us, the most important feature of arbitrated settlements, however, was probably their ability to end disputes without dissolving social bonds.¹⁰⁶ Arbitration rejected the winner-take-all model of courts in favor of finding compromises that preserved or reestablished interpersonal ties that were

¹⁰⁵ Kuehn, *Law, Family & Women*, p. 72

¹⁰⁶ To name but three seminal works: F. L. Cheyette, "Suum cuique tribuere," in *French Historical Studies* 6(1970), pp. 287-299; S. D. White, "'Pactum... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium'—The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," in *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978), pp. 281-308; and B. H. Rosenwein, T. Head, and S. Farmer, "Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach," in *Speculum* 66 (1991), pp. 764-796 .

valuable to the immediate parties or to those who were affiliated with them.¹⁰⁷ This was true for clerics as well as for laypeople. In light of this it makes sense that the majority of the disputes that came before arbiters were over issues that involved repeated contact. Tribute payments, parish boundaries, intra-institutional relations—they all represent long-term social relationships. Resolving conflicts through arbitration helped preserve the bonds between parties within neighborhoods as well as within the institutional Church. Given their status as trusted and respected figures with diverse ties to both lay and religious society, it is not surprising that secular priests were called upon to mediate disputes within and between these communities.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have tried to show that by acting as executors, agents to the papacy, judges, and arbiters, the secular clergy were invested in a system of complex interpersonal transactions that not only helped tie them to their communities, but also helped preserve social stability. They could take part in these processes because they were trusted individuals who had legitimate ties to both lay and religious social networks. If we find more interaction between priests and other clerics here than elsewhere in Genoese life, it may be due to the canonical restrictions on mixing lay and clerical business, or it may come down to more pragmatic issues. The matters discussed in this chapter involve some of the most charged and sensitive moments in people's lives, points at which there was real risk involved for one's soul, affairs, or social network. In these moments, people may have preferred to call upon those men with whom they had the strongest relationships—laypeople upon laypeople, clerics upon clerics. And of course

¹⁰⁷ Kuehn, *Law, Family & Women*, pp. 20-21

many of the same concerns apply to institutions as well. In any case, the types of agency we have seen in this chapter all relied upon interpersonal trust, and even if the reasons underlying that trust may be difficult to perceive, the acts themselves are compelling evidence of robust social relationships.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENOESE PRIESTS *IN TRANSMARINIS PARTIBUS*

In the autumn of 1294, the Genoese notary Bonaventura de Savio boarded a ship named the *Thedixius* and set off as part of a commercial expedition to “overseas lands” (*transmarinos partes*).¹ The passengers and crew sailed through the Straits of Messina in early December, then through the Greek Isles to Cyprus and arrived in the Levant by early March.² On this journey, one of these sailors, merchants, pilgrims, or adventurers may have recited a stanza like this:

*E tanti sun li Zenoexi
E per lo mondo sì distexi,
Che unde li van o stan
Un atra Zenoa a ge fan.*³

And the Genovesi are so many
And throughout the world so dispersed,
That wherever they travel and abide
They make another Genoa there.

These words, written in the Genoese vernacular by an anonymous poet around the turn of the fourteenth century, highlight two points worth noting here: the geographical dispersion of the Genovesi, and their ability to establish settlements that allowed them to gather together far from home. By the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Genoese and Ligurian commercial and social networks extended throughout the Mediterranean and

¹ Innocent IV uses the phrase “*in transmarinis partibus*” in a bull from 1246 in which he writes to the Genovesi in the crusader states to confirm their right to draft wills and dispose of their personal property (*I libri iurium*, volume I/6, ed. Bibolini, doc. 952, p. 43).

² ASG, Notai Antichi, cart. 147/I, ff. 1r-7v, 14v-15r [Bonaventura de Savio]. It appears that the small cache of documents from this journey has gone virtually unnoticed. On navigating the route from Genoa to the Levant, see J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 92-93; and M. Balard, “Escalaes génoises sur les routes de l’Orient méditerranéen au XIV^e siècle,” in *Les grandes escales: Première partie: antiquité et moyen-âge*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 32 (Brussels 1974), pp. 243-264.

³ N. Lagomaggiore (ed.), “Rime Genovese della fine del secolo XIII e del principio del XIV,” in *Archivio glottologico italiano* 2 (1876), poem 138, ll. 195-8, p. 312

Black Seas, and even to England and the Netherlands.⁴ According to Bonaventura's acts, the *Thedixius* stopped in at least two ports that were home to permanent Genoese populations: Ayas (in modern southern Turkey) and Famagusta (in eastern Cyprus).⁵ Both were over 1,600 nautical miles from Genoa, and both were—or had recently been—home to Genoese priests.⁶

Through the past four chapters we have seen the way Genoese priests integrated themselves into the lay and religious communities that surrounded them in Genoa, now let us turn our attention to the way that these clerics manifested the Genoese Church overseas. As Bonaventura shows us, Genoese notarial culture was carried to the furthest reaches of Genoa's world. Notaries overseas can be divided into two different camps. The first are those who travelled overseas and returned without taking up residence

⁴ On the Genoese in England, see A. Nicolini, "Commercio marittimo genovese in Inghilterra nel Medioevo (1280-1495)," in ASLSP n.s. 47/I (Genoa 2007), pp. 215-328; for a brief bibliography see J. Harris, "Edward II, Andronicus II and Giles de Argenteim: A Neglected Episode in Anglo-Byzantine Relations," in C. Dendrinos, et al., eds., *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot 2003), pp. 77-84, at pp. 80-82.

⁵ For a map of the settlements mentioned in this chapter, see Figure A-4 in Appendix B.

⁶ The role of the secular clergy in Genoese trading settlements is a neglected topic. The settlements have traditionally attracted scholars primarily interested in their political organization and relationship with the "Mother City," or questions about trade and commodities. See, for example, Michel Balard's excellent *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe – début du XVe siècle)*, 2 volumes, (Rome 1978); and P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, 3 volumes, (Cambridge 1958). Meanwhile historians interested in religious matters have typically focused on the agendas and hierarchies of the institutional Church, including the mendicant missions to the non-Christian world. The most comprehensive of these are probably G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in oriente*, second edition, (Verona 1981) and B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London 1980). See also N. Coureas, "The Genoese and the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1250-1320," in L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, (Genoa 1997), pp. 165-175. Even scholars interested in studying communities and social networks in the Genoese settlements have consistently left religious figures at the margins of their analyses. For example P. Edbury, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto," in H. Mayer (ed.), *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, (Munich 1997), pp. 87-95, and his "The Genoese Community in Famagusta around the year 1300: a historical vignette," in L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e occidente*, pp. 235-244; Otten-Froux's "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle; and Balard's "Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261: Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois," in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'École Française de Rome* 78 (1966), pp. 467-502. The little discussion that exists about the connections between the Genoese church and the settlements focuses on institutional matters, not social ones (see Polonio, "Tra universalismo e localismo," pp. 166-8 and Pistarino, "Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie," pp. 669-76).

abroad. Among these men we can count Bonaventura, as well as Francesco de Silva, who made his way through the Mediterranean and Black Seas in 1315.⁷ Their surviving work is limited, predominantly commercial in nature, and was often drafted aboard the ships on which they travelled. Much more material survives from several notaries who actually lived abroad, working in the settlements for years at a time.⁸ Just like their counterparts back home, these notaries' private registers contain a rich body of acts, including over two hundred that feature Genoese priests and religious institutions overseas in the period before 1315. These sources are particularly valuable in light of the widespread lack of sources generated by Latin churches in the medieval Levant, a fact which has left scholars relying on papal registers as their main source of evidence about these churches' structure and priorities. As Alexander Beihammer has observed, this limited source base has left many fundamental questions about the Latin Church in the Holy Land unanswered or in need of reexamination.⁹

Despite the relative scarcity of documentary evidence on the clergy in Genoa's settlements during the thirteenth and early-fourteenth century, there are compelling reasons to explore what is available.¹⁰ First, the trading settlements were vital to Genoese prosperity, as they were the point of exchange for the goods that lay at the heart of Genoa's commercial power. As such, their stability and efficiency were important

⁷ ASG, Cart. 194, ff. 128r-149v [Franciscus de Silva].

⁸ Among them Pietro Battifoglio (Tunis), Frederico de Platealonga and Pietro de Bargone (eastern Mediterranean), Lamberto di Sambuceto (Cyprus and Caffa), Anzone di Clavica (Bonifacio), Giovanni de Rocha (Cyprus)

⁹ A. Beihammer, "Eastern Mediterranean Diplomats: The Current State of Research," in A. Beihammer, M. G. Parani, and C. D. Schabel (eds.), *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication* (Leiden 2008), pp. 1-26, at pp. 16-17

¹⁰ Several volumes of notarial material from Genoa's overseas settlements have been published in the past 140 years, and with the exception of a couple dozen folios, they include all the known overseas material produced prior to 1310. Perhaps 250 unpublished overseas folios exist at the ASG from 1310-1320, though the 164-folio register of Philipus de Faxeto (ASG, Notai Antichi, cart. 209) is in a fragile state and could not be consulted at the time of my research.

Genoese interests, and priests played a role in maintaining both. Second, despite their distance from Liguria, the settlements were not isolated; rather they were closely connected to Genoa and the other settlements through persistent human contact. Ships like the *Thedixius* constantly moved from port to port carrying news, correspondence, and new residents. These connections are most evident in the largest, most sovereign settlements, which, as the poet said, eventually did resemble miniature versions of Genoa, but even small outposts were part of the network. Looking at priests in these settlements, where the social structures were simpler, may help us understand something about the Genoese clergy back home. As with many modest sets of documents, however, the overseas sources raise many questions that we may never be able to answer. For instance, how and why did Genoese priests end up in the overseas trading settlements? What impact did their time there have on their long-term career paths? What duties and practices were considered normative for priests overseas?

The history of Genoese settlement and involvement in the Mediterranean and Black Seas has been the subject of extensive scholarly attention for generations.¹¹ The resulting studies, however, have consistently focused on the political and military mechanisms that supported the settlements, their relationship with the “Mother City,” and questions about trade and commodities. The little that has been written about the extension of the Genoese Church overseas is almost entirely institutional in nature.¹² The

¹¹ On Genoa’s trading settlements, see R. S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, second edition, with a preface and updated bibliography by M. Balard (Genoa 1996; orig. pub. Bologna 1938); Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*; Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale*. Also useful as an interpretive overview is Felipe Fernández-Armesto’s essay, “The Genoese Mediterranean,” in his *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492* (Philadelphia 1987), pp. 96-120. Halil İnalcık provides an interesting counterpoint to Italo-centric accounts in chapter twelve of his *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge 1990), pp. 271-314.

¹² Summaries of the Genoese Church’s involvement overseas can be found in Polonio, “Tra universalismo e localismo,” pp. 165-169, and Pistarino, “Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie,” pp. 669-676. Coureas, “The Genoese

neglect of clerical life in the settlements can no doubt be attributed to a range of causes, including the perceived limitations of the sources, a lack of appreciation for the range of clerical duties, and the characteristic coolness towards Genoese clerical history in general. Even those articles and chapters that look at communities and social networks in Genoese settlements have consistently left religious figures at the margins of their analyses.¹³ This is unfortunate because we have intriguing examples of Genoese priests overseas, priests like Presbiter Tealdo in Tunis, who negotiated with the local Muslim authorities, lent money to support a dying businessman, witnessed currency exchanges and the naming of business agents, and even stood beside his parishioners as they faced a violent mob of Muslims angered by a trade dispute.¹⁴ Rather than discussing the institutional Church's place in Genoese foreign affairs, this chapter tries to bring Genoese priests abroad into focus. Let us start out with a brief look at a few issues related to the Church overseas before turning to Genoese ecclesiastical institutions abroad and the place of priests in the settlements.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Helping Ligurian merchants gain trading privileges and establish permanent settlements in foreign lands was one of the most important ways that the Genoese commune fostered trade in the Middle Ages. The Genovesi began founding settlements in the Levant during the First Crusade, and continued to establish them along the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas throughout the Middle Ages. While the Genoese

and the Latin Church of Cyprus" is a more-detailed study. See also L. Balletto, "Religione e potere politico negli insediamenti genovesi del Vicino Oriente," in Dino Puncuh (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Giorgio Costamagna*, ASLSP n.s. 43 (o.s. 117) (Genoa 2003), pp. 107-116.

¹³ For example Edbury's "Famagusta Society ca. 1300" and "The Genoese Community in Famagusta"; Otten-Froux's "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle"; and Balard's "Les Génois en Roumanie."

¹⁴ Presbiter Tealdo's contributions to Genoese life in Tunis will be discussed in more detail below.

commune usually appointed an outpost's administrator, the commune otherwise exercised little direct control.¹⁵ Rather these settlements were "Genoese" primarily by virtue of informal and non-state institutions, such as family networks, commercial and social associations, common language, nostalgia for the "homeland," use of Genoese law, and the presence of Genoese priests and religious institutions.¹⁶

Genoa's settlements are often divided into three categories: those that were virtually sovereign, those in Muslim territories, and those in Christian territories. Over the years, the sovereign settlements have tended to receive the most scholarly attention. In the thirteenth century, Genoa had three major settlements that were on their way to becoming functionally sovereign: Bonifacio, Pera, and Caffa.¹⁷ A Genoese fleet captured Bonifacio, on the southern tip of Corsica, from the Pisans in 1195 and that city "became a Genoa in miniature, a small colonial city dominating the island's trade."¹⁸ Since Bonifacio was not on "foreign soil" in the way that other overseas settlements were, I have not considered it in my analysis below. Pera, sitting on the Golden Horn opposite Constantinople, was one of Genoa's splendid rewards for helping the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus overthrow the Latin Empire of Constantinople (i.e. the

¹⁵ The Genoese Commune's chief representatives in the settlements went by a variety of titles—among them *podesta*, *placarius*, and *consul*—the details of which need not detain us here. For a general idea of these figures' duties in the settlements, see Byrne, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria." Robert MacKenzie's "Social organization and state control in two Genoese merchant colonies: Tunis and Famagusta, in the late 13th century," (DPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1996) is an interesting analysis of the larger issues at play here (with thanks to David Abulafia for lending me a copy).

¹⁶ Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, p. 103; Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale*, p. 321

¹⁷ These were joined by others in the fourteenth century, most notably the island of Chios. Although the Genoese gained rights to Chios with the Treaty of Nymphaeum in 1261, they were not able to secure control of the island until the fourteenth century. See Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*.

¹⁸ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 143. G. Petti Balbi, *Genova e Corsica nel Trecento* (Rome 1976); J.-A. Cancellieri, "Directions de recherche sur la démographie de la Corse médiévale (XIIIe-XV siècles)," in R. Comba, Ga. Piccinni, and G. Pinto (eds), *Strutture familiari, epidemie, migrazione nell'Italia medievale* (Naples 1984), pp. 401-33; V. Vitale (ed.), *Documenti sul castello di Bonifacio nel secolo XIII*, ASLSP o.s. 65 (Genoa 1936); V. Vitale (ed.), "Nuovi documenti sul castello di Bonifacio nel secolo XIII," in ASLSP o.s. 68 (Genoa 1940); J.-A. Cancellieri, "Les actes de Federico, notaire a Bonifacio en 1253," in *Etudes Corses* 2 (1974) pp. 17-81. Also interesting is J.-A. Cancellieri (ed.), *Bonifacio au Moyen Age: entre Gênes, Corse, Sardaigne et Méditerranée* (Ajaccio 1997).

Venetians) in 1261.¹⁹ Over the next two centuries Pera became Genoa's largest and most important settlement.²⁰ Caffa, located on the eastern coast of the Crimean Peninsula in the territory of the Kipchak Turks, was also established in the 1260s and became a center for the grain and slave trades by the early fourteenth century.²¹ In all three of these places, the Genoese used diplomatic and military means to gain substantial control over the settlements' local affairs.²² By comparison, the rest of Genoa's outposts were basically merchant quarters embedded within larger societies and dependent upon their protection.²³

Genoa, like other Christian polities, was even able to establish footholds in territories controlled by Muslim powers. Despite a desire to separate European Christians from the majority culture, Muslim leaders had great financial incentives to accommodate Christian merchants and their goods.²⁴ The Muslim authorities achieved this by granting major Christian trade partners their own *fondaco*, an institution that

¹⁹ See *Libri iurium*, volume I/4, ed. Dellacasa, doc. 749

²⁰ Balard discusses Pera and Caffa at length in *La Romanie Génoise* calling them (along with the fourteenth-century settlement at Chios) the "trois grands comptoirs" (especially chapters 2 and 4 with relevant bibliographic material). On Pera, see G. Pistarino, "The Genoese in Pera -- Turkish Galata," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6 (1986); George Brătianu's *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*, (Paris 1929) is also useful. Notarial sources from Pera can be found in G. I. Brătianu (ed.), *Actes des notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)*, (Bucharest 1927) (hereafter cited as *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu); and L. T. Belgrano (ed.), "Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera," in ASLSP o.s. 13 (Genoa 1877-1884), pp. 99-317 and 933-1003.

²¹ Notarial sources from Caffa can be found in M. Balard (ed.), *Gênes et l'outre-mer, tome I: Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289-1290*, (Paris 1973) (hereafter cited as *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Balard); and in Brătianu's *Actes des notaires Génois* (I cite the section on Caffa as *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Brătianu).

²² Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, p. 101

²³ As Fernández-Armesto puts it, "If we make an exception of the sovereign colonies, which were unusual even in the east, there is no distinction of type to be made between Genoese colonies in all spheres of expansion: everywhere, it was the non-sovereign merchant quarter, imbedded in indigenous society and dependent on foreign protection, which prevailed" (*Before Columbus*, p. 116). Epstein outlines briefly the Genoese settlements in *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 141-4, while Michel Balard does a more thorough exploration of those in the Black Sea and northeastern Mediterranean in *La Romanie Génoise*, chapter three. On Genoese trade routes through the Black Sea region, see Balard's "Gênes et la Mer Noire (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)," in *Revue Historique* 270 (1983), pp. 32-37.

²⁴ O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*, (Cambridge 1994), pp. 110-12.

served as a warehouse, trading center, and hostel for merchants.²⁵ We have references to Genoese *fondachi* in Alexandria, Tunis, Bougie, Ceuta, Valencia, Grenada, and elsewhere.²⁶ Even in Christian lands, many local rulers retained nominal control over Genoese settlements. For the purposes of this discussion the most notable among these were the outpost at Ayas (Italian: *Laiazzo*), an important port in the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia (modern southern Turkey), and Famagusta in Cyprus (controlled by the Latin Christian Lusignan dynasty).²⁷ Genoese trade flourished in Ayas from the mid-thirteenth century until 1287, when the Venetians destroyed the outpost; Genoese settlement in Famagusta grew sharply as the Latin Christians lost their grip on the Levant in the later thirteenth century.²⁸ Despite all the challenges and uncertainties, during the

²⁵ *Fondaco* is the Italian cognate of the Arabic word *funduq*. For a comprehensive study of the *funduq* as an institution, see O. R. Constable's *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge 2003). D. Jacoby, "Les italiens en égypte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?" in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds.), *Coloniser au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1995), pp. 76-89, is also useful.

²⁶ The only Genoese notarial sources to survive in any numbers from thirteenth-century *fondachi* are contained in the private register of Pietro Battifoglio; see G. Pistarino (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288-1289)*, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 47 (Genoa 1986) (hereafter cited as *Pietro Battifoglio*, ed. Pistarino) and G. Jehel, "Catalogue analytique et chronologique des actes du notaire Petrus Batifolius rédigés à Tunis du 20 décembre 1288 au 24 juin 1289," in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 25 (1977), pp. 69-135. A single folio containing six acts from Tunis survives from the register of Jacopo de Pelio, see ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 22.30.

²⁷ On Ayas, see Pierre Racine's thorough "L'Aïas dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *Rivista di bizantinistica* 2 (1992), pp. 173-206, and Otten-Froux, "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle." Notarial acts from Ayas can be found in L. Balletto (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)* (Genoa 1989) (hereafter cited as *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto); and C. Desimoni (ed.), "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaires génois," in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (Paris 1881, reprinted Brussels 1964), pp. 434-534 (hereafter cited as *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni).

²⁸ D. Jacoby, "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century," in *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα* [Meletai kai Hypomnemata] 1 (1984), pp. 143-179; and Edbury, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300." Notarial acts from Famagusta (and Nicosia) have been published in M. Balard (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296 – 23 Giugno 1299)*, (Genoa 1983) (hereafter cited as *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard); C. Desimoni (ed.), "Actes passés à Famagusta de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto," in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (Paris 1884) (hereafter cited as *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni); V. Polonio (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301)*, (Genoa 1982) (hereafter cited as *Cyprus 1300-1301*, ed. Polonio); R. Pavoni (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301)*, (Genoa 1982) (hereafter cited as *Cyprus 1301*, ed. Pavoni); R. Pavoni (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare.*

late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some of these more-restricted trading outposts became home to stable Genoese populations that included merchants, craftsmen, and their families—much like the larger sovereign settlements.

For Genoese traders looking to establish and maintain permanent settlements on foreign soil, the freedom to practice their faith must have been a significant matter.²⁹ Access to familiar religious services, while perhaps not a constant concern for all traders, was certainly important at certain crucial moments, like immediately before and after death. Moreover, coming from a society where, arguably, communal worship could help reinforce—and sometimes even define—social groups, the presence of a Genoese church or chapel no doubt added significantly to social cohesion within a given settlement, and between settlements. The presence of Genoese priests and churches helped tie the settlements together into a specifically “Genoese” network. In addition, the notarial evidence indicates that a wide variety of religious, civic, and commercial activity took place in these churches. For instance, in 1281 two Genoese merchants met an Armenian man named Poli in the Genoese church of San Michele in Pera. The merchants had accidentally dropped 120 silver coins into the port of Constantinople and, speaking through an interpreter, hired Poli to locate and recover the money.³⁰ Just like in neighborhoods back home in Genoa, churches in the settlements were focal points of activity and symbolic emblems of their communities.

Local rulers throughout the Mediterranean and Black Seas were eager for the income generated by commerce with the Genovesi, and surviving treaties and trade

Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio – Agosto 1302), (Genoa 1987) (hereafter cited as *Cyprus 1302*, ed. Pavoni).

²⁹ G. Jehel, *L'Italie et le Maghreb au Moyen Âge: Conflits et échanges du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris 2001), p. 120

³⁰ *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu, doc. 29, p. 90

agreements indicate that they did their best to accommodate Genoese requests for religious freedoms like having their own chapels and priests.³¹ Only in Muslim lands were there any significant constraints on religious observance, but by the later thirteenth century trade agreements with the Muslims regularly allowed the Christian to have chapels, clergy, and cemeteries.³² Genoese treaties with Latin Christian powers (in both the western and eastern Mediterranean) also included concessions that allowed them to have their own clergy and churches in their settlements.³³ Rights to religious structures were first negotiated with the Byzantine Empire in 1169, and in 1261 the Genovesi received rights to a church (along with municipal and commercial buildings) in several ports around the Empire in exchange for their support against the Venetians.³⁴ They were also granted the right to trade along the shores of the Black Sea, which led to contacts

³¹ For a register of medieval Genoese treaties and details of their publication see P. Lisciandrelli (ed.), *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della repubblica di Genova (958-1797): regesti*, ASLSP n.s. 1 (Genoa 1960). Other useful sources for Genoese treaties include: S. de Sacy (ed. and trans.), "Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la république de Gènes," in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. 11 (1827), pp. 1-96; *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale de Sant'Angelo, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 77, 3 volumes, (Rome 1936); and *I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, op cit.

³² For examples see *I libri iurium*, volume I/1, ed. Puncuh, doc. 118 and volume I/7, ed. Pallavicino, doc. 1187; L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen âge*, 2 vols., (Paris 1865, reprinted New York 1964), vol. 2, pp. 106-151; and P. Holt, "Qalāwūn's treaty with Genoa in 1290," in *Der Islam* 57 (1980), pp. 101-8. Some relevant *fatwas* (Muslim legal rulings) regarding Christians can be found in V. Lagardère (ed. and trans.), *Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen âge: Analyse du Mi' yār d'al-Wanšarīsī*, (Madrid 1995), p. 24 (I-35), p. 39 (I-130), p. 55 (I-203), p. 66 (I-251), pp. 363-4 (V-321). See also Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, pp. 119-120; and Jehel, *L'Italie et le Maghreb*, p. 105.

³³ Rights were negotiated with the crusader states in the twelfth century (see *I libri iurium*, volume I/1, ed. Puncuh, docs. 59, 61, 119, and 275; *I libri iurium*, volume I/2, ed. Puncuh, docs. 330, 331, 336, 349, and 353); with Lusignan Cyprus in 1218 (see *I libri iurium*, volume I/2, ed. Puncuh, docs. 348 and 351), and with Cilician Armenia in 1201 (see *I libri iurium*, volume I/2, ed. Puncuh, docs. 344 and 346; and J. de Saint-Martin, "Décret ou privilège de Léon III, roi d'Arménie, en faveur des Génois, en l'année 1288," in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, volume 11 (1827), pp. 97-122).

³⁴ The 1169 treaty: *Liber iurium reipublicae genuensis*, 2 volumes, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* 7 and 8 (Turin 1854 and 1857), volume 1, cols. 252-5; see also Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, pp. 28 and 108. The 1261 treaty (the "Treaty of Nymphaeum"): *I libri iurium*, volume I/4, ed. Dellacasa, doc. 749; see also Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios*, vol. 1, pp. 21-3; and M. Balard, "L'Organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'Empire byzantin (XI^e-XV^e siècle)," in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, vol. 2, (Paris 1991), pp. 261-276.

with the Kipchak Turks, the Bulgars, and the Ottomans.³⁵ During the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Genoese commune successfully negotiated trading rights and religious freedoms with all of these groups.³⁶

Thus we see that in all the regions where the Genovesi were allowed to establish trading settlements they were also allowed to practice their faith. The notarial records confirm that these rights were in fact enjoyed, and that Genoese priests staffed churches in many of the settlements.³⁷ Mendicant friars were also present in non-Muslim ports in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, often working alongside Genoese priests and institutions. Throughout the period we are examining, the papacy called upon the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans, to minister to Christians living outside of Latin Christendom as well as help convert those around them.³⁸ The orders were often the best way to provide *cura animarum* to Latin Christians in regions that lacked adequate clergy or robust ecclesiastical institutions. As a result the

³⁵ The Kipchak Turks (also called the Golden Horde) ruled the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea from the 1230s until the late fourteenth century. The Bulgars ruled the lands in the western part of the Black Sea basin and the Ottomans were the ascendant power in Asia Minor.

³⁶ Genoa had established trading settlements in these areas long before the first surviving formal trade agreements. Genoese religious rights in Bulgar territory were negotiated in the late 1380s (see S. de Sacy, "Pièces diplomatiques," pp. 65-71; and M. Balard, "Les Génois et les régions bulgares au XIV^e siècle," in *Byzantino-bulgarica* 7 (1981), pp. 87-97). While there is no specific mention of religious rights in the 1387 treaty with the Ottomans, Kate Fleet argues that contacts between the two powers had been going on for some time and that the surviving treaty may have been drawn up to address only specific grievances, religious issues not among them (see K. Fleet, "The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56 (1993), p. 32). The surviving treaties between the Genoese and the Kipchak Turks also are silent on the matter of religious observance (see S. de Sacy, "Pièces diplomatiques," pp. 52-8 and 62-4; and S. Papacostea, "Les Génois et la Horde d'Or: le tournant de 1313," in D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès, and D. Valérian (eds.), *Chemins d'outre-mer: études d'histoire sur la méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, (Paris 2004), pp. 651-659.). This is almost certainly due to the fact that the Genoese were allowed virtually complete self-rule within the Kipchak ports, and it was unnecessary to spell out religious freedoms because they were already accounted for under the treaties' broader provisions; see R. Loenertz, *La société des Frères Pérégrinants*, (Rome 1937), pp. 90-1.

³⁷ In the later thirteenth century, smaller settlements typically had at least one Genoese chapel or church. Over the course of the fourteenth century the largest settlements came to have as many as fifteen or twenty—though the majority must have been very small.

³⁸ Muslim rulers were not receptive to the idea of Christian missionaries and generally did not allow the mendicants to operate in their territories.

Franciscans and Dominicans had active churches and convents in many cities where the Genovesi had trading settlements.³⁹ In the settlements, even more than in Genoa, the friars were a prominent feature in the religious landscape. Looking at the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea more generally, it is reasonable to say that the mendicants were the most significant Latin Christian religious figures in the region.⁴⁰

THE GENOESE CHURCH OVERSEAS

Not surprisingly, the ecclesiastical organization of the settlements appears to have been more ad hoc than the system in place within the diocese of Genoa. Latin bishops resided in and managed recognizable dioceses in the crusader states of the Holy Land, but it is often difficult to discern the functioning of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in areas outside of Latin Christendom.⁴¹ Many areas of Genoese settlement were nominally under the leadership of a bishop (often a mendicant) who had been appointed by the papacy, but it is hard to know just what this meant for Latin priests on the ground. In any case, the Genoese Church appears to have retained direct control over Genoese churches and clerics overseas, even in the crusader states.⁴² This could create ambiguity about whether these priests should be obedient to the local bishop or to the archbishop of Genoa. When

³⁹ In the later *fourteenth* century we know that Genoese religious institutions overseas were sometimes run by friars due to a lack of secular clergy from the Liguria. For instance in Caffa in 1375 the commune's palace had a chapel for devotional purposes (dedicated to Saint George), where the Franciscans received 60 *aspers* a month to celebrate masses (see Balard, *La Romanie Géoise*, p. 210). In Pera the Genoese church of Saint Anthony was entrusted to a Dominican and a Franciscan during the 1390s because of a dearth of Genoese clergy; see R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 3: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]*, (Paris 1953), p. 592.

⁴⁰ Pistarino, "Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie," pp. 671-672.

⁴¹ Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*

⁴² This privilege was enjoyed by Venice and other Italian merchant republics as well. D. Pringle, "Churches and Settlement in Crusader Palestine," in P. Edbury and J. Phillips (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading*, volume 2 (Cambridge 2003), pp. 161-178, at p. 171; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*

**TABLE 5-1: GENOESE CHURCHES OVERSEAS NAMED
IN NOTARIAL ACTS (BEFORE 1310)**

<i>Settlement</i> ⁴³	<i>Modern Location</i>	<i>Genoese Church(es)</i>
Acre	Acre, Israel	San Lorenzo ⁴⁴
Alexandria	Alexandria, Egypt	Santa Maria ⁴⁵
Ayas	Yumurtalık, Turkey	San Lorenzo
Famagusta	Famagusta, Cyprus	San Michele <i>de forris</i>
Nicosia	Nicosia, Cyprus	San Lorenzo (?); San Michele <i>de forris</i> (?) ⁴⁶
Pera	Istanbul, Turkey	San Michele
Savasto	Siwas, Turkey	“ <i>in fondaco... in ecclesia</i> ” ⁴⁷
Tunis	Tunis, Tunisia	Santa Maria
Tyre	Sur, Lebanon	San Lorenzo ⁴⁸

the archbishop of Tyre agreed to allow the Genovesi to build a chapel in his city in 1190, he carefully spelled out the limitations on the church and its chaplain. He gave the canons at San Lorenzo in Genoa the right to name the chaplain, but clearly stated that the chaplain would be obedient to him and his successors in Tyre.⁴⁹ In settlements outside the Holy Land, the arrangement was probably much less complicated. Acts in the private

au moyen-âge, 2 vols., second edition, (Leipzig 1923), vol. 1, p. 161; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides: des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, 2 vols., (Paris 1940), vol. 1, p. 453.

⁴³ As discussed above, the Genovesi had rights to churches in many cities and settlements, but evidence of the actual existence of overseas churches before 1310 is limited to the settlements on this list.

⁴⁴ C. Desimoni (ed.), “Quatre titres des propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyr,” in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, volume 2 (Paris 1884), pp. 213-30, doc. 3, pp. 222-4

⁴⁵ *I libri iurium*, volume I/7, ed. Pallavicino, doc. 1189, pp. 78-93

⁴⁶ Genoese testaments from Nicosia name both places, but the evidence is not sufficient to determine whether one or the other was exclusively a Genoese establishment.

⁴⁷ Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois*, doc. 12, pp. 312-14 “*Actum in Savasto in fondaco Camaladini quo habitant Januenses in ecclesia...*” This is a commercial document from 1280 involving a voyage to Genoa and the shipping of goods from Sinope or Samsoun. The Genoese in Siwas (in the Turkish interior southwest of Trebizonde) lived in a private fondaco operated by a man named Kemal’eddin.

⁴⁸ For example, *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, doc. 30, p. 48

⁴⁹ Polonio, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 146-7; *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, docs. 27-30; see docs. 112 and 117 for a comparable situation in Jbeil.

register of Stefano di Corrado record the Genoese archbishop (Giacomo da Varazze) appointing Presbiter Aldebrando de Sarzana as the rector and archiepiscopal vicar at the church of San Michele in Pera.⁵⁰ Clearly the rector was to answer to the Genoese archbishop alone. On the whole then, from the perspective of the Genoese Church, each settlement was probably not too different from a town back home in the diocese: each had a population that needed guidance and access to the sacraments, and this meant that they needed a church and a priest to staff it.⁵¹ In the words of one early observer, “in the church as in every other field there existed the same close association between the mother city and the colonies.”⁵²

Regardless of who appointed them, it appears that many of these rectors would have been the only Genoese cleric in their settlement, though mendicant friars and Latin clergy from other polities were nearby.⁵³ While we lack sufficient evidence to satisfactorily describe the clergy in any one overseas community in the thirteenth century, by bringing together notarial evidence from a number of settlements and comparing it with evidence from Genoa, we are able to draw a basic outline of clerical life abroad. The particular duties of these priests may have differed somewhat depending on the specific characteristics of the settlement, but we shall see that, much like their colleagues in Genoa, the priests in the settlements played an active part in the economic, spiritual, and social lives of their communities. No figure makes this more apparent than Presbiter

⁵⁰ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, docs. 90, 91, and 125

⁵¹ In Bonifacio some of the churches were dependencies of the monastery of San Benigno di Capodifaro, see the index entry “ecclesia, prioratus Sancti Iacobi (Bonifacio)” in *San Benigno di Capodifaro*, ed. Rovere, p. 257.

⁵² Byrne, “The Genoese Colonies in Syria,” p. 165

⁵³ The Genoese notarial acts from Cyprus in particular feature priests and clerics from the local Latin churches interacting with the Genovese. Documents from the Latin Church in Cyprus can be found in *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*, ed. N. Coureas and C. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 25 (Nicosia 1997) and *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus*, ed. and trans. C. Schabel, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 39 (Nicosia 2001).

Tealdo “of the church of Santa Maria in the ‘old’ Genoese fondaco” in Tunis; a man aptly described by Felipe Fernández-Armesto as “a universal helpmeet.”⁵⁴ We know of Tealdo’s time in Tunis thanks to the private register of the notary Pietro Battifoglio, in which we find the priest involved in 26 out of 133 surviving acts. Tealdo was already in his post in early June 1287, but the bulk of the surviving evidence is from the first half of 1289.⁵⁵ In the pages that follow, the actions and activities of Tealdo will help guide us through the world of the Genoese priest overseas.

By this point, the range of transactions that Presbiter Tealdo entered into should not be surprising to us, especially since it appears that some priests in the settlements had lived and worked in Genoa prior to taking up positions overseas. Presbiter Aldebrando is one example of a departure from Genoa, and a certain Presbiter Giovanni may be another. In May 1244, Presbiter Giovanni, a chaplain at San Donato, met with Brother Rogerio, a Knight Templar from the church of Santa Fede, in front of the notary Matteo de Predono.⁵⁶ According to the resulting act, the priest borrowed a service book for the Mass from the Templar, and promised to return it (or twelve Genoese solidi) “within fifteen days of when I return to Genoa from a voyage to Bougie, on which [voyage] I am now prepared to go.”⁵⁷ When regular canons from the Order of the Holy Cross of

⁵⁴ Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, p. 110

⁵⁵ Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix*, volume 2, pp. 125-127; *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pitarino. Georges Jehel contends that Tealdo witnessed a quittance in August 1292, but in my opinion this is not clear from the manuscript. Compare ASG, Notai ignoti, busta 14.129, f. 5v [Petrus Batifolius] and Jehel, “Catalogue analytique,” p. 79. Pitarino does not attempt to identify the witnesses to the quittance, see *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pitarino, p. 209.

⁵⁶ On Santa Fede and the Templars in Genoa (including Brother Rogerio), see E. Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142-c.1330)* (Leiden 2008), pp. 249-252.

⁵⁷ The book was an epistolary (*epistolarius*); Bougie (Béjaïa) in modern-day Algeria was a major destination for Genoese traders. ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 31/I, f. 50v [Matheus de Predono] “*In nomine Domini amen. Ego presbiter Iohannes, capellannus Sancti Donati, confiteor me recepisse in deposito sive custodia a te fratre Rogerio de Sancta Fide librum unum qui vocatur pistolarius, renuntians exceptioni non accepti libri. Quod vel soldos duodecim ianuinarum pro eius extimactione tibi dare promito infra dies quindecim postquam de viagio Buçee quo modo paratus sum ire Ianue rediero sub pena dupli et*

Mortara collected L25 “for the chaplaincy of Tunis” in 1251, one imagines that they were planning to support a priest with Genoese roots.⁵⁸

SOCIAL AND CIVIC ROLES

Genoese priests contributed visibly to the orderly functioning of society in the Genoese settlements, helping contribute to the security of life and business. Just like in Genoa, they did this by playing an active role in the commercial, spiritual, and social aspects of their communities. Let us begin our investigation with priests’ engagement in matters pertaining to social relationships and civil conduct by looking at priests’ involvement with the estates of the deceased. The execution of testaments is a good example of a topic that despite its religious and commercial elements cannot be fully understood from either of these standpoints alone. While wills were clearly intended to address the spiritual welfare of the deceased and the fiscal welfare of his or her family and associates, they are also representative of a larger system of civil conduct—structured by both law and custom—that helped maintain order within the community. The notarial sources indicate that priests in the settlements—like priests in Genoa—were involved with testaments in a number of ways, from witnessing the physical drafting of the documents to distributing the charitable bequests that they included. Let us focus here upon those priests who were actively involved in carrying out the wills, either acting as executors and trustees or serving as witnesses in related transactions.⁵⁹

obligacione bonorum meorum. Actum eodem loco. Testes magister Octo, phisicus, et Iacobus de Langascho. Ea die et hora.”

⁵⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 31/I, ff. 140v & 145r [Matheus de Predono]

⁵⁹ The notaries in the trading settlements were not strict in their use of the terms “*executor*” and “*fideicommissarius*,” and many testaments name only trustees or label undifferentiated groups of men as “trustees and executors.” While this suggests that there was flexibility in the language, examples from Tunis indicate that the spirit of the terms had not been completely abandoned. Presbiter Tealdo is referred

We have examples from the late thirteenth century of priests acting as trustees and executors in Ayas, Tunis, Nicosia, and Famagusta. In Ayas in 1277 a shipwright named Arnaldo de Portu appointed Presbiter Giacomo and the merchant Niccolò de Murta as his executors.⁶⁰ Giacomo was the prior of the Genoese church of San Lorenzo, and an active member of the community. Arnaldo and the notary outlined the trustees' responsibilities, saying that after he had died the executors should gather all of his property and collect on any outstanding business ventures. Following this they were to distribute the money and property in accordance with the instructions in the testament.⁶¹

Other notarial records show that these responsibilities were typical. Oberto de Clavaro's testament named Presbiter Tealdo his "trustee in Tunis" on 7 August 1287, and the priest appears in this capacity three times in the spring of 1289. On 6 April he paid the agent for two pelters a total of forty-one librae of Genoa that these men had invested in two separate commenda contracts with Oberto.⁶² A month later Tealdo returned nine librae to Giovanni de Carixi that he had likewise invested in a commenda.⁶³ It appears that Tealdo's duties as Oberto's trustee were completed on 9 May, when he was joined in the old Genoese fondaco by Giacomina de Savignono, Oberto's heir and widow (who had since remarried).⁶⁴ Giacomina stated to the witnesses and notary that she had received from Tealdo everything that Oberto's will had charged him to collect from debtors and

to multiple times as the "trustee in Tunis," suggesting that the testator had named a true executor who lived elsewhere and only wished the priest to wrap up affairs in the fondaco.

⁶⁰ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, doc. 38, pp. 256-7

⁶¹ "*Item elligo et instituo mihi fideicommissarios meos Nicolaum de Murta et presbiter Iacobum, priorem Sancti Laurenti in Ayacio, et quemlibet eorum in solidum, ad manus quorum pervenire debeant universa et singula bona mea et res et qui solvere debeant ex bonis meis predicta legata et qui debeant dictam fideicommissariam gerere sine dampno eorum seu alicuius eorum.*"

⁶² *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 62, pp. 91-93

⁶³ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 79, pp. 114-6

⁶⁴ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 83, pp. 119-122

from auctioning property. She then recounted how these funds—over 548 bezants—had been dispersed, including the payments to the investors named above.

On 28 April 1300, between vespers and compline, Presbiter Niccolò de Beruto and two other executors went to “the loggia of the king” in Famagusta and delivered goods and money that the late Riccobono Ocelli had left to his daughter-in-law, Alexsia.⁶⁵ Afterwards, “around compline,” outside in the street (*ante logiam*) Niccolò acknowledged that the other executors had given him 500 bezants worth of goods from Riccobono’s estate. These goods, “which the late Riccobono acknowledged in his will to have held and retained from [the priest] in a commenda,” are rare evidence that the priest and the testator actually had prior formal contact, and may even have known each other well.⁶⁶ The priest must have trusted Riccobono a great deal to invest such a large amount with him, and Riccobono reflected that trust by asking Niccolò to help carry out his final wishes. This transaction is all the more notable considering how rarely we see priests as mercantile investors in Genoa.

Taken together, this set of acts from Tunis and the eastern Mediterranean clearly illuminates an executor’s or trustee’s role, from the drafting of the will through the completion of his duties. Having seen priests acting as executors in Genoa, we can see that they appear to have fulfilled their responsibilities in much the same ways—which is to say in the same manner as lay executors. Regardless of the differences in environment, testaments still required the same skilled attention in the settlements as they did back home. And as in Genoa, many factors must have contributed to the decision to name a priest as executor. Surely one important factor was that priests would have

⁶⁵ *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni, doc. 114, pp. 63-4

⁶⁶ *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni, doc. 115, pp. 64: “*quos dictus quondam Richobonus fuit confessus in dicto testamento se habuisse et recepisse a me in accomendacione.*”

traveled less than merchants. This stability meant that one could trust that they would be in the settlement when ones heirs or business partners finally arrived.

Dealing with estates may have been among the priests' more important social responsibilities in the settlements, but they were also involved in other aspects of community life. For example, they helped resolve conflicts and carry out discipline on behalf of the Roman Church, as can be seen in an illustrative example from Famagusta. In June 1301 Presbiter Giacomo de Accon (i.e. "of Acre") absolved Viviano de Ginembaldo de Accon's excommunication for trading with Egypt in violation of the papacy's ban on trade with the Muslims.⁶⁷ In October 1300 Pope Boniface VIII had decided to allow the absolution of Genoese merchants who had been excommunicated on these grounds, and he sent word to Famagusta by way of Petrus de Monte Olivo, a canon of St. Sophia in Nicosia. This bull was addressed to both Giacomo and the other local priest, Giovanni de Accon, but it appears that only Giacomo actually went to Viviano's house to perform the ceremony. The fact that the bull did not name any particular excommunicates suggests that the papacy trusted the local priests to know—or be able to find out—who had been trading in violation of canon law.

Priests also took part in diplomatic negotiations between the Genovesi and other powers overseas, often with their immediate overlords and representatives from the local community. The best examples of this in the notarial registers come from Tunis, where Presbiter Tealdo seems to have enjoyed a strong relationship with the Muslim officials. Tealdo was involved in a variety of negotiations with the local Muslims rulers, with the first known case coming from 9 June 1287.⁶⁸ In this document we see Tealdo in the

⁶⁷ *Cyprus 1301*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 13, pp. 14-16

⁶⁸ Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix*, vol. 2, doc. Gênes 11, pp. 125-127

palace of the Hasfid king of Tunis for negotiations between a Genoese ambassador and the Muslim officials. The ambassador, Luchetto Pignolus, had been sent from Genoa, to address the complaints of Genoese merchants who traded with Tunis. Two Franciscan friars, brother Pelegro and brother Bernardo, had been present in Genoa when Luchetto was appointed ambassador, and had then accompanied him to Tunis. At the palace, they joined Tealdo and other notables (including the consul of the Catalan community) in witnessing the negotiations with the Muslims.

Tealdo also appears to have taken part in other situations involving local Muslims and their leaders. In December 1288 the Genoese officials in Tunis entrusted him with the keys to the *gabelle* (Christian wine warehouse) until a conflict with the Muslims (probably over the tax on wine or the building's rent) could be resolved.⁶⁹ Five months later Tealdo stood beside the consul when he faced an armed mob of Muslims who had come to the new Genoese fondaco with stones and clubs in order to seize "by force" a quantity of oil that had been sold by a Genoese merchant.⁷⁰ After the consul's attempts to invoke the protection of standing treaties had failed and the Muslims had taken the oil, the Genoese gathered around the notary Pietro Battifoglio as he drafted a document recording what had happened. Tealdo was the first of many people to witness the document once it was complete. Unfortunately we do not know the reasons behind this conflict, nor how (or if) the issue was ultimately resolved. Tealdo was also involved in more peaceful interactions with the Muslim authorities, such as when the Genoese consul gave 3,000 gold doplas and a pouch of pearls to a Muslim official called "Bem

⁶⁹ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 1, pp. 3-4 (the document is fragmentary); see Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale*, p. 376; and Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, p. 110

⁷⁰ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 97, pp. 141-2; Jehel, *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale*, p. 377

Mechinus” on behalf of the king of Aragon.⁷¹ This range of contact suggests that the local Muslims treated Tealdo with a level of respect similar to—or even greater than—that which they granted the Europeans’ civic officials, and perhaps even more.

The evidence we have suggests that Genoese priests were more closely affiliated with the civil administrators of the settlements than their counterparts were to the commune back in Genoa. We have a number of examples of priests appearing beside the consuls and *placarii* of the settlements. For example, Baliano Enbronus, Genoa’s consul in Tunis, joined Presbiter Tealdo as a witness on eight occasions in early 1289.⁷² Presbiter Giacomo was joined by Enrico, the *placarius* of the Genoese community in Ayas, in three out of five documents that he witnessed. In these documents the priest and the official are often accompanied by a prominent Genoese merchant. More so than in Genoa, priests, merchants, and civil officials in the settlements may have spent much of their time sharing relatively small amounts of communal space. In these places, commerce, governance, and religious practice would have intermingled constantly. Add this to the small number of men who stayed in a settlement long enough to be both well known and reliable in the event that a document was challenged and we have a good reason why priests and administrators would appear as witnesses together. Perhaps Tealdo was a popular witness because his church stood inside the Genoese fondaco, within shouting distance of where the notary Pietro customarily did business.⁷³

On the other hand, I do not want to dismiss the idea that priests overseas were seen as having more of an “official” secular role within the Genoese community. While

⁷¹ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pitarino, doc. 124, pp. 174-5. Tealdo witnessed the document in the Muslims’ customs house (*duganne*).

⁷² *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pitarino, docs. 3, 8-11, 19, 55, and 92.

⁷³ There were two Genoese fondacos in the city at this time, the “Old” and the “New.”

we almost never see clerics acting as envoys or ambassadors for the Genoese commune in Liguria, there is some evidence that priests sometimes acted on behalf of the commune overseas.⁷⁴ Take for instance Presbiter Gualtero de Verano, the rector of San Michele in Pera and “the vicar of the Genoese archbishop in that place.” In May 1303, the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos issued a “golden bull” granting certain lands to the “illustrious commune of Genoa” so that they could expand their settlement at Pera.⁷⁵ The document, written in Greek, was translated by a local Genoese notary under the supervision of three mendicant bishops, the *vicarius* of the Dominicans in Pera, and Presbiter Gualtero. At the end of the translation, each of the men wrote a brief statement indicating that the document was authentic and added their seal. Clearly there was some civic aspect to Gualtero’s place in the community. In another interesting case, Presbiter Marcoaldo de Rivalta (the village of Rivalta Scrivia, near Tortona) spent at least a few weeks travelling around the island of Corsica as various villages swore fidelity to the commune of Genoa.⁷⁶ The fact that Marcoaldo is the only person who appears in all the witness lists with these villagers suggests that he was intimately involved in the business of securing the pledges.

⁷⁴ In the *Libri iurium*, the collection of documents about the rights and powers of the Genoese commune, there is almost no evidence of the clergy having a role in the commune’s relations in Liguria. The one exception I have found is from 1164, when a priest was sent to Monleone as a representative of the commune; see *Libri iurium*, volume I/6, ed. Bibolini and Pallavicino, doc 972. Papers given at conferences at the University of Saint Andrews in 2007 and 2009 on the clergy’s involvement with communal government discussed twenty different Italian regions and municipalities, but Genoa and Liguria were not among them. “Religion and Public Life in Late Mediaeval Italy, Conference Programme 2009,” <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~rplife/conference/programme.html> (accessed 15 May 2010) and E. Graham, “Religion and Public Life in Late Medieval Italy, St Andrews (GB), 14-16 June 2007,” a review of the 2007 conference found at <http://www.storia.unifi.it/rm-calendario/2007/Resoconti/r08-graham.pdf> (accessed 2 November 2009).

⁷⁵ *Libri iurium*, volume I/8, ed. Pallavicino, doc. 1267

⁷⁶ In 1289; *I libri iurium*, I/6, ed. Bibolini and Pallavicino, docs. 1073 (October 6), 1077 (July 28), 1078 (August 1), 1079 (15 August), 1080 (15 August, “*in campo apud ecclesiam*,” with a canon of Bonaria), 1081 (1 August), 1082 (3 August, “*apud ecclesiam*”), 1083 (13 August).

COMMERCIAL INVOLVEMENT

If we turn our attention to commercial matters, we also notice important differences between priests in Genoa and priests overseas. Unlike in Genoa where priests are regularly found making loans, buying and selling property, and generally managing their benefice or the property of a church, priests in the settlements were involved in recorded commerce almost exclusively as agents and witnesses. With two exceptions, we simply do not see Genoese priests engaging in commercial activities with property at their own disposal. Like the large investment made by Presbiter Niccolò, the other exception helps underline the point because it is so different from the transactions we typically see in Genoa. In 1274 we find Presbiter Michele, of the Genoese church of San Lorenzo in Ayas, at the door of his house with Filipino Tartari, the consul and vicar of the Genoese in that city. With another priest as witness, Michele sold the official a female slave named Fatima, whom he had purchased previously from another member of the local Genoese community.⁷⁷ This document is a straightforward bill of sale and makes no mention of the reasons behind Presbiter Michele's decision nor alludes to any controversy surrounding it.⁷⁸

It is possible that one explanation for the lack of evidence for commercial activity is due to the size of the sample. Because we have far less notarial evidence from the settlements than we do from Genoa, notarial acts depicting direct clerical involvement in commerce simply may have not survived. However, I believe that the real reason for this

⁷⁷ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, doc. B24, pp. 456-7; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, docs. 43/43a/43b, pp. 61-4. The medieval Church had no qualms about owning slaves, and clergy sold and manumitted them regularly despite the obstacles created by canon law's prohibitions against the alienation of Church property. See Helmholz, *Classical Canon Law*, pp. 79-83.

⁷⁸ While Fatima was clearly born a Muslim, it is possible that she had converted to Christianity. We know that other female slaves did this because they appear in the sources with appellations like "*baptizata meam*" (for example see *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, doc. B86, p. 490). Unfortunately we will probably never know the whole story because Fatima is referred to neither as a Muslim or a convert.

lack of evidence—even hints of it—probably has to do with property. In Genoa, a great deal of lay and ecclesiastical wealth was invested in land. This was possible because Genoa was a relatively stable city with a long-established system of property rights. Thanks to donations and purchases, the churches of Genoa controlled a large amount of land, the rents and fruits from which could be extended into the credit market and further invested. In the young settlements of the thirteenth century, on the other hand, the ownership of immovable property was a much more risky venture, and in Muslim environments completely impossible. The Genovesi inhabited the settlements at the pleasure of overlords, far away from the protection of Genoa's stout city walls. Moreover, the Genovesi had learned from experience that settlements could be severely disrupted by war, fickle markets, and other hazards. The urban settlements of the thirteenth century (perhaps in contrast to the crusader states settlements of the twelfth century, and the large, more landed colonies of the fourteenth) may have been built on moveable specie. This way if a trade route shifted or a war was lost, a Genoese community and its priests could easily take its moveable wealth and move to a new site. For instance, the number of "de Accon" and "de Beruti" appellations in Fagamusta makes clear that many Genovesi moved to that city when the Levantine settlements were seized by the Muslims in the late thirteenth century. Without property to manage, Genoese priests in the settlements simply had far fewer reasons—or opportunities—to enter into commerce on a level that would generate notarial acts.

Turning to commercial agency, however, we find ourselves with some revealing cases, including an interesting cluster of acts from Ayas. Presbiter Giacomo of Ayas, appears as a commercial agent four times in March and April of 1279. Giovanni, the

archbishop of Tarsus, appointed Giacomo and his colleague, Presbiter Giovanni, as agents to deal with a ship he owned. The *Sanctus Nicolaus* was sitting at anchor in the harbor of Ayas, and the Archbishop wished to sell it along with its launch (*xondola*) and all of its rigging and equipment. The boat was sold at the Genoese loggia in a public auction administered by the plancier Enrico. Giovanni de Rapallo de Risecho won the auction with a bid of 221 Armeanian bezants.⁷⁹ The date of the auction is not recorded, but on 2 March 1279 the priests met the buyer at the loggia and collected the money on the archbishop's behalf.⁸⁰ The documents do not tell us how Archbishop Giovanni came to possess the boat, although there is a good chance it was either a bequest, or perhaps a forfeiture offered (or seized) in lieu of a cash payment.⁸¹

Presbiter Giacomo also served as an agent for Guirardo de Sancto Paulo, investing 1,000 Armenian dirhems in a commenda contract on his behalf in late March.⁸² Even more significant, however, was that Giacomo was twice designated a "trusted messenger and general procurator" in the first week of April.⁸³ He first received this charge from the merchant Giovanni Tavanus, and later that week he took on the same responsibilities for a collective of four merchants.⁸⁴ This flurry of commercial activity in late March and early April suggests that merchants were looking to put their affairs in order before the start of the commercial sailing season.⁸⁵ Presbiter Tealdo served as an

⁷⁹ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, doc. C18, pp. 504-5; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, doc. 78, pp. 307-9

⁸⁰ The sale must have taken place before 11 February 1279 as Giovanni de Rapallo de Risecho had already sold the boat to a man named Pucio Simplex by that time. To trace the sales (but not sails) of this ship, see *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, docs. C5, C15, and C47; and *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, doc. 75.

⁸¹ In the Mediterranean creditors sometimes auctioned off the property of insolvent debtors in order to recoup their money. For example, see Lopez and Raymond (eds.), *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, pp. 290-1, and doc. 153, pp. 296-8.

⁸² *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, doc. C34, pp. 513; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, doc. 94, pp. 328-9.

⁸³ "*certum nuncium et generalem procuratorem*"

⁸⁴ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, docs. C51 and C55; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, docs. 111 and 115.

⁸⁵ On sailing seasons (and shipping routes) see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, (Oxford 2000), pp. 137-143.

agent in early April 1289, collecting money that had been left to Belengerio de Caneto in a testament from December 1287.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, Belengerio himself died before Tealdo could turn over the money, so he passed the money along to Belengerio's executors.⁸⁷ As in Genoa, there is no record of formal compensation for commercial agents in the settlements.

The other three examples of priests acting as commercial agents are all from Cyprus. In December 1297, Presbiter Guilliello, prior of San Lorenzo in Nicosia, acted as an agent for Giacomo Rubei. The priest went to the palace of the Lusignan king and on Giacomo's behalf repaid 2,600 bezants that he had borrowed in August 1295 from a woman named Schiva de Tabaria.⁸⁸ The last two examples are from Famagusta, and the first serves, helpfully, to remind us that the priests in the trading settlements were members of family networks as much as they were ecclesiastical ones. In this case two brothers, Ambrosio and Nicola de Camulio, met in the evening at the Genoese loggia.⁸⁹ While there, Ambrosio named his brother, who was a priest and "dean of the church of Nicosia," his agent for collecting 500 bezants that were owed him from the estate of one "Thomam Bullum."⁹⁰ The following year, Simone de Molazana of Genoa designated Presbiter Simone Saporitus as his agent for collecting 200 bezants worth of goods from the estate of his nephew, who was also named Simone.⁹¹

The role of a priest as a witness to commercial agreements is most clearly visible in Tunis, where Presbiter Tealdo witnessed no fewer than nineteen commercial

⁸⁶ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 61, pp. 90-1

⁸⁷ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 104, pp. 150-2

⁸⁸ *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, doc. 83, pp. 102-3

⁸⁹ "Camulio" is Camogli, a pieve on the coast about 15 miles from Genoa.

⁹⁰ *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni, doc. 96, pp. 53: "*decanum ecclesie Nicosiensis*." Nicola's church was probably the cathedral, St. Sophia. Nicola is referred to as a priest twice in *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, doc. 74, pp. 92-3.

⁹¹ *Cyprus 1301*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 191, pp. 232-3

transactions between December 1288 and June 1289.⁹² In January he witnessed the quitclaim for a 100-*dopla* debt and the sale of a quantity of sheepskins.⁹³ In February he was present when Genoese merchants engaged two Pisan traders to transport 1,400 *dopla* down the coast to their colleagues in Sousse.⁹⁴ Between the twenty-first and twenty-eighth of March, Tealdus witnessed the naming of two business agents, an arrangement for changing a quantity of currency, and two major trade agreements.⁹⁵ Evidence from Ayas in 1279 contains five acts witnessed by Presbiter Giacomo of San Lorenzo. Three of the transactions deal with loans, and all of these took place in the Genoese loggia (commercial center). The first record is fragmentary, but in it one party is acknowledging a debt and promising to repay it within three days.⁹⁶ The second document is a receipt for a loan repayment, and in the third act Giacomo witnessed a tailor borrow thirty Armenian *dirhams* from a shopkeeper for two months.⁹⁷ The priest also watched Benedetto Malocello appoint two agents to collect a debt, and witnessed a transaction in the house of a local notary.⁹⁸ Clearly the credit market was active in the Genoese settlements.

We also have three examples from Famagusta around the turn of the fourteenth century. A priest, Pietro de Gaita, was present at a market stall in 1301 when Simone de Barra paid Giovannino Maffonus the 428 bezants that the latter had earned from a

⁹² All of these cases can be found in *Pietro Battifoglio*, ed. Pistarino. Since the Pietro Battifoglio was one notary among many, it is possible that the numbers were really much higher.

⁹³ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, docs. 3 and 11, pp. 6-8 and 18-19

⁹⁴ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 14, pp. 23-4

⁹⁵ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, docs. 35-6, 51-2, and 55. The main party in the first trade agreement sold his stake in it to a Florentine merchant on the first of April (see doc. 60, pp. 88-9).

⁹⁶ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, doc. 61, pp. 287-8; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, doc. C1, p. 493

⁹⁷ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, docs. 67 and 127, pp. 294-5 and 367; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, docs. C7 and C67, pp. 497 and 529

⁹⁸ *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, docs. 112 and 93, pp. 349-50 and 327-8; *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Desimoni, docs. C52 and C33, pp. 522 and 512-3

commenda contract.⁹⁹ Turning to loans, a Genoese resident of Famagusta borrowed 300 bezants of Cyprus from a widow called Dame Linor in May 1299. When the debtor repaid the money the following October, the priests Iacobus Ianuenis and Nicolaus de Baruti witnessed the transaction.¹⁰⁰ Three years later the priest Iohanes de Antiochia witnessed a man named Dimitri pay 225 bezants of a 400 bezant debt, though no priests were present when he paid off the remaining balance.¹⁰¹

The notarial evidence cited above indicates that, like their counterparts back home, priests in the settlements and fondachi were willing to take on a variety of commercial responsibilities, but on the whole played a very small role in Genoese commercial transactions. However, it does appear that particular priests—such as Tealdo in Tunis and Giacomo in Ayas—were quite active in certain aspects of commercial affairs. Is it coincidental that they were active in smaller settlements, where there were fewer permanent residents to fill these roles? It is impossible to say, but their level of engagement with commerce not only indicates that some priests were comfortable operating within the commercial world, but also suggests that some could navigate it with skill. Commercial agents were often responsible for carrying out tasks that were vital to their employer's financial welfare, and therefore savvy people took care to appoint agents who were both competent and trustworthy.¹⁰² The notarial records offer scant insight into why priests served as agents and witnesses, but many of these choices may have been driven by the factors discussed above: physical stability and proximity to the place of business. Over time particular priests may have developed reputations in their

⁹⁹ *Cyprus 1300-1301*, ed. Polonio, doc. 259, pp. 306-7

¹⁰⁰ *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, docs. 148/148a, pp. 173-4

¹⁰¹ *Cyprus 1302*, ed. Pavoni, docs. 227a and 227b, p. 274

¹⁰² Thank you to Ricardo Court for sharing with me his insights on Genoese commercial agents.

community for being capable agents, thereby increasing the likelihood that other people would seek them out for this service. Presbiter Tealdo, with his apparent ties to not only the local community of Genovesi, but also to Muslims and other European Christians in Tunis, was one such priest.

BODIES AND SOULS

One type of service that fell to priests by virtue of their profession rather than their character or availability was funerals. In January 1289 Johannia Çenogia drafted her testament in the Marseillais fondaco in Tunis. She asked to be buried at the church of Santa Maria in the old Genoese fondaco, and left Presbiter Tealdo a gold dobla (*doppie d'oro*) to pay for her funeral services and burial.¹⁰³ This is the only testament to survive from Battifoglio's register, but this one example points to a crucial responsibility of Genoese priests overseas: ensuring Christians a suitable burial in consecrated ground. As we have seen, this was an important duty for priests back home in Genoa, but it must have taken on even more significance overseas, where communities were less stable and often subject to non-Christian overlords. My survey of the surviving overseas acts from before 1320 has located seventy-one testaments drafted between 1274 and 1308, accounting for approximately a third of the overseas documents featuring clergy or religious institutions. In addition to the example above, forty-five of these testaments are from Famagusta, nine from Ayas, eight from Pera, five from Caffa, two from Nicosia, and one from Samsun.

Taken together these acts tell us a great deal about Genoese priests' involvement in funeral services overseas. Examining this evidence, we find that priests' duties

¹⁰³ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 6, pp. 11-13

overseas were basically identical to their duties in Genoa. Sometimes priests were among those called to witness people's testaments. For example, in Famagusta in 1301 a Genoese widow named Placencia drafted her will in the presence of the priest Niccolò de Beruto.¹⁰⁴ Just as in Genoa, the amounts that testators bequeathed to churches or individual priests for their funeral rituals varied considerably, though making exact comparisons across the range of currencies can be challenging.¹⁰⁵ One imagines that the clergy of San Michele in Pera performed a comparatively simple service for Oberto de Monleone who left one gold *hyperpyron* for his burial in 1281, but did much more for Balduino de Varagine, who bequeathed ten.¹⁰⁶ The differences were probably even more dramatic in Famagusta twenty years later, where some left very small amounts while others made considerable bequests.¹⁰⁷ The services for Oberto de Vintimilia, a city official who left fifty *bezants*, must have been an impressive spectacle. He designated twenty bezants for his procession, twenty for his funeral mass (he wanted it celebrated three times, at prime, terce, and none) and candles, and another ten for a head stone.¹⁰⁸ Another wealthy Genovese in Famagusta requested that he be buried at the city's Franciscan church, and left money so that both the Franciscans and the Dominicans

¹⁰⁴ *Cyprus 1301*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 71, pp. 95-97

¹⁰⁵ These bequests feature gold *doplas*, new *dirhems*, *bezants* and white *bezants*, *aspers*, *hyperperes*, and Genoese *librae*. On coinage in the Genoese settlements see G. Lunardi, *Le Monete delle Colonie Genovesi*, ASLSP n.s. 20 (Genoa 1980).

¹⁰⁶ *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu, docs. 121 and 151, pp. 151 and 170

¹⁰⁷ *Cyprus 1301*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 126, pp. 158-9; Jordano de Naulo left 1.5 *bezants*; cf. docs. 24 and 42

¹⁰⁸ *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni, doc. 189, p. 101; and Byrne, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria," pp. 174-5. Giacoma, the daughter of Anselmo de Silvano and the wife of Giovanni Balistarius, also left fifty white bezants for her burial and funeral (*Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, doc. 29, pp. 39-40). Genoese headstones from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Pera survive, see E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Le Pietre sepolcrali di Arab Camii (Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata)*, ASLSP o.s. 69 (Genoa 1942). (From 1936 to 1942, the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* were published under the series title "Atti della Regia Deputazione di storia patria per la Liguria"; these volumes are now considered numbers 65-69 in the ASLSP old series.)

would participate in his funeral procession.¹⁰⁹ Even people who left moderate amounts for their funeral services sometimes made special requests for how they should be carried out. In 1302, Jodino Gambalus de Camulio—a merchant with a house and slaves “in Byzantium” (*in Romania*)—left a modest five bezants to the Dominican church in Famagusta for his funeral and burial, but also left four bezants so that a priest from the cathedral would carry a cross in his procession.¹¹⁰

As we would expect based on the evidence from Genoa, many of these testaments also contain bequests for commemorative masses. Just like their relatives and colleagues back home, the Genovesi abroad wanted priests to pray for their souls. Andriolo de Rappalo, a Genoese official in Nicosia, left seventy-two bezants for a priest to sing masses for six months, while another Genoese Nicosian left 120 bezants for a full year.¹¹¹ Januino de Murta instructed that a priest at the Genoese church of San Michele *de foris* of Famagusta be paid “according to what will be appropriate” for a year of masses.¹¹² Some of these testators even wanted masses sung across the Mediterranean, in their hometown churches. For instance in 1281 Giacomino Sachi, a Ligurian man who had fallen ill in Pera, left money for masses to several churches in his hometown of Voltri.¹¹³ Another man from Voltri, staying in Famagusta in 1299, also left money for the same purpose.¹¹⁴

Thanks to an act from Tunis, we can even glimpse how gifts were delivered to the religious institutions. In this case the executor (the priest Tealdus) collected the debts that were owed to the deceased merchant Obertus de Clavaro and then distributed the

¹⁰⁹ *Cyprus 1302*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 281, p. 337

¹¹⁰ *Cyprus 1302*, ed. Pavoni, doc. 61, p. 84: “*Item, presbitero capellano Famagoste, qui venire debeat cum cruce, bisancios albos quatuor.*”

¹¹¹ *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, docs. 48 and 87, pp. 60-1 and 107; Nicosia, in central Cyprus, was the Lusignan dynasty’s capital.

¹¹² *Cyprus 1300-1301*, ed. Polonio, doc. 165, p. 190 “*secundum quod fuerit congruum*”

¹¹³ *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu, doc. 21, p. 85, see also doc. 151, p. 170-3

¹¹⁴ *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, doc. 126, p. 150

bequests to the parties named in his testament. One of these bequests was fifteen bezants to the Genoese church “for the burial of the said late Oberto.”¹¹⁵ In Genoa it was customary to specify that payment for the funeral and burial were to be made immediately, but in the overseas wills the testators left no such instructions.¹¹⁶ This suggests that the payment to the church was treated much like any other bequest, and need not be paid at (or even near) the time of the burial.¹¹⁷ No doubt these expectations were relaxed in the overseas settlements because it could take time to settle the deceased’s affairs, but environmental conditions still demanded a swift burial.

The physical and financial dangers that inspired the Genovesi in the settlements to draft their wills were substantial, but the clergy took part in providing formal and informal institutions to care for those in need. According to the notarial acts (testaments in particular) many larger cities had Latin hospitals, often administered by the Franciscans (as in Caffa) or the Order of Saint Anthony (as in Famagusta).¹¹⁸ Only the largest settlements had hospitals specifically run by the Genoese community, and these only seem to take root in the late-thirteenth century as administrative and religious institutions came to more thoroughly resemble those of Genoa.¹¹⁹ In the absence of formal institutions to support the infirm or indigent, the Genovesi overseas had to rely on less formal avenues of charity, such as the distribution of alms. There is no evidence of a Latin hospital in Ayas in the 1270s, but four of the nine Genoese testators from that city

¹¹⁵ *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 83, p. 120 “*De quibus bisanciis dedistis et solvistis, pro dicto quondam Oberto, ut infra. Primatus pro sepultura dicti quondam Oberti bisancios quindecem...*”

¹¹⁶ Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, p. 159

¹¹⁷ Oberto drafted his testament in August of either 1287 or 1288, see *Pietro Battifoglio*, ed. Pistarino, p. 199.

¹¹⁸ *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Brătianu, doc. 228; *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Balard, docs. 689, 704, 742, 882. Balard, *Romanie Génoise*, p. 201. A testament from 1296 refers to the “*hospitali Famagoste sancti Anthonii comunis Ianue*,” see *Cyprus 1296-9*, ed. Balard, doc. 24, pp. 33-34.

¹¹⁹ The Hospital of Sant’Elena in Pera appears in the early 1280s, but we know little more than its name. See *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu, docs. 121 and 133; *Cyprus 1299-1301*, ed. Desimoni, doc. 187.

left money for alms, instructing simply that the money be “distributed” to the poor.¹²⁰ It is likely that local Genoese priests helped identify the needy and distribute alms in the settlements. Direct support from friends, business acquaintances, family members, and even priests must have been crucial as well, though it is hard to detect in the Genoese sources. The best piece of evidence I have found comes from Tunis, where Presbiter Tealdo supported a merchant while he was dying in the summer of 1287. He did this by lending the merchant, Oberto de Clavaro, twenty-two bezants, later collecting the sum from Oberto’s estate just like any other creditor.¹²¹ Oberto was also one of at least three male testators who left bequests to women who helped care for them “in their infirmity.”¹²² These fragments of evidence suggest that the Genovesi overseas had methods of caring for ailing and vulnerable members of their community, but this picture is substantially incomplete without the mendicant orders.

As in Genoa, both the Franciscans and Dominicans maintained churches and hospitals in the settlements and offered their services to the Genoese faithful. Gabriele Bonacia, a Genoese man “fearing Divine judgment” in Samsun on the northern coast of Turkey in 1298, wanted to be buried at the “church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Order of the Friars Minor in Samsun.”¹²³ He left them money for his burial, as well as for commemorative masses. Furthermore, he left money for the *hospitali de Simesso*, which was almost certainly a Franciscan institution. Samsun had only a modest Genoese presence, but the Friars were also very active in large settlements with prominent Genoese churches. For example, in early July 1290 two Genoese testators in Caffa

¹²⁰ See *Ayas 1270s*, ed. Balletto, docs. 2, 39/39a, 45, and 132

¹²¹ *Tunis 1288-1289*, *Tunis 1288-1289*, ed. Pistarino, doc. 83, pp. 119-122

¹²² See also *Pera 1281*, ed. Brătianu, doc. 18, pp. 83-4 and *Cyprus 1300-1301*, ed. Polonio, doc. 12, pp. 12-14

¹²³ *San Benigno di Capodifaro*, ed. Rovere, doc. 68, pp. 70-71

designated a Franciscan friar called brother Paganini to handle their charitable bequests. Rolando de Robino, after instructing that his slave Margarita be freed and that money be given to the hospital of Caffa, said, “I leave to the poor, for the remedy of my soul, 100 aspers to be distributed by brother Paganini, of the Order of the Friars Minor.”¹²⁴ Nicholino Rocha also left money and goods to the local Franciscan hospital before requesting that brother Paganini distribute 136 aspers for his soul.¹²⁵ Secular priests must have carried out similar functions in the Genoese settlements.

CONCLUSION

Until now, the little that has been written about the Genoese Church overseas has relied almost exclusively on the records of the chapter at San Lorenzo and the diplomatic archive of the commune of Genoa. In this chapter I have used private notarial registers to try something totally different, namely to understand the role of the priests who actually *lived* in the settlements in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. The notarial evidence suggests that much like their colleagues back in Genoa, priests overseas were highly integrated into the local Genoese community (and even beyond it). They tended to religious and charitable duties, helped facilitate commerce, and negotiated with local powers. Even in settlements that were full of professional merchants and tradesmen who built their livelihoods upon reliability, trustworthiness, and good business sense, we see that Genoese priests played important roles beyond the altar. By helping their fellow Genovesi flourish in a number of foreign environments, these priests contributed

¹²⁴ *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Balard, doc. 704, p. 273 “*Item lego pauperibus, pro remedio anime mee, in distribucione fratris Paganini, ordinis fratrum minorum sancti Francisci de Caffa, asperos centum barichatos.*”

¹²⁵ *Caffa 1289-90*, ed. Balard, doc. 742, p. 293

meaningfully to Genoa's successful network of trading settlements *in transmarinis partibus*.

CONCLUSION

SECULAR PRIESTS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

In 1316 an educated young man named Opicino de Canistris arrived in Genoa with his family, fleeing Pavia and the Ghibelline faction that had recently taken control of the city.¹ In the autumn of that year, Opicino began to dream of the Last Judgment and “the mercy of the Lord began to restrain [him] from [his] vices.” He learned to illuminate manuscripts and he read the theological works that he found in his hands; over time he opened his “inner eyes to the reason of the faith.” After leaving “that peaceful Genoa” in 1318 Opicino took holy orders, was ordained in 1320, and became rector of a small parish in Pavia a few years later. He eventually placed his church in the care of a vicar and moved to Avignon, where, following an acute illness, he wrote at least two treatises that dramatically incorporated text with schematic drawings. In one of these works, he laid out his thinking about the place of parish priests in the life of the universal Church and its faithful.²

Opicino wrote that through their teaching secular priests played a crucial role in forming a strong and spiritually healthy Christian community. Moreover, he argued that careful management of a church’s property was a positive good because these material resources could be used to benefit the community, in particular the poor. However, the involvement with worldly affairs that these duties required left priests in a dangerous position, vulnerable to many sins, somewhere between the animality of the laity and the spiritual perfection of the mendicants. Ultimately, good priests embraced this “middle

¹ Opicino was about twenty years old when he traveled to Genoa. His account of his life can be found in *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation*, ed. K. L. Jansen, J. Drell, and F. Andrews, (Philadelphia 2009), pp. 411-420.

² Morse, “The *Vita mediocris*,” pp. 257-282

life” (*vita mediocris*) in order to help save the souls of the laity by, as Victoria Morse summarizes it, acting as the “middleman in a closely-knit economy of spiritual and material transactions.”³ We have very little evidence about how Italian parish priests thought about their place in the Church and the world, but it is not hard to imagine that Opicino’s ideas were indicative of the ways in which other priests understood their position in their communities. Perhaps his time in Genoa, when he first began to turn towards a spiritual vocation, was even a formative period in this thinking about the *vita mediocris*. Walking the caruggi of a city built upon trade and commerce, did he come to appreciate the special value of religious figures who struggled in the material world, who shared the anxieties and temptations of the women and men around them?

In many ways, this dissertation has been an illustration of the multivalent “middle life” or “mediating life” that Opicino wrote about, using the notarial sources to show that secular priests stood at the intersection of lay communities and religious communities. After laying out the broad institutional features of the Genoese Church in Chapter One, in Chapter Two I looked at how priests’ involvement in the “commercial” sphere of property management and credit helped weave them into the fabric of material life in Genoa. In Chapter Three I watched priests as they carried out their core professional duties: tending to the health of souls in their communities. In Chapter Four I showed how the secular clergy helped lay people and other clerics navigate some of life’s most challenging events. I accompanied secular priests overseas in Chapter Five, finding them playing dynamic roles in the trading settlements as well. By entering into economic, spiritual, and social transactions, priests built ties with the lay and religious communities that surrounded them and helped structure the lives of women and men throughout Genoa

³ Morse, “The *Vita mediocris*,” p. 274

and its settlements. And the influences ran the other direction as well, as these local communities and their institutional and social structures shaped the lives of these priests who were their colleagues and sons. By way of concluding my study I will step back and look at priests and communities more generally, identifying trends that cut across the heuristic boundaries that have structured earlier chapters.

WITNESSES

If one wants more evidence of the ubiquity of secular priests in the social and economic transactions of thirteenth-century Genoa, often one needs to do little more than look at the bottom of a notarial act. Every Genoese notary had to record the names of the witnesses who were present when primary parties entered into an exchange or agreement. Witnesses made contracts valid, and could be called upon to testify about the terms of the contract if there was dispute at a later point.⁴ For thousands of thirteenth-century Genovesi, their presence on a witness list may be the only written record of their existence. For the historian, these witness lists are a blessing and a curse: a blessing because they contain a massive amount of information about who was in a particular place at a particular time, but a curse because it can be nearly impossible to know *why* they were there. When one first encounters the notarial sources, it is easy to believe that witnesses and main parties were substantially connected, but the more acts one reads, the clearer it becomes that there is some amount of randomness at work. Certainly, some acts were witnessed by men who were family or friends of the main parties. However, other acts were simply witnessed by the next party in line at the notary's booth, or by

⁴ Reyerson and Salata, *Medieval Notaries*, pp. 26-27

casual passers-by.⁵ We encounter a similar problem with women's "counselors" (*consiliatores*). Genoese women were required by the commune to act with counsel when entering into contracts, meaning that they had to be accompanied by two men.⁶ These counselors might be their kin, their neighbors, or perhaps even men who happened to be near to hand at the necessary moment.

My sample contains approximately 300 acts witnessed by secular priests in which they are the only secular clerics taking part in the transaction.⁷ A good case study of the range of priestly involvement in witnessing is Presbiter Ugo, a canon of San Giorgio in the 1220s. Ugo acts as a witness in ten acts in my sample, at least eight of which were drafted in or near the small piazza close to his church.⁸ The range of acts he witnessed is reflective of the broader contours of the notarial registers: five investment contracts, two loan originations, the appointment of an agent, the issuing of a promissory note, and the satisfaction of a debt.⁹ Ugo was with his brother, Giovanni de Pontremulo, when he witnessed one of these investment contracts.¹⁰ On another occasion a deacon of San Giorgio joined him to witness a woman's investment in a commenda contract.¹¹ Ugo even acted as a counselor for a female relative who consented to her husband's

⁵ Duane Osheim notes the uncertainty of witness affiliations in *Tuscan Monastery*, p. 141; Gerald Day prefers to emphasize that witness lists, "often provide clues to business and family groupings not available in the texts themselves," in "Genoese Prosopography," p. 33.

⁶ Based on a Lombard law, the Genoese commune declared in 1147 that women had to act with counsel; Hughes, "Urban Growth," p. 21 and Jobin, "Ecclesiastical Land Market," pp. 48-9

⁷ Roughly 100 of these acts are from private registers, and many of the remaining 200 are from monastic cartularies (many of which feature the monasteries' secular chaplains). In addition, priests regularly acted as witnesses when other priests were among the primary actors.

⁸ The notaries Ursone and Lanfranco worked in this piazza, near the warehouse of the Pedicula family. See Bianchi and Poggi, *Una città portuale*, p. 97 for a map of the neighborhood at the time.

⁹ In 1224-1225; ASG, *Notai antichi*, cart. 16/II, ff. 2r, 4v, 6r-6v, and 10v [Ursus]; *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger & Reynolds, docs. 1366, 1378, 1416, and 1419

¹⁰ Giovanni accepted a "sea loan" in preparation for a journey to Ceuta before Ugo witnessed a commenda contract for trade in southern France; see *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger & Reynolds, docs. 1364 and 1366, p. 189.

¹¹ *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger & Reynolds, doc. 1419, p. 212

investment in trade along the Ligurian coast.¹² Another case that illustrates the difficulties in interpreting witness lists can also be found in the register of Lanfranco. In August 1225, Presbiter Viviano of Sant’Ambrogio was in the monastery of San Benigno di Capodifaro (just west of Genoa) when a widow came to make an *inter vivos* donation in exchange for a lifetime annuity. Viviano and three other men witnessed the donation, but only two of these men (joined by a newcomer) witnessed the following document, in which the abbot spelled out the terms of the annuity.¹³ How many other people were present at the same time, but not recorded in the witness lists? Why did some men witness the first document, but not the second?

Given the uneven and unclear evidence that the witness lists yield, how might we make use of them? One way is to embrace the ambiguity of the witness lists and use them not as evidence of relationships between priests and individual Genovesi, rather as evidence for the place of the priest within the community generally. With this intention, witness lists provide additional evidence for the highly integrated position of priests within not only lay society, but the larger religious community of the city and diocese. Regardless of their connection to the main parties in an act, priests were available and willing witnesses—in churches, in the *caruggi*, practically anywhere. While witnessing may seem minor to the modern observer, it was a necessary and important duty within Genoese society.¹⁴ Notarial acts were intended as binding legal documents that would make interpersonal contacts more robust and efficient, ideally leading to fewer disputes and fewer of the procedures necessary to resolve them. Credible witnesses were crucial

¹² *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger & Reynolds, doc. 1495, p. 243

¹³ The second contract was drafted in the same place, on the same day, at the same time—“*actum predicto loco, die et hora.*” *Lanfranco*, volume 2, ed. Krueger & Reynolds, docs. 1464 and 1465, p. 229

¹⁴ George Dameron notes the importance of priestly witnessing in *Florence and Its Church*, pp. 33 and 155.

to notarial culture because they helped bolster the trustworthiness that made the system viable. The legal statutes from Pera, promulgated around 1316, show how concerned the Genovesi were with the honesty of witnesses.¹⁵ Article 162, “Concerning forged documents or corrupt and false witnesses,” stated that any person who knowingly witnessed a forged act was to be publically flogged and have their nose “*truncari*.”¹⁶ Even if we cannot establish the relationship between primaries and witnesses, we can say that by witnessing notarial acts secular priests were participating in the broadest conceivable range of transactions in their communities.

KIN, COLLEAGUES, AND NEIGHBORS

In the Introduction to this dissertation I illustrated this range of transactions by talking about Presbiter Pagano, a canon of San Pietro della Porta in central Genoa. Now let us return to Pagano’s transactions as a case study on the quantity and significance of priests’ social contacts. Thirteen acts in my sample contain evidence about direct contact between Pagano and other people. By “direct” contact I mean that he was present at the time the transaction was recorded, or that the act contains unambiguous evidence that he had had prior contact with a party mentioned in the act.¹⁷ These acts, which span 1225-1254, record Pagano interacting with fifty-nine people, creating fifty-nine dyadic

¹⁵ No complete code of statutes exists for Genoa before the early fifteenth century, so scholars often use the Statutes of Pera, which appear to be closely related to Genoese law of the late-twelfth and thirteenth century, as a proxy; see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 68-69. For the broader context, see Piergiovanni, *Gli statuti civili e criminali di Genova*.

¹⁶ V. Promis (ed.), “Statuti della colonia genovese di Pera,” in *Miscellanea di storia italiana* 11 (1870), at pp. 702-3: “*De falsis instrumentis seu corruptis et falsis testibus*”

¹⁷ See Table C-1 for a summary of each act. I have excluded two acts that record Pagano being named a judge-delegate because there is no way to confirm that he was actually present with the parties mentioned in the act (the Archbishop, the plaintiff, *et cetera*).

relationships.¹⁸ Six of these contacts were men directly affiliated with the church and chapter of San Pietro della Porta, including four canons (two of whom were priests), a chaplain, and a *custos*. Six others were the notaries who drafted the acts, eight of which are in the hand of Bartolomeo Fornarius. Of the remaining forty-seven people with whom Pagano had contact, twenty-nine were laypeople (among them three women) and eighteen were clerics. These clerics included eight other secular priests, two archpriests, six secular canons, a regular canon (of the Holy Cross of Mortara), and a Benedictine monk.¹⁹

**TABLE C-1: DOCUMENTS ATTESTING TO SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN PRESBITER PAGANO AND OTHER PEOPLE**

<i>Doc.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Actum...</i>	<i>Summary</i>
A ²⁰	5 Nov 1225	<i>in palacio Ianuensis archiepiscopi</i>	Sentence against Pagano in a case San Pietro della Porta brought against Santa Maria delle Vigne over parochial rights (involving payment for a marriage ceremony)
B ²¹	9 Sept 1226	<i>in claustro Sancti Laurentii</i>	Pagano witnesses the canons of Santa Maria di Castello naming an agent for affairs dealing with the citizens of Bargagli
C ²²	5 Oct 1234	<i>in claustro Sancte Marie de Vineis</i>	Pagano witnesses a procedural act relating to a conflict between Santa Maria delle Vigne and San Pietro de Porta
D ²³	6 Jan 1248	<i>in camera prepositi Sancti Petri de Porta</i>	Pagano witnesses the appointment of an agent by a layperson
E ²⁴	8 Feb 1248	<i>in camera dicti prepositi</i>	Pagano leases to laypeople lands that were donated to San Pietro della Porta by a canon of San Lorenzo

¹⁸ The terminology I use to describe Pagano's social contacts is drawn from S. Wasserman and K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 16-20.

¹⁹ See Figures C-1 and C-2

²⁰ *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 104, pp. 117-118 [Stephanus, notarius sacri palatii]

²¹ *Salmonus*, ed. Ferretto, doc. 1303, pp. 503-504 [Salmonus, sacri palatii notarii]

²² *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 124, pp. 140-141 [Lantelmus, notarius sacri palatii]

²³ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 4r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

²⁴ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 16r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

F ²⁵	8 Feb 1248	<i>in camera dicti prepositi</i>	Pagano leases to laypeople lands that were donated to San Pietro della Porta by a canon of San Lorenzo
G ²⁶	24 Mar 1248	<i>in ecclesia Sancti Petri de Porta</i>	Pagano serves as the executor for the Pope in a case between a woman and the monastery of San Tommaso
H ²⁷	28 Mar 1248	<i>in camera dicti propositi</i>	Pagano names a procurator to travel to the papal curia on his behalf
I ²⁸	13 June 1248	<i>in camera prepositi Sancti Petri de Porta</i>	Pagano consents to the sale of land belonging to the pieve of Carantio, where he held a prebend
J ²⁹	20 Dec 1252	<i>in ecclesia sancti petri de porta</i>	Pagano, as judge-delegate of the Archbishop (who was judge-delegate of the Pope), gives his ruling in a conflict between the monasteries of San Benigno and San Siro
K ³⁰	10 Mar 1253	<i>in ecclesia Sancti Petri de Porta</i>	Upon Innocent IV's mandate, Pagano and the canons of San Pietro della Porta receive a new canon into the chapter with "the kiss of peace"
L ³¹	9 Nov 1253	<i>in ecclesia Sancti Petri de Porta</i>	Pagano and canons rent a shop "underneath" San Pietro della Porta to a married couple
M ³²	8 July 1254	<i>in contrata castri in palacio Januensis</i>	Pagano consents to the sale of land belonging to the church of San Pietro in Quinto, where he held a prebend

But what do these numbers really tell us? Was the quality or strength of Pagano's relationship with each of these fifty-nine people the same? Can we assess the relative importance of broad social groups—particularly laypeople and other clerics—in his life? These questions push past Pagano and run to the very heart of this project, so let us try to answer them now. In order to do this, we first need to categorize the relative significance

²⁵ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 16r-16v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

²⁶ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 42v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

²⁷ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 46v [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

²⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, ff. 115v-116r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

²⁹ *San Benigno di Capodifaro*, ed. Rovere, doc. 22, pp. 20-22 or *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavella and Traino, doc. 555, pp. 303-305 [Arnaldus Corrigarius]

³⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 29, f. 98r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

³¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 29, f. 248r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

³² ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 53, ff. 1v-2r [Simon Bastonus]

FIGURE C-1: PRESBITER PAGANO -- ALL DYADS, I

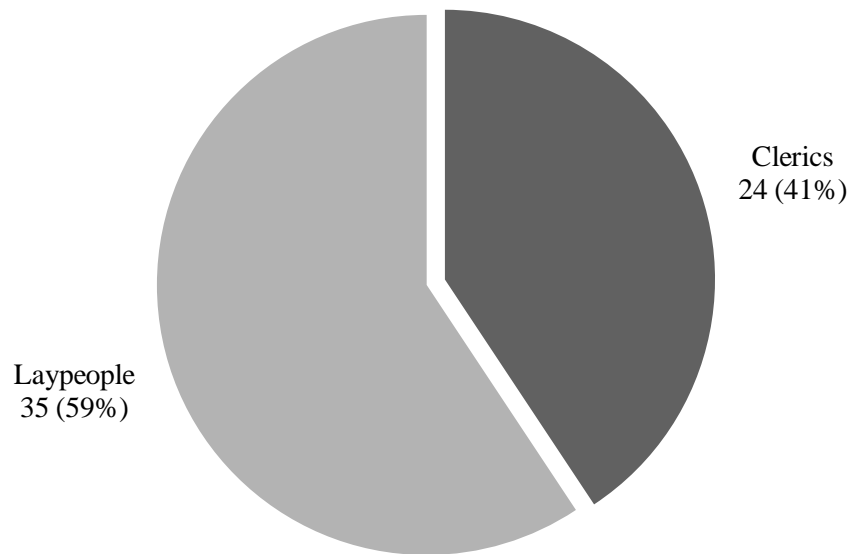
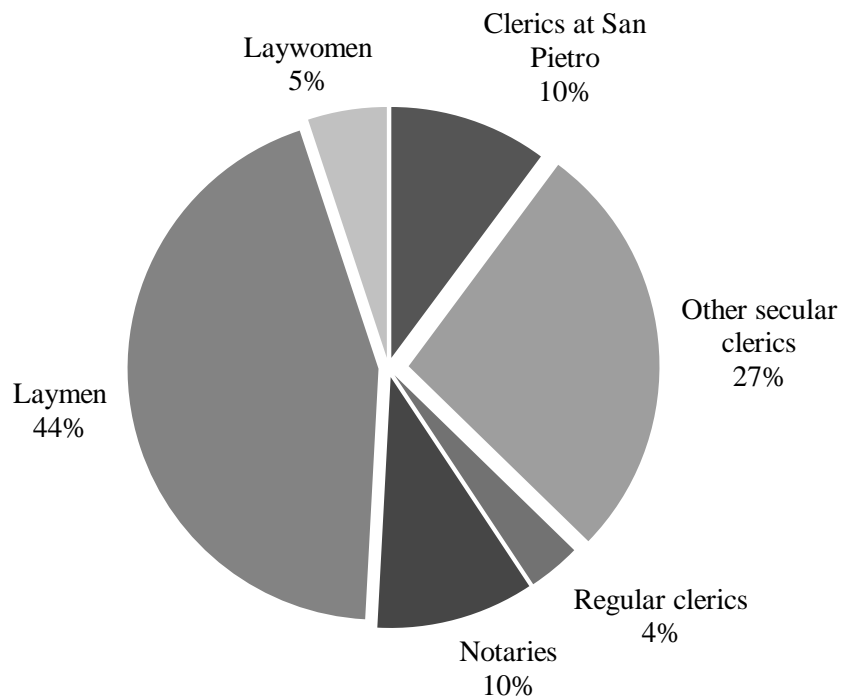


FIGURE C-2: PRESBITER PAGANO -- ALL DYADS, II



of the social bonds found in the notarial sources. Then, by weighting my evidence according to this scale, I hope to present a more nuanced and accurate picture of priests' social landscape than would otherwise be visible. Based on my examination of over two thousand notarial acts involving the Genoese clergy, I believe that by looking at both the frequency and nature of interpersonal contacts, we are able to divide any given priest's dyadic social relationships into four broad categories: weak, medium, strong, and very strong. A weak dyadic relationship is one where the most we can say about two parties is that they were in the same place at the same time. From the point of view of the documents, witnessing a notarial act was the most common way of generating this weak relationship. (Of course, we must bear in mind that a large amount of dyadic witnessing may suggest social or institutional relationships that are not otherwise being recorded in the sources.)³³ Medium-strength relationships were formed by parties engaging in interaction or exchange that required some negotiation (about value, terms, access, payment), but was unlikely to require repeated contact over a long period. Commercial transactions that did not involve credit, having a notarial act drafted, and similar acts, in the absence of additional evidence, are indicative of a medium relationship. Interactions or exchanges that required trust and repeated negotiations or contacts over long periods are indicative of strong social relationships. Leasing or co-owning property, engaging in judicial action, acting as an agent with a specific mandate—these types of relationships suggest a strong dyadic relationship. Finally, I see very strong social relationships as characterized by complex and lasting bonds built on trust, shared values, and common aims. Evidence of strong dyadic relationships include family membership, living and/or

³³ The secular priests who served as chaplains in Genoa's monastic communities are an excellent example of this, in particular those at the female house of Sant'Andrea della Porta; see *Sant'Andrea della Porta*, ed. Soave, *passim*.

working together at the same institution, engaging in numerous transactions over long periods, and acts of general procuration.



Figure C-3: San Pietro in Banchi (16th-century) standing on the site of San Pietro della Porta (J.B. Yousey-Hindes)³⁴

If we apply this four-tier categorization to the evidence about Presbiter Pagano's social relationships, we find evidence of twenty-seven weak, thirteen medium, twelve

³⁴ San Pietro della Porta was destroyed by fire in 1398, but when Taddeo Carlone designed a new church for the site in the late sixteenth century he retained an unusual feature of the old design: shops underneath the sanctuary.

strong, and seven very strong relationships.³⁵ Twenty-six of the weak relationships were the product of witnessing acts, while the last dyad was formed with a messenger who came to present a letter from Innocent IV. The medium relationships include four notaries, as well as the two men trained in law, whom Pagano consulted while deciding the case between the monasteries of San Benigno and San Siro.³⁶ If we exclude the weak and medium relationships from the sample, we are left with nineteen strong or very strong dyads, eight laypeople and eleven clerics, reversing the distribution that saw when we gave all dyads equal weight.³⁷ Pagano's strong relationships were with five clerics with whom he had a variety of contacts, and with men and women who rented property from San Pietro. For example, in November of 1253 Pagano and the canons rented a shop which was "under the aforesaid church, in the corner" to Pagano de Vultabio and his wife Sibilia (see Figure C-3).³⁸ The term for the rental was three years with payments to be made twice a year, which would have provided many opportunities for Pagano to interact with the couple. It is also notable that the shop's previous tenant was a woman, Sibilia de Placentina. All six of Pagano's very strong dyadic relationships were with clerics living and working at San Pietro. If we exclude these men, and focus our attention on those social relationships that were occurring *outside* the community at San Pietro della Porta, we see that Pagano's robust relationships with laypeople (8) outnumber those with clerics (5).

³⁵ Pagano had repeated contact with some of the people in this sample, so the fifty-nine dyadic relationships actually yield seventy-eight unique relational ties (i.e. discrete contacts between Pagano and another actor).

³⁶ *San Benigno di Capodifaro*, ed. Rovere, doc. 22, pp. 2022 or *San Siro*, volume 2, ed. Macchiavello and Traino, doc. 555, pp. 303-5 [Arnaldus Corrigarius]

³⁷ See Figures C-4 and C-5

³⁸ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 29, f. 248r [Bartolomeus Fornarius] "*apothecam unam que est subtus dictam ecclesiam in angulo*"

FIGURE C-4: PRESBITER PAGANO -- STRONG DYADS, I

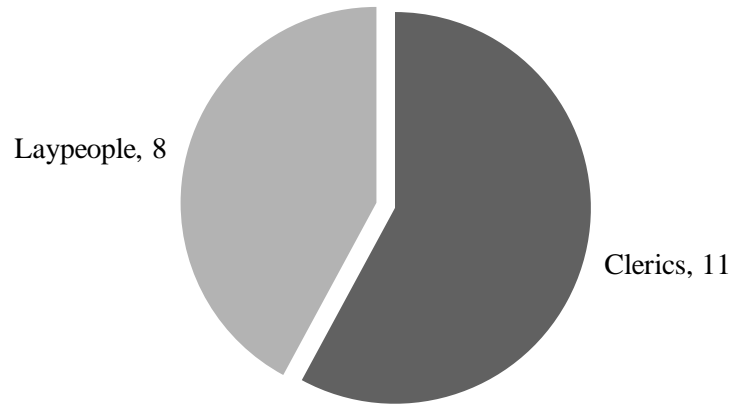
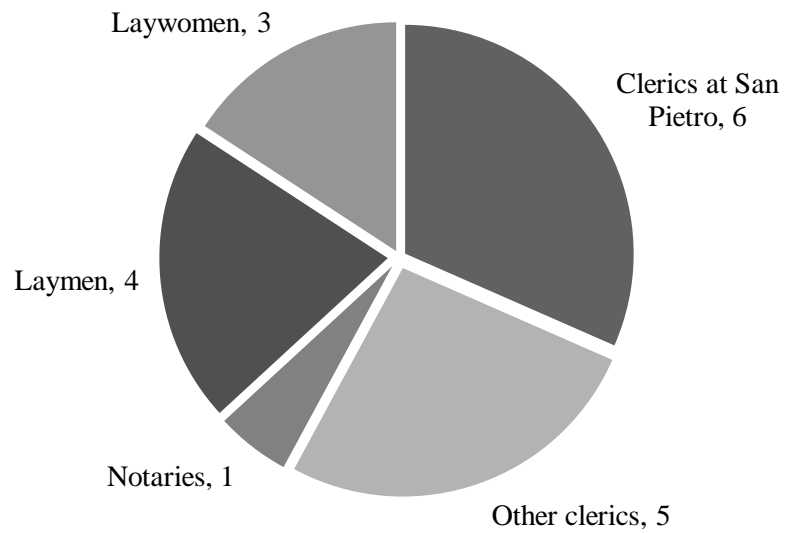


FIGURE C-5: PRESBITER PAGANO -- STRONG DYADS, II



The size of my sample made it impractical for me to analyze the social relations of each priest using the methodology above, but I am able to make some preliminary words, can we say that the transactions of Genoese secular priests integrated them into “religious” society more than “lay” society, or vice versa? Second, did priests tend to interact with particular subgroups of the laity or clergy? How often do we see women, members of priests’ families, or clerics from other “branches” of the clergy? And finally, do we see different patterns of social relationships if we limit ourselves to evidence contained either in private notarial registers or institutional cartularies? My sample of acts from Genoa-proper contains approximately 1150 notarial acts that feature at least one secular priest, but in looking for patterns of interaction I have limited my investigation to a subset containing 695 acts. In order to make the data more reliable, I have excluded all testaments, as well as all acts in which the priests appear only as witnesses.³⁹ By doing this, I have tried to emphasize stronger and more transparent relational ties, which are more certain predictors of stronger social relationships.

Of the 695 acts, 307 (45%) were between priests and other clerics, while 388 (55%) were transactions between secular priests and laypeople.⁴⁰ Within the subset made up of interactions with other clerics, we find an overwhelming tendency for secular priests to interact with other secular clerics. Out of 305 transactions, 249 (82%) were with other secular clerics. Despite the presence of several communities of monks, nuns, friars, and regular canons in Genoa and the surrounding area, we rarely see secular priests entering into transactions with people from these institutions. Particularly remarkable is

³⁹ The sample contains approximately 260 acts in which a priest appears as a witness only, and 195 testaments. Due to the small number of priests seen as main parties, I will not attempt to subject the overseas notarial acts to this analysis.

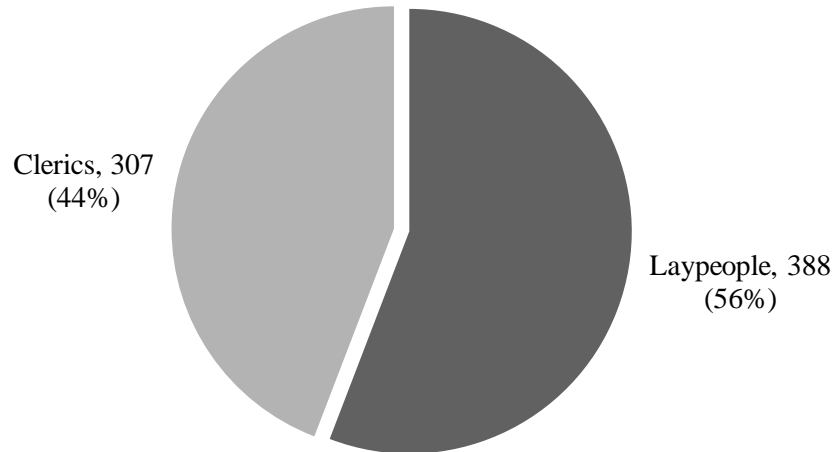
⁴⁰ See Figure C-6

how little evidence there is about formal contact between secular priests and members of the mendicant orders. Of the 695 acts only 4 involve Franciscans or Dominicans. In one case the canons of San Lorenzo appointed a Dominican as their procurator to bring an appeal to the papal curia, and the other three cases involve disputes over parochial rights.⁴¹ This lack of contact raises many questions, but the notarial sources do not necessarily provide any firm answers. The lack of contact could point to some degree of resentment or animosity between the groups, but it could also just be the result of the slow process of social integration. The mendicants only really appear in Genoa in the later 1220s, and it was not until the 1250s that they had completed their churches. By the time we start to see Franciscans and Dominicans being active in Genoa's ecclesiastical administration we are already into the episcopate of the Franciscan Porchetto Spinola in the early fourteenth century.

Central Genoa, where most of our notarial records were produced, seems to have been a stronghold for the secular clergy and Benedictine monks, and it may have taken many years for mendicants to work their way into the social networks of the city's religious. The fact that exchanges with regular canons are also extremely rare—though regular canons do show up elsewhere in the registers—also points to divisions between the secular clergy and other clerical groups. There was more interaction between secular priests and the long-established Benedictine houses of central Genoa (48 transactions), but even there much of the contact was between the monks and the secular priests who staffed their dependant churches. These points bring us back to the question of how institutional relationships affected patterns of contact between priests and other clerics. I

⁴¹ *Stefano di Corrado*, ed. Calleri, doc. 145, pp. 185-186; *Santa Maria delle Vigne*, ed. Airaldi, doc. 98, p. 112; and *San Lorenzo*, ed. Puncuh, docs. 183-184, pp. 271-4

Figure C-6: Dyadic Relationships between Secular Priests and Other Actors, from All Sources



have not tried to address this issue in this dissertation, but it is worth noting that the private registers may shed a revealing light on this question. Whereas it appears that institutional sources tended to preserve acts that involved formalized relationships—such dealings with the papal curia, or issues of dependency—the private registers contain evidence about geographic, economic, and social that may have helped shape longer-term relations between the clergy who staffed these institutions. Even if the secular clergy may not have been embracing all the branches of their clerical “family,” they certainly were integrated with other clerics in all areas of daily life. In this way, the efforts of tenth and eleventh-century reformers can be seen bearing fruit in the thirteenth.

In general, it is more difficult to assess the social landscape of Genoa’s lay population because there are fewer institutional touchstones. Whereas clerics were consistently identified by their institutional affiliation, lay people tended to move through the records with

more fluid identities, one day an uncle, another day a ship builder, a third day a trade partner.⁴² Yet it is clear that family connections and identity were significant and stable, so what can we see of secular priests as fathers, sons, brothers, and uncles? One of the scholars most familiar with thirteenth-century Genoese life once noted that, “a man of any importance thought above all else of his family affairs—before politics, fighting, or business.”⁴³ Was this true for Genoese priests? Maureen Miller has argued that during the twelfth century secular priests in the Po Valley were increasingly identified by their association with a particular church, rather than with their lineage. The ecclesiastical reform movement had succeeded in more clearly differentiating the secular priests from the laity, shifting the priest’s primary source of material support from his family to his church, and in many ways replacing his blood siblings with the “spiritual ‘brothers’” within the religious community. She goes on to say that priests did not cut off familial relations, but that evidence of priestly involvement in family affairs decreases in the twelfth century.⁴⁴ The Genoese notarial evidence largely supports Miller’s conclusions. The notarial registers for Genoa do not extend back beyond the 1150s, and only become suitably dense late in that century. However, even in the register of Giovanni Scriba (1154-1164), we find very few priests being identified by familial name, and all others simply by their first name and their church.⁴⁵ The same is true in the acts of Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1186, 1190), and in all the other registers I consulted up until the end of the 1260s. From the early 1270s, more and more priests begin appearing with some

⁴² Some of the same dynamics that are found in Genoa are discussed in C. Klapisch-Zuber’s engaging study, “‘Kin, Friends, and Neighbors’: The Urban Territory of a Merchant Family in 1400,” in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L. Cochrane (Chicago 1985), pp. 68-93; originally published as “Parenti, amici, vicini,” in *Quaderni storici* 33 (1976), pp. 953-82.

⁴³ Reynolds, “In Search,” p. 15

⁴⁴ Miller, “Clerical Identity and Reform,” esp. p. 313

⁴⁵ One of these priests, Presbiter Oliverio Grillo, was a member of a prominent Genoese family; *Giovanni Scriba*, volume 2, ed. Chiaudano, doc. 916, p. 54

sort of surname (usually derived from a toponym) in addition to their church affiliation, and by the early fourteenth century this practice was widespread.⁴⁶ While these surnames may make it easier to track relationships between priests and their relatives in this later period, family affiliations are seen in the notarial sources throughout the thirteenth century.⁴⁷

Regardless of how they were identified, the notarial evidence suggests that some Genoese secular priests remained connected to the life and business of their families. Only 10 of 695 acts in our subsample involve priests in direct interactions with family members, but examining the entire 1150-act sample we find another 9 documents that point to transactions between priests and their relatives. For instance, we know already how Presbiter Corrado bought his mother Ermegina a house in the neighborhood of his church (San Nazario) in 1203 and that he collected payments for her when she sold a mule to a layperson two years later.⁴⁸ When Presbiter Alberto, the *custos* of San

⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that these *cognomines* begin to appear at the same time that surnames were becoming popular among the middle and lower classes of Genoa generally (see R. S. Lopez, "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin," in *Medievalia et humanistica* 8 (1954), pp. 8-9). At the time when the average Genovese was content to be known through a system of patronymic, fratronymic, toponymic, and professional identifiers, priests were identified by their affiliation with an institution. As the population began turning their identifiers into more static surnames, some men seem to have retained them as they joined the priesthood. As a researcher, I am thankful for the adoption of surnames since Genoa was a city dominated by a handful of popular forenames. Benjamin Kedar found that in 1157 and 1251 the four most popular male forenames in Genoa accounted for roughly 30% of total recorded names (see his "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIV^e siècle," in *Le Moyen Âge* 73 (1967), pp. 31-46).

⁴⁷ Some Genovesi chose to identify themselves as a relative of a particular priest in the notarial acts by using phrases such as "father of," "brother of," and even the vaguer "*nepos* of" (cousin, nephew, relative). When a certain Giacomo witnessed a loan contract in 1198, rather than a patronymic he described himself as "*nepos presbyteris Doni Dei*" (*Bonvillano*, ed. Eierman, et al., doc. 119, pp. 56-57). Rufinus de Strepa de Valletredia, despite his toponymic surely being sufficient to identify him, still mentioned that he was the "brother of Presbiter Ricco de Calignano" when he placed his daughter Iacobina as a housekeeper with a family for seven years (in 1246; ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 34, f. 25v [Nicolaus de Porta]). What it meant to choose one form of identification or affiliation over another is still not clear, though the notarial registers provide excellent sources to address patterns of identificatory choices. On names and identification in thirteenth-century Genoa generally, see Epstein, *Wills and Wealth*, pp. 38-44, and Kedar, "Noms de saints."

⁴⁸ *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 1, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 716, pp. 341-2; and *Giovanni di Guiberto*, volume 2, ed. Hall-Cole, et al., doc. 1562, pp. 217-18

Lorenzo, drafted his will in 1226 he left the usufruct of his properties to a kinswoman (*cognata*) and other bequests to his nephews, nieces, and various relatives.⁴⁹

Presbiter Niccolò and his brother Pietro acted together (in their father's name) when they ceded the family's rights to lands and a chestnut grove in the countryside in 1263.⁵⁰ In 1315, Presbiter Bertolomeo de Silva, a canon of San Donato, loaned his brother Oberto L100 to finance a voyage to "*insula Corsica*," then agreed to act as Oberto's agent while he was gone.⁵¹ Other examples have been cited in earlier chapters. At the moment the evidence is fleeting, but further examination of private notarial sources would certainly reveal additional material. In fact, all ten of the acts that feature priests in direct transactions with family members are found in the private registers.

SOURCES

This brings us to the final question: what impact do our sources have on how we view secular priests' social networks? Out of the 695 acts in the current subsample, 263 were found in cartularies preserved by Genoese religious institutions (both secular and regular).⁵² The other 432 were found in the private registers belonging to Genoese notaries, most of which have been in the hands of a municipal archive until the present day. Within the institutional cartularies, priests engaged with other clerics in 143 (54%) of the acts, and with laypeople in the remaining 120 (46%)—numbers that reverse the percentages seen for the subsample as a whole. Meanwhile the private registers reveal a very different picture, one where priests interacted with other clerics in 164 (38%) of the

⁴⁹ *Salmonus*, ed. Ferretto, doc. 1513, pp. 559-560

⁵⁰ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 30/II, f. 100r [Bartolomeus Fornarius]

⁵¹ ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 194, f. 150r-150v [Franciscus de Silva]

⁵² The secular institutions: the archiepiscopal curia, San Lorenzo, and Santa Maria delle Vigne. The regular institutions: the monasteries of Santo Stefano, Sant'Andrea della Porta, and San Siro.

acts and with laypeople in 268 (62%).⁵³ However, among these 432 private acts, 118 come from the register of Stefano di Corrado, a notary whose surviving work attests to a near-exclusive professional affiliation with the archiepiscopal curia and the cathedral of San Lorenzo. Stefano's register provides us with a much larger volume of acts about priests than contemporary institutional cartularies, but his focus on these two institutions makes his register more akin to the cartularies than to the other private registers. So while his register makes an excellent argument for including sources from private notarial registers, it also reminds us that not all private registers should be thought of as non-institutional.⁵⁴ If we combine the evidence from Stefano's register with the institutional cartularies we get 381 acts featuring secular clerics as main parties. In this newly enlarged "institutional" subset, the percentages of clerical versus lay contact are virtually unchanged at 213 (56%) priest-cleric, and 168 (44%) priest-layperson. The composition of the evidence among the non-institutional private registers changes slightly more. Without Stefano, the private registers in my sample provide 314 relevant acts, of which only 94 (30%) are priest-cleric, and a remarkable 220 (70%) are priest-layperson.⁵⁵

The unknown rates of survival among notarial acts render these percentages suggestive rather than definitive, but they clearly indicate some important trends. By concentrating on non-institutional sources we see a very different pattern of social relationships than we see in institutional sources, whether those assembled and preserved by an institution, or those created by notaries working for them. Considering evidence

⁵³ See Figures C-7 and C-8

⁵⁴ A similar case is that of the notary Salmonus (fl. 1222-1242), who was also a notary professionally affiliated with the curia and cathedral. Part of Salmonus's register was edited by Arturo Ferretto and published in 1906, but the imperfect edition would need to be reconciled against the manuscript originals before reliable figures can be generated that allow a comparison between Salmonus's register and Stefano di Corrado's.

⁵⁵ See Figures C-9 and C-10

Figure C-7: Dyadic Relationships between Secular Priests and Other Actors, from Institutional Cartularies

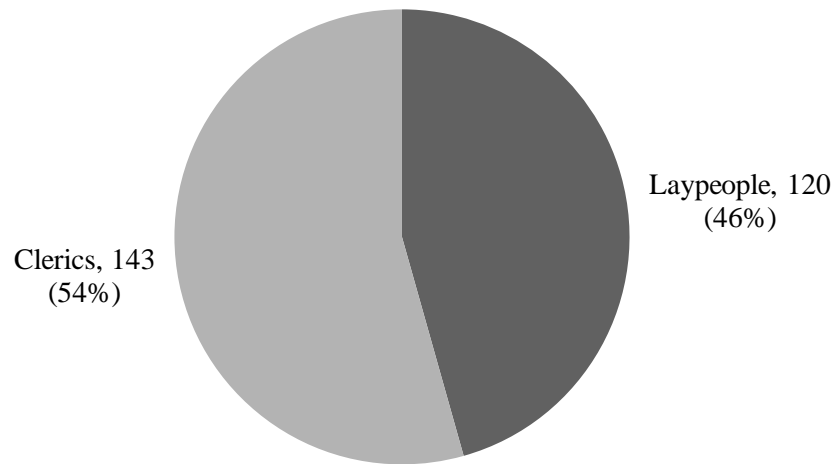


Figure C-8: Dyadic Relationships between Secular Priests and Other Actors, from All Private Registers

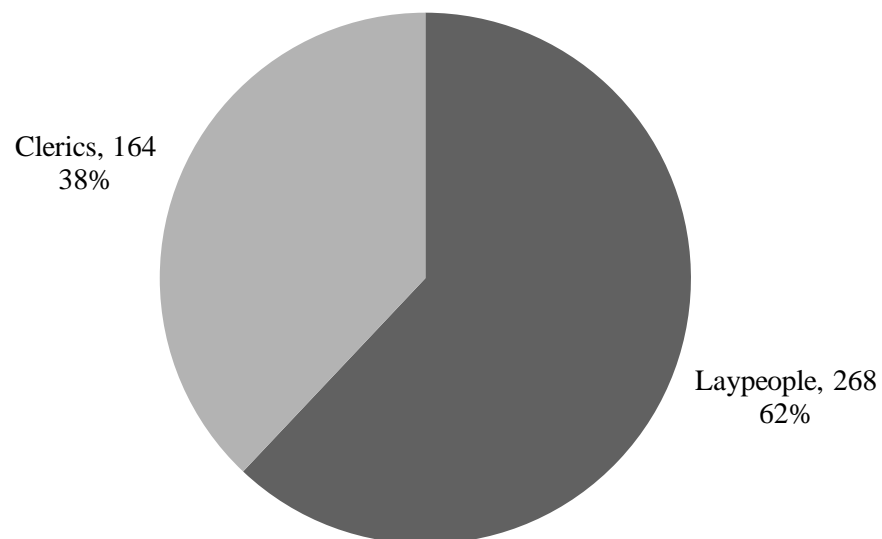


Figure C-9: Dyadic Relationships between Secular Priests and Other Actors, from All Institutional Sources

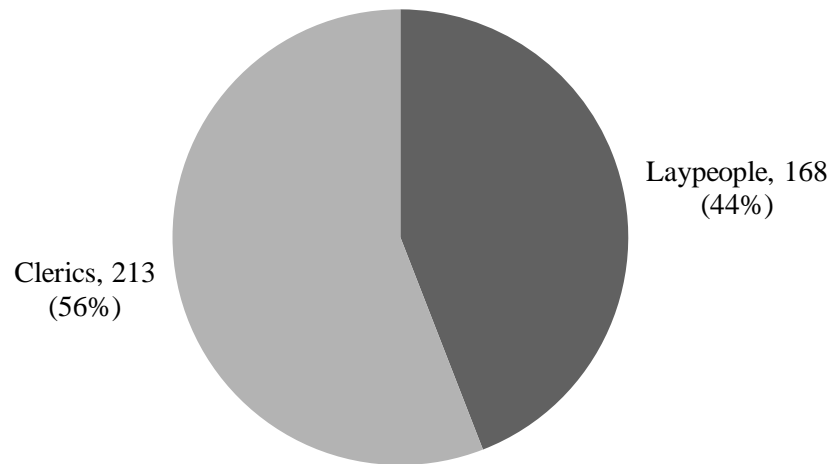
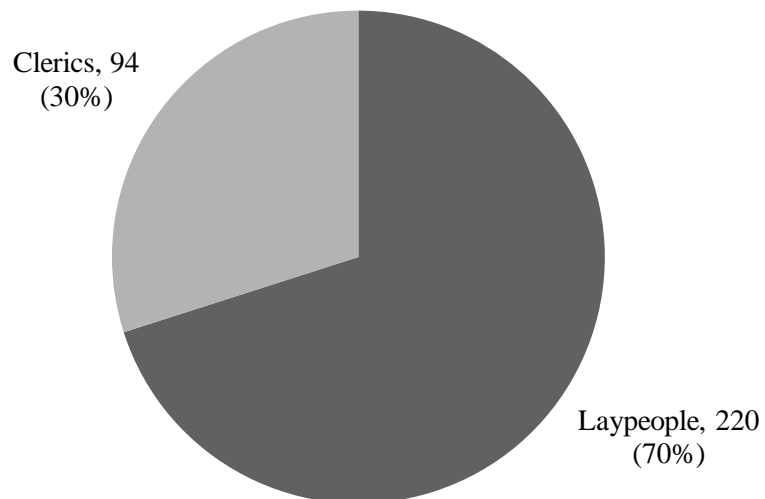


Figure C-10: Dyadic Relationships between Secular Priests and Other Actors, from Non-Institutional Registers



about strong interactions with women is one way of underscoring this point. In the institutional sources (including Stefano di Corrado), only 5% (19) of the acts feature priests interacting directly with women, however, in the non-institutional sources the percentage is more than twice that, at 12% (38 acts). In light of the percentages I have presented above, it is likely that additional material from the non-institutional private registers would enhance our understanding of secular priests' integration into their lay and religious communities. The more we see the transactions that are typical of the private registers—contacts involving priests from minor religious institutions, priests at major religious institutions conducting small transactions, et cetera—the better we can understand the integration of laity and religious in medieval society. More broadly, the registers can even be used to introduce new insights into the most long-standing topics of ecclesiastical history. The place of religious elites, the development of papal government, and the impact of the mendicant friars are just some of the issues that notarial sources can help us understand more fully. The vantage point that these sources afford lets us see “behind the scenes” to the networks and patterns of interaction that helped shape the more visible actions taking place upon the stage. As this world is revealed in the registers, we find men, women, clerics, and institutions participating in a complex social and institutional environment that sometimes bears limited resemblance to what is depicted in narrative sources, or even in institutional cartularies.⁵⁶ While my study incorporates the thirteenth-century data from all of Genoa's surviving institutional cartularies, it has only scratched the surface of the private registers. Tens of thousands of

⁵⁶ Note that only three of the thirteen acts about Presbiter Pagano were preserved in institutional cartularies.

folios await the researcher who wishes to more fully understand the ecclesiastical history of thirteenth-century Genoa.

The Genoese notarial sources become even more numerous in the fourteenth century, and this is lucky because many types of narrative sources that can be used to frame Genoese history in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries do not exist for the fourteenth. Unfortunately, the challenges of the archival sources may have led many historians of Genoa to pass over the fourteenth century in favor of these other periods.⁵⁷ While many details about Genoese society are unclear for the period, there are rich notarial sources to entice the ecclesiastical historian to the Archivio di Stato. For example, the notaries Nicolò di Santa Giulia and Giberti di Carpena both were closely affiliated with the archiepiscopal curia and the chapter at San Lorenzo. The acts in Nicolò's surviving register were drafted in the years approaching the Black Death, while those in Giberti's are from the years immediately after.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the end of the century yields a remarkable view into the life of Presbiter Giovanni de Diano, a Genoese priest who recorded his diverse incomes and expenses in a private account book that survives in Genoa's diocesan archive.⁵⁹ At the same time that Giovanni was keeping his private account, Simone di Francesco de Compagnono was working as a public notary connected to the Genoese Church, and his register has recently been published.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 188-89

⁵⁸ *I cartolari del notaio Nicolò di Santa Giulia di Chiavari (1337, 1345-1348)*, ed. F. Mambrini. Thanks to Jeffrey Miner for bringing Giberti di Carpena's register (1351-1352) to my attention; see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 352.

⁵⁹ M. L. Balletto (ed.) "Il Liber Privatus di Giovanni da Diano (1392-1419)," in *Fonti e studi di storia ecclesiastica* 4 (Genoa 1966), pp. 1-147. For a brief discussion in English of this largely unknown source, see Vsevolod Slessarev's review of the volume in *Speculum* 43 (1968), pp. 505-7. Today the Archivio Diocesano di Genova (housed in the Museo Diocesano on Via Tommaso Reggio) incorporates the historical archives of the Archdiocese of Genoa (the Archivio Storico dell'Arcidiocesi di Genova) and the chapter of San Lorenzo (the Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo).

⁶⁰ *I cartolari del notaio Simone di Francesco de Compagnono (1408-1415)*, ed. S. Macchiavello

Supplementing these sources with the acts of other public notaries would allow us of extend and develop the work that I have started with this dissertation.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In researching and writing this study I wanted to understand secular priests' roles in their local communities. I wanted to focus on the ways in which priests interacted with the women, men, and clerics with whom they shared their lives, and move past questions about their adherence to the decrees of the institutional Church (i.e. whether they were married, or celibate, et cetera). The premise that underlies this work is not novel, but it bears repeating: human contact builds and maintains communities, and in order to have as accurate an understanding as possible of a community you must see as many contacts as possible.⁶¹ Unfortunately, the vast majority of these individual social interactions are absent from the historical record. Evidence of kinship and affinity, friendship, geographical proximity and other factors that could generate or reflect durable social bonds is difficult to find and interpret for the thirteenth century. What we do have—in vast quantities even—are records of transactions between individuals or groups. While these notarial acts may not be able to speak plainly of the loyalty of kin or the trust of a neighbor, each one represents people coming together. Moreover, each individual act represents a series of social interactions and negotiations that might include people not even listed in the act itself. The communication of needs, valuation of products or services, agreement about the terms of exchange, subsequent payments and renegotiation—all of these contacts can be found within a single act. We should not mistake the world portrayed in the notarial acts for the “real” world of the medieval

⁶¹ Sociologists beginning with Durkheim and Parsons have espoused this belief for over a century.

priest—or anyone else, for that matter—but bringing together thousands of these transactions shows us the general shape of their economic, spiritual, and social relations with the people in their communities.

Exploring the notarial sources, I discovered that Genoese priests had wide social circles that encompassed numerous types of people and relationships. Through their transactions with women and men, priests integrated themselves—more or less deeply—into the fabric of a variety of social groups that were organized along geographical, institutional, familial, commercial, and professional lines. These communities overlapped one another and often were not mutually exclusive. Any priest could be a member of the secular priesthood, of the international Church, of the “Genoese Church,” of a local religious institution, of his family, of his neighborhood, and so forth. In interacting with so many groups, Genoese priests were doing what was expected of them by their parishioners, local colleagues, and superiors in the institutional Church: tending to the spiritual health of their communities and the temporal welfare of their churches. As Opicino de Canistris understood, the realities of priests’ lives demanded that they play a multivalent role in the intermediary space between worldliness and spirituality. The nature of this space was different for every priest because each brought together a unique blend of social background, institutional affiliation, and personal vocation. Perhaps this dissertation has not paid enough attention to some of the differences, but among the range of social standings, titles, and duties, the notarial evidence reveals patterns of social interaction common to most secular priests.

Seeing the integration of priests into diverse social groups across Genoa and its settlements, we are forced to wonder about the boundaries between lay and religious

society. What does it mean for priests and other clerics to enter into many of the same economic and social transactions as lay actors? Does the ubiquity of priest-landlords, priest-arbitrators, and priest-lenders change the way historians need to think about the social structures within medieval communities? The notarial evidence reminds us that notions of “lay” and “religious” were grounded in the beliefs and practices of local communities and shifted over time. This ambiguity may carry over into thinking about “the Church” as well. If we use the notarial acts to put human interactions at the center of our investigation, we see that the contacts that linked the Genoese ecclesiastical system to the papal curia clustered around the provision of benefices and the activities of the canon legal system. With the relationship between Genoese priests and the international Church both limited and clearly demarcated, we are left with many transactions that fall outside the international Church’s field of influence (or at least concern). Even at the height of the Papal Monarchy, we have a local Genoese Church that is inextricably rooted in the social, economic, and institutional realities of its immediate environment. As one goes through the acts, it often becomes difficult to determine the boundaries between the Genoese Church and the society that surrounded it—particularly as one moves down the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Does one draw the line between priests and deacons? Between subdeacons and those in minor orders? And what about those lay men and women who embraced the faith more passionately or more actively than their priests? In the end, we have much to gain by conceptualizing bodies like the Genoese Church more as social systems than institutional systems. By showing the many points of contact between secular priests and the communities around them, I have tried to show how lay society and religious society had opportunities to discuss the economic, social, and even spiritual

dimensions of the other. Occupying an intermediary space as simultaneously lay and religious figures, secular priests were crucial mediators in these negotiations.

APPENDIX A

**TABLE A-1: SELECTED CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN
THE CITY OF GENOA, 13TH CENTURY**

<i>Institution</i> *	<i>Noted or Founded</i> †	<i>Administration</i>	<i>Status</i>
S. Agnese*	f. 1192	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the monastery of S. Siro
S. Ambrogio*	f. 569	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Andrea della Porta*	n. 1109	Benedictine (female)	---
S. Caterina	f. 1228	Order of Saint Clare	---
S. Colombano [‡]	n. 1248/1269	Humiliati (male & female), Cistercian	---
S. Croce*	n. 1128	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the monastery of S. Stefano
S. Damiano*	n. 1049	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Domenico (S. Egidio)	f. 1222/1250	Dominican friars	---
S. Donato*	n. 1143	Secular Collegiate	---

* Institutions marked with a “*” are known to have been parish churches.

† Dates of foundation or first known mention are taken from the chart in Bianchi and Pileggi, *Una città portuale*, p. 61.

‡ Bianchi and Pileggi give 1283, but a will was drafted in the “*claustrum sororum sancti colombani*” in 1248; see ASG, Notai antichi, cart. 26/II, f. 123r [Bartolomeus Fornarius].

S. Fede	n. 1142	Knights Templar	---
S. Francesco	f. 1226/1250	Franciscan friars	---
S. Giorgio*	n. 964	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Giovanni di Prè*	f. 1180	Knights Hospitaller	---
S. Lorenzo* [cathedral]	n. 916	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Luca	f. 1188	Secular Rectorship	Private church (Spinola and Grimaldi families)
S. Marcellino*	n. 977	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the monastery of S. Siro
S. Marco al Molo*	f. 1173	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the canons of S. Lorenzo
S. Maria delle Vigne*	n. 1103	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Maria di Castello*	n. 1049	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Maria Maddalena*	n. 1182	Secular Collegiate	Dependency of the canons of S. Lorenzo
S. Matteo	f. 1125	Secular Rectorship	Private church (Doria family)
S. Nazario*	n. 1183	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Pancrazio	n. 1023	Secular Rectorship	Private church (Calvo and Pallavicino families)

S. Paolo	f. 1216	Secular Rectorship	Private church (Camilla family)
S. Pietro della Porta*	n. 862	Secular Collegiate	---
S. Sabina*	n. 1008	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the monastery of S. Siro
S. Salvatore*	f. 1141	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the canons of S. Lorenzo
S. Silvestro*	n. 1160	Secular Rectorship	---
S. Siro*	n. 952	Benedictine (male)	---
S. Sisto*	f. 1087	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa (near Torino)
S. Stefano*	f. 954	Benedictine (male)	---
S. Tecla	f. 1257	Augustinian friars	---
S. Tomaso	n. 1184	Benedictine (female)	---
S. Torpete	n. 1161	Secular Rectorship	Private church (Cattaneo and della Volta families)
S. Vincenzo*	n. 1059	Secular Rectorship	Dependency of the canons of S. Lorenzo

APPENDIX B

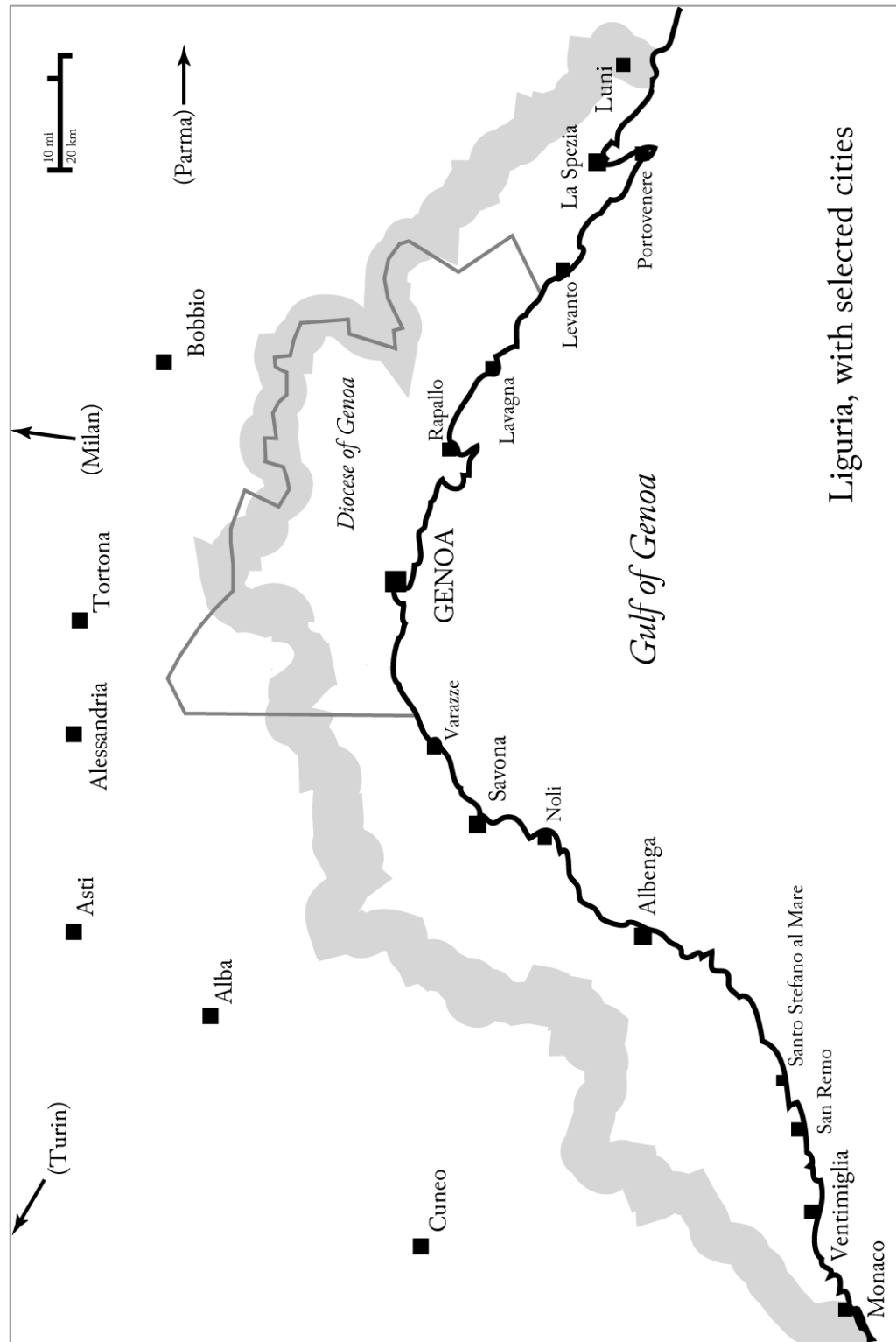


Figure A-1: Liguria, with selected cities (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

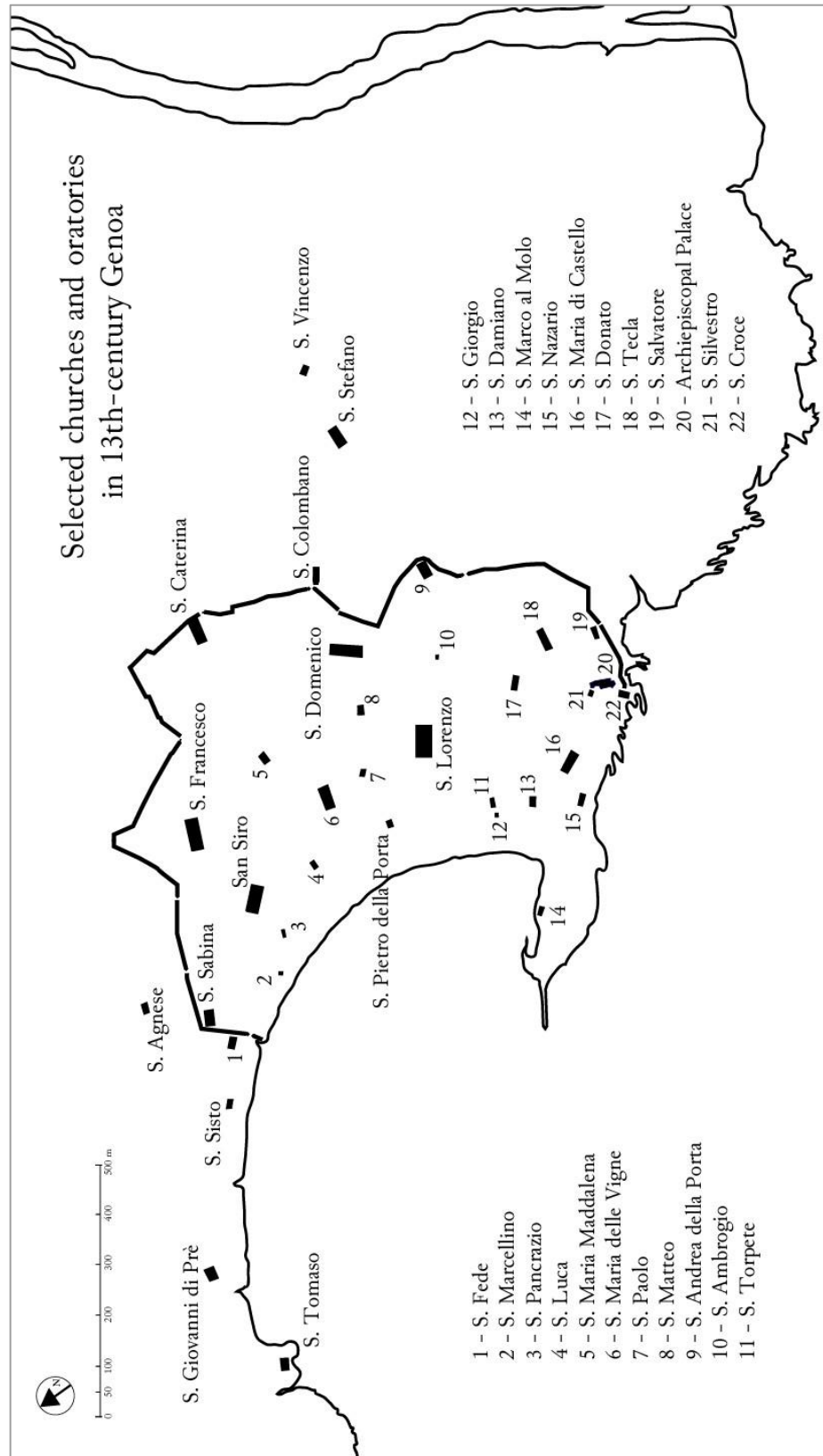


Figure A-2: Selected churches and oratories in 13th-Century Genoa
(J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

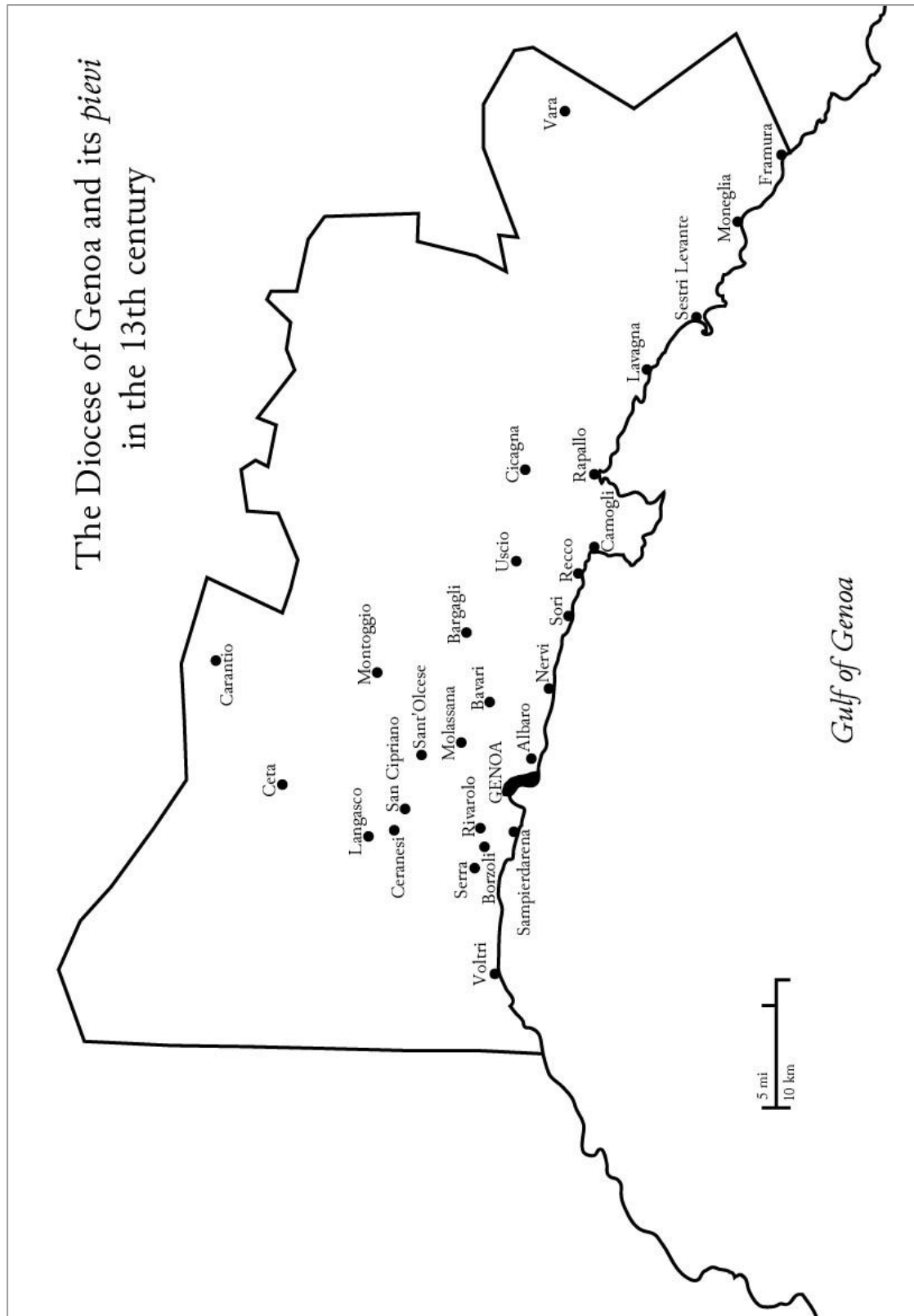


Figure A-3: The Diocese of Genoa and its *pievi* in the 13th century (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

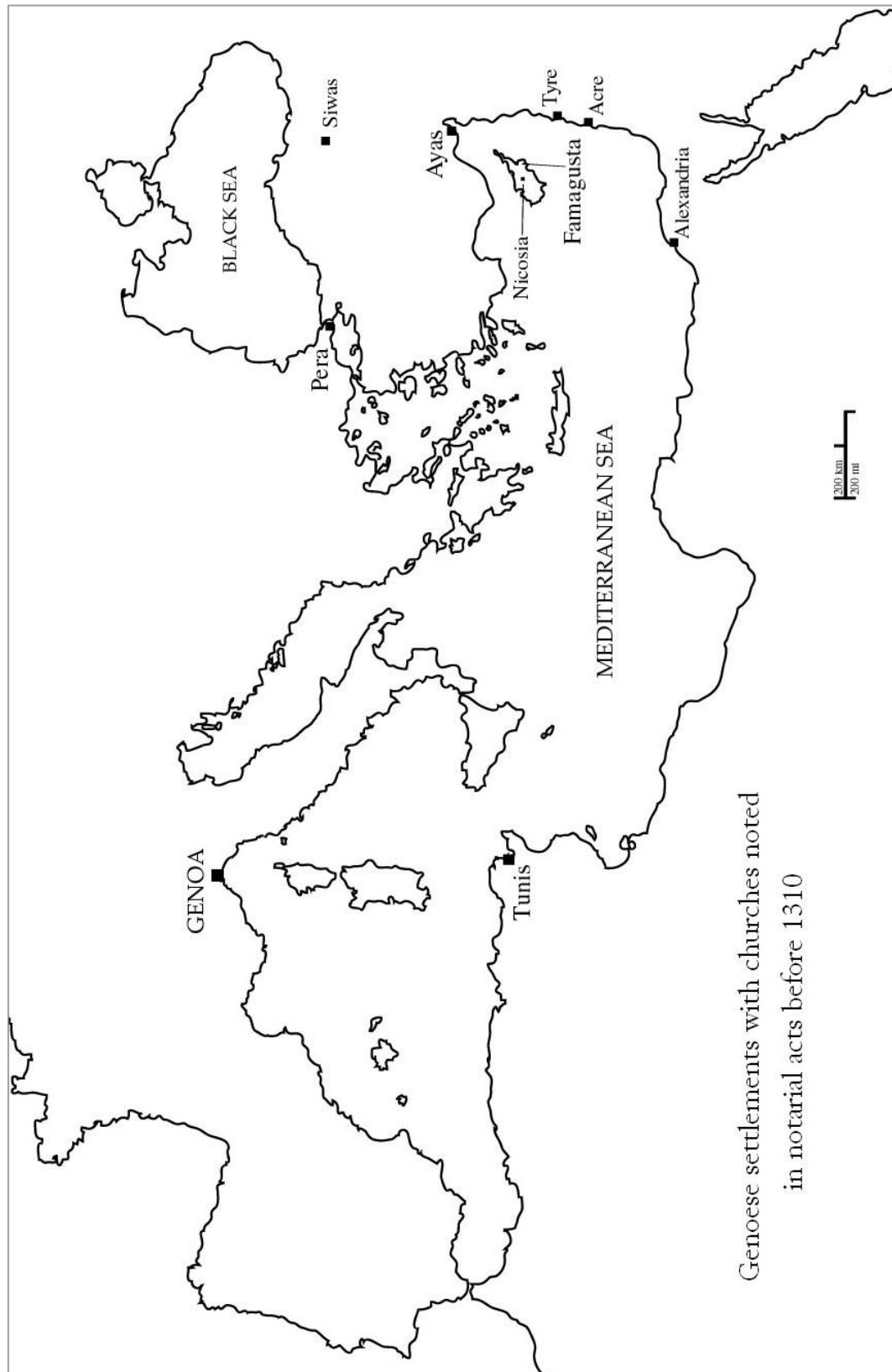


Figure A-4: Genoese settlements with churches noted in notarial acts before 1310 (J. B. Yousey-Hindes)

WORKS CITED

ARCHIVAL AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Società Ligure di Storia Patria

Manoscritto 328/5

Archivio di Stato di Genova

Archivio Segreto, n. 1552:

“Pergamene riguardanti le Monache de San Leonardo in Carignano ed altri Monasteri ed Ecclesiastici”

Manoscritto, n. 102:

“Diversiorum Notariorum”

Manoscritti, nn. 835-846:

Perasso, N. *Memorie e notizie di chiese e opere pie di Genova.*

Notai antichi, cart. 3/II

Notai antichi, cart. 7

Notai antichi, cart. 14

Notai antichi, cart. 15

Notai antichi, cart. 16/II

Notai antichi, cart. 18/II

Notai antichi, cart. 19

Notai antichi, cart. 20/I

Notai antichi, cart. 26/I

Notai antichi, cart. 26/II

Notai antichi, cart. 27

Notai antichi, cart. 28

Notai antichi, cart. 29

Notai antichi, cart. 30/II

Notai antichi, cart. 31/I

Notai antichi, cart. 33

Notai antichi, cart. 34

Notai antichi, cart. 53

Notai antichi, cart. 63/II

Notai antichi, cart. 67

Notai antichi, cart. 69

Notai antichi, cart. 110

Notai antichi, cart. 120/I

Notai antichi, cart. 121

Notai antichi, cart. 122

Notai antichi, cart. 129

Notai antichi, cart. 136
Notai antichi, cart. 147/I
Notai antichi, cart. 149/II
Notai antichi, cart. 194
Notai antichi, cart. 209
Notai antichi, cart. 210/I
Notai antichi, cart. 210/II
Notai antichi, cart. 352

Notai ignoti, busta 1.XXIV
Notai ignoti, busta 2.2
Notai ignoti, busta 6.72
Notai ignoti, busta 10.104
Notai ignoti, busta 14.129
Notai ignoti, busta 20.30
Notai ignoti, busta 20.183

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Airaldi, G., ed. *Le Carte di Santa Maria delle Vigne di Genova (1103-1392)*. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 3. Genoa, 1969.

Aromando, A., ed. *Le più antiche pergamene della Biblioteca Berio di Genova*. Genoa, 1975.

Balard, M. ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296 – 23 Giugno 1299)*. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 39. Genoa, 1983.

Balard, M., ed. *Gênes et l'Outremer, I: Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289-1290*. Paris, 1973.

Balletto, L., ed. *Atti rogati a Ventimiglia da Giovanni di Amandolesio dal 1256 al 1258*. Collana Storico-Archeologica della Liguria Occidentale 26. Bordighera, 1993.

Balletto, L., ed. *Il Cartulario di Arnaldo Cumano e Giovanni di Donato*. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Fonti e Sussidi 96 (Rome, 1978).

Balletto, L., ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 53. Genoa, 1989.

- Balletto, L., ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*. Genoa, 1989.
- Balletto, M. L., ed. "Il Liber Privatus di Giovanni da Diano (1392-1419)." In *Fonti e studi di storia ecclesiastica* 4, 1-147. Genoa, 1966.
- Barracclough, G., ed. *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia: A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium notariorum Curie from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century*. London, 1934.
- Belgrano, L. T., ed. "Documenti riguardanti la colonia genovese di Pera." In ASLSP o.s. 13. Genoa, 1877-1884).
- Belgrano, L. T., ed. *Il secondo registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*. ASLSP o.s. 18. Genoa, 1887.
- Belgrano, L. T., ed. *Il registro della curiae arcivescovile di Genova*. ASLSP o.s. 2/2. Genoa, 1862.
- Bernadine of Siena. *Sermons*. Edited by D. N. Orlandi and translated by H. J. Robins. Siena, 1920.
- Brătianu, G. I., ed. *Actes des notaires Génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)*. Académie Roumaine Études et Recherches 2. Bucharest, 1927.
- Calleri, M., ed. *I cartolari dei notaio Stefano di Corrado di Lavagna (1272-1273, 1296-1300)*. Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII-XV 12. Genoa, 2007.
- Cambiaso, D., ed. "Sinodi genovesi antichi." In ASLSP o.s. 63/1. Genoa, 1939.
- Cancellieri, J. A., ed. *Bonifacio au Moyen Age: entre Gênes, Corse, Sardaigne et Méditerranée*. Ajaccio, 1997.
- Cancellieri, J.-A., ed. "Les actes de Federico, notaire a Bonifacio en 1253." *Etudes Corses* 2 (1974): 17-81.
- Chiaudano, M. and M. Moresco, eds. *Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba*. 2 volumes. Documenti e Studi per la Storia del Commercio e del Dritto Commerciale Italiano 1-2. Turin, 1935.
- Chiaudano, M. and R. Morozzo della Rocca, eds. *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)*. Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII 1. Turin, 1938.
- Chiaudano, M., ed. *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1186)*. Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 4. Turin, 1940.

Cocito, L. ed., *Anonimo Genovese: Poesie*. Rome, 1970.

Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova (965-1327). 4 volumes. Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 23-26. Genoa, 2008.

Coureas, N. and C. Schabel, eds. *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia*. Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 25. Nicosia, 1997.

Dalleggio d'Alessio, E. *Le Pietre sepolcrali di Arab Camii (Antica Chiesa di S. Paolo a Galata)*. ASLSP o.s. 69. Genoa, 1942.

de Mas Latrie, L., ed. *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen âge*. 2 volumes. Paris, 1865; reprinted New York, 1964.

de Sacy, S., ed. and trans. "Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la république de Gènes." *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 11 (1827): 1-96.

de Saint-Martin, J., ed. "Décret ou privilège de Léon III, roi d'Arménie, en faveur des Génois, en l'année 1288." *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 11 (1827): 97-122.

Desimoni, C., ed. "Actes passés à Famagusta de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto." *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884): 3-120; continued in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1893): 58-139, 275-312, 321-53.

Desimoni, C., ed. "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à l'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaries génois." *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881): 434-534.

Desimoni, C., ed. "Quatre titres des propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyr." *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884): 213-30.

Eierman, J. E., H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds, eds. *Bonvillano (1198)*. Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 3. Turin, 1939.

Falco, G. and G. Pistarino, eds. *Cartulario di Giovanni di Giona di Portovenere (sec. XIII)*. Biblioteca della Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria 177. Turin, 1955.

Ferretto, A., ed. "Gli statuti dei canonici di Rapallo editi il 17 gennaio del 1264." *Giornale Ligustico di archeologia, storia e letteratura* n.s. 11 (1897): 422-439. Reprinted by Tipografia R. Istituto Sordo-Muti. Genoa, 1898.

- Ferretto, A., ed. *Liber Magistri Salmonis sacri palatii notarii, 1222-1226*. ASLSP o.s. 36. Genoa, 1906.
- Friedberg, A. and A. Richter, eds. *Corpus iuris canonici*. 2 volumes. Graz, 1959.
- Guerello, F., ed. *Lettere di Innocenzo IV dai cartolari notarili genovesi*. Rome, 1961.
- Hall, M. W., H. C. Krueger, and R. L. Reynolds, eds. *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190-1192)*. 2 volumes. Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 2. Turin, 1938.
- Hall-Cole, M. W., H. C. Krueger, R. G. Reinert, and R. L. Reynolds, eds. *Giovanni di Guiberto (1200-1211)*. 2 volumes. Notai Liguri del Secoli XII 5. Turin, 1939-1940.
- Hamelin, A. M., ed. *Un traité morale économique au XIV^e siècle: Le Tractatus de usuris de maître Alexandre d'Alexandrie*. Louvain, 1962.
- I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*. 12 volumes. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Fonti 12, 13, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, and 39. Rome, 1992-2002; continued in Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 20-22. Genoa, 2007.
- Imperiale de Sant'Angelo, C., ed. *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*. 3 volumes. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 77. Rome, 1936.
- Jansen, K. L., J. Drell, and F. Andrews, eds. *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation*. Philadelphia, 2009.
- Jehel, G., ed. "Catalogue analytique et chronologique des actes du notaire Petrus Batifolius rédigés à Tunis du 20 décembre 1288 au 24 juin 1289." *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 25 (1977): 69-135.
- Kehr, P. F., ed. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontifica*. Volume 6, Part 2. Berlin, 1914.
- Krueger, H. C. and R. L. Reynolds, eds. *Lanfranco (1202-1226)*. 2 volumes. Notai Liguri del Secoli XII e del XIII 6. Genoa, 1951-1953.
- Lagardère, V., ed. and trans. *Histoire et société en occident musulman au moyen âge: Analyse du Mi' yār d'al-Wanšarīsī*. Madrid, 1995.
- Lagomaggiore, N. ed. "Rime Genovese della fine del secolo XIII e del principio del XIV." *Archivio glottologico italiano* 2 (1876): 161-312.
- Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (952-1328)*. 4 volumes. Fonti per la storia della Liguria 5-8. Genoa, 1997-1998.

- Liber iurium reipublicae genuensis*. 2 volumes. *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* 7-8. Turin, 1854-1857.
- Lisciandrelli, P., ed. *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della repubblica di Genova (958-1797): regesti*. ASLSP n.s. 1. Genoa, 1960.
- Lopez, R. S. and I. W. Raymond, eds. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents*. New York, 1955.
- Macchiavello, S., ed. *I cartolari del notaio Simone di Francesco de Compagnono (1408-1415)*. *Notai liguri dei secoli XII-XV* 11. Genoa, 2006.
- Mambrini, F., ed. *I cartolari del notaio Nicolò di Santa Giulia di Chiavari (1337, 1345-1348)*. *Notai liguri dei secoli XII-XV* 10. Genoa, 2004 .
- Pavoni, R., ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301)*. *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 32. Genoa, 1982.
- Pesce, G., ed. *Instrumenta episcoporum albinganensium: Documenti del R. Archivio di Stato di Torino*. *Collana Storico-Archeologica della Liguria Occidentale* 4. Albenga 1935.
- Pistarino, G., ed. *Le Carte Portoveneresi di Tealdo de Sigestro (1258-59)*. *Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII e XV* 7. Genoa, 1958.
- Pistarino, G., ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288-1289)*. *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 47. Genoa, 1986.
- Polonio, V., ed. *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301)*. *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 31. Genoa, 1982.
- Pope Gregory the Great. *The Book of Pastoral Rule*. Edited and translated by G. Demacopoulos. Crestwood, 2007.
- Pope Innocent III. *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*. Edited and translated by C. J. Vause and F. C. Gardiner. Washington D.C., 2004.
- Pope Innocent III, “De sacerdotis dignitate, periculo et peccato.” In *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina*, edited by J. P. Migne, volume 217, cols. 649B-654C. Reprint edition. Turnholt, 1958.
- Promis, V., ed. “Statuti della colonia genovese di Pera.” *Miscellanea di storia italiana* 11 (1870): 513-780.

- Puncuh, D., ed. "I più antichi statuti del capitolo di San Lorenzo di Genova." In ASLSP n.s. 2, 17-76. Genoa, 1962. Reprinted ASLSP, n.s.46, 69-114. Genoa, 2006.
- Puncuh, D., ed. *Il cartulario del notaio Martino: Savona, 1203-1206*. Genoa, 1974.
- Puncuh, D., ed. *Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae ianuensis*. Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica 1. Genoa, 1962.
- R. Pavoni (ed.), *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio – Agosto 1302)*. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 49. Genoa, 1987.
- Remondini, A., ed. "Syndicatus ecclesiae januens MCCCXI." *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia, Storia e Belle Arti* 6 (1879): 3-18.
- Rosada, M. and E. Girardi, eds. *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV: Liguria maritime*. Studi e Testi 425. Vatican City, 2005.
- Rovere, A., ed. *Cartolare di Uberto, parte II: Atti del Notaio Guglielmo, Savona (1214-1215)*. Notai Liguri dei Secoli XII e XV 14. Genoa, 2009.
- Rovere, A., ed. *Le carte del monastero di San Benigno di Capodifaro (secc. XII-XV)*. ASLSP n.s. 23. Genoa, 1983.
- Schabel, C., ed. and trans. *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus*. Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus 39. Nicosia, 2001.
- Soave, C., ed. *Le carte del monastero di Sant'Andrea della Porta di Genova (1109-1370)*. Fonti per la Storia della Liguria 18. Genoa, 2002.
- Tanner, N., ed. and trans. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 volumes. London, 1990.
- Thomas Aquinas. *Summa Theologica*. 60 volumes. Edited and translated by the English Province of the Order of Preachers. Cambridge, 1964-1976; reprinted 2006.
- Vitale, V., ed. *Nuovi documenti sul castello di Bonifacio nel secolo XIII*. ASLSP o.s. 68. Genoa, 1940.
- Vitale, V., ed. *Documenti sul castello di Bonifacio nel secolo XIII*, ASLSP o.s. 65. Genoa, 1936.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abulafia, D., ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 5: c. 1198-c. 1300*. Cambridge, 1999.
- Abulafia, D. *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes*. Cambridge, 1977.
- Airaldi, G. *Genova e la Liguria nel medioevo*. Turin, 1986.
- Andenna, C. *Mortariensis Ecclesia: Una congregazione di canonici regolari in Italia settentrionale tra XI e XII secolo*. Berlin, 2007.
- Angelos, M. "Women in Genoese Commenda Contracts, 1155-1216." *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 299-312.
- Archivio di Stato di Genova. *Cartolari notarili genovesi (1-149): Inventario, volume primo*. 2 volumes. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Strumenti 22 and 41. Rome, 1956 and 1961.
- Argenti, P. *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*. 3 volumes. Cambridge, 1958.
- Avril, J. "En marge du clergé paroissial: les chapelains de chapellenies (fin XIIe-XIIIe siècles)." In *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age: Actes du XXIIe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.*, 121-133. Paris, 1993.
- Balard, M. "Escalaes génoises sur les routes de l'Orient méditerranéen au XIVe siècle." *Les grandes escales: Première partie: antiquité et moyen-âge*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 32. 243-264. Brussels, 1974.
- Balard, M. "Gênes et la Mer Noire (XIIIe-XVe siècles)." *Revue Historique* 270 (1983): 32-37.
- Balard, M. "L'Organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'Empire byzantin (XIe-XVe siècle)." In *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, edited by V. Kravari, J.
- Beech, G. "Prosopography." In *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, edited by J. Powell, 151-84. Syracuse, 1976.
- Beihammer, A. "Eastern Mediterranean Diplomats: The Current State of Research." In *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, edited by A. Beihammer, M. G. Parani, and C. D. Schabel, 1-26. Leiden, 2008.

- Belgrano, L. T. *Cartario genovese ed illustrazione del registro arcivescovile*. ASLSP o.s. 2, part 1[“parte II” printed on title page]. Genoa, 1870.
- Bellomo, E. *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142-c.1330)*. Leiden, 2008.
- Bernard, A. *La sépulture en droit canonique: du décret de Gratien au Concile de Trente*. Paris, 1933.
- Bianchi, L. G. and E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli x-xvi*. Genoa, 1980.
- Bijsterveld, A.-J. “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach.” In *Medieval Transformations: Medieval Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, edited by E. Cohen and M. B. de Jong, 123-156. Leiden, 2001.
- Boldorini, A. “Aspetti e momenti della *cura animarum* nel Basso Medioevo Ligure (secc. XIII-XV).” *Renovatio* 15 (1980): 590-619. Also published (with a documentary appendix) as *Archivum ecclesiae ianuensis* 1. Genoa, 1981.
- Boldorini, A. “Santa Croce di Sarzano e i mercant lucchesi a genova (secc. XIII-XIV).” ASLSP n. s. 2, 77-96. Genoa, 1962.
- Boldorini, A. *I più antichi statute del Capitolo di Santa Maria delle Vigne (secc. XIV-XVI)*. Genoa, 1967.
- Bologna, M. “Il bombardamento di Genova del 1684: i danni all’archivio notarile e il suo recupero.” *Archivum* 42 (1996): 215-233.
- Bologna, M. *Cartolari notarili genovesi (150-299), volume secondo*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti 111. Rome, 1990.
- Bologna, M. “1684 maggio 17: Le perdite dell’archivio del Collegio dei notai di Genova.” ASLSP n.s. 24, 267-290. Genoa, 1984.
- Bologna, M. *Notai ignoti: Frammenti notarili medioevali*, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Strumenti 104. Rome, 1988.
- Bombi, B. “Petitioning between England and Avignon in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century.” In *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance*, edited by W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd, and A. Musson, 64-81. Woodbridge, 2009.
- Bonnes, J. B. “Un des plus grands prédicateurs du XIIème siècle: Geoffroy du Loroux dit Geoffroi Babion.” *Revue bénédictine* 56 (1945-46): 174-216.

- Borlandi, F. "La formazione culturale del mercante Genovese medioevo." ASLSP n.s. 3, fasc. II, 221-230. Genoa, 1963.
- Bornstein, D. "Introduction: Living Christianity." In *Medieval Christianity*, edited by D. Bornstein, A People's History of Christianity 4, 1-24. Minneapolis, 2009.
- Bornstein, D. "Parish Priests in Late Medieval Cortona." *Preti nel medioevo*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa 4, 165-193. Verona, 1997.
- Bornstein, D. "Priests and Villagers in the Diocese of Cortona." *Ricerche Storiche* 27 (1997): 93-106.
- Boureau, A. "Hypothèses sur l'émergence lexical et théorique de la catégorie de séculier au XII^e siècle." In *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age: Actes du XXIII^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.*, 35-43. Paris, 1993.
- Brătianu, G. I. *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*. Paris, 1929.
- Brentano, R. "Notarial Cartularies and Religious Personality: Rome, Rieti, and Bishop Thomas of Secinaro (1339-1341)." In *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, edited by P. Brezzi and E. Lee, 169-183. Toronto, 1984.
- Brentano, R. *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188-1378*. Berkeley, 1994.
- Brentano, R. *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century*. Princeton, 1968.
- Brooke, C. "Priest, Deacon and Layman from St. Peter Damian to St. Francis." *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989): 65-86. Reprinted in C. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, 233-253. London, 1999.
- Brown, D. C. *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*. Cambridge, 1987.
- Brown, E. A. R. "Representation and Agency Law in the Later Middle Ages: The Theoretical Foundations and the Evolution of Practice in the Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Midi." *Viator* 3 (1972): 329-364.
- Brucker, G. "Urban Parishes and their Clergy in Quattrocento Florence: A Preliminary Sondage." In *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, edited by A. Morrogh, F. Superbi Gioffredi, P. Morselli, and E. Borsook, volume 1, 17-28. Florence, 1985.
- Brundage, J. A. *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*. Chicago, 2008.

- Brunschvig, R. *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafides: des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*, 2 volumes. Paris, 1940.
- Byrne, E. H. "The Genoese Colonies in Syria." In *The Crusades, and Other Historical Essays; Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, edited by L. Paetow, 139-182. New York, 1928.
- Byrne, E. H. *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, (Mass.), 1930.
- Byrne, J. P. "Notaries." in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. C. Kleinhenz, volume 2, 780-784. New York, 2004.
- Calvini, N. *Nuovo Glossario Medievale Ligure*, Civico Istituto Colombiano Studi e Testi 6. Genoa, 1984.
- Cambiaso, D. *L'Anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi in Genova nel loro svolgimento storico*. ASLSP o.s. 48. Genoa, 1917.
- Cambiaso, D. and G. M. Carpaneto. "I vicari generali degli arcivescovi di Genova." ASLSP n.s. 12, 11-70. Genoa, 1972.
- Cancellieri, J.-A. "Directions de recherche sur la démographie de la Corse médiévale (XIIIe-XV siècles)." In *Strutture familiari, epidemie, migrazione nell'Italia medievale*, edited by R. Comba, G. Piccinni, and G. Pinto, 401-33. Naples, 1984.
- Cárcel Ortí, M. M. "El clero secular en Europa en la Baja Edad Media: Bibliografía." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 35 (2005): 971-1047.
- Caro, G. *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257-1311*, 2 volumes (Halle, 1895-1899). Translated into Italian as *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo, 1257-1311*, ASLSP n.s. 14-15. Genoa, 1974-1975.
- Cheney, C. R. and M. Jones, eds. *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, new edition. Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 4. Cambridge, 2000.
- Cheyette, F. L. "Suum cuique tribuere." *French Historical Studies* 6 (1970): 287-299.
- Chiese e notai (secoli XII-XV)*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa 11. Verona, 2004.
- Cleary, J. *Canonical Limitations on the Alienation of Church Property: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary*, Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 100. Washington, D.C., 1936.

- Cohn, S. "Piety and Religious Practice in the Rural Dependencies of Renaissance Florence." *English Historical Review* 114 (1999): 1121-1142.
- Collamore, L. "Prelude: Charting the Divine Office." In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, edited by M. Fassler and R. Baltzer, 3-12. Oxford, 2000.
- Constable, O. R. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, 2003.
- Constable, O. R. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Costamagna, G. "Scribi comunali e notai di collegio ad Albenga nel sec. XIII." In *Legislazione e società nell'Italia medievale, per il VII centenario degli statuti di Albenga (1288)—Atti del Convegno, 18-21 ottobre 1988*, Collana storico-archeologica della Liguria Occidentale 25, 503-515. Bordighera, 1990.
- Coulton, G. G. *Five Centuries of Religion*. 5 volumes. Cambridge, 1923-1950.
- Coulton, G. G. *The Medieval Village*. Cambridge, 1925.
- Coureas, N. "The Genoese and the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1250-1320." In *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, edited by L. Balletto, 165-175. Genoa, 1997.
- Dameron, G. *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante*. Philadelphia, 2005.
- Daniell, C. *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*. London, 1997.
- Day, G. "Genoese Prosopography (12th-13th Centuries): The State of the Question." *Medieval Prosopography* 4 (1983): 31-44.
- de Bernardis, L. M. "Le parrocchie gentilizie di Genova." In *La storia dei genovesi: Atti del convegno di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della repubblica di Genova, Genova 6-8 November 1981*, 199-217. Genoa, 1981.
- de la Roncière, Ch. M. "Dans la campagne Florentine au quatorzième siècle: Les communautés chrétiennes et leurs curés." In *Histoire vécue du peuple Chrétien*, edited by J. Delumeau, 281-314. Toulouse, 1979.
- de Negri, T. O. *Storia di Genova*. Milan, 1968.
- de Sandre Gasparini, G. *Contadini, chiesa, confraternita in un paese veneto di bonifica. Villa del Bosco nel Quattrocento*, second edition. Verona, 1987.

- di Carpegna Falconieri, T. *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo: Istituzioni e politica cittadina (secoli VIII-XIII)*. Rome, 2002.
- Edbury, P. "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto." In *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by H. Mayer, 87-95. Munich, 1997.
- Edbury, P. "The Genoese Community in Famagusta Around the Year 1300: A Historical Vignette." In *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, edited by L. Balletto, 235-244. Genoa, 1997.
- Epstein, S. *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*. Chapel Hill, 1996.
- Epstein, S. *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1984.
- Eubel, C. *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*. Munich, 1913.
- Farber, L. *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing: Value, Consent, and Community*. Ithaca, 2006.
- Fedalto, G. *La chiesa latina in oriente*, second edition. Verona, 1981.
- Fernández-Armesto, F. *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492*. Philadelphia, 1987.
- Ferretto, A. "Giovanni Mauro di Carignano: Rettore di S. Marco, Cartografo e scrittore (1291-1329)." *Miscellanea Geo-Topografica*, ASLSP o.s. 52, 31-54. Genoa, 1924.
- Firpo, M. *Fieschi: Potere, chiese e territorio: Sant'Adriano di Trigoso e Santa Maria in Via Lata*. Genoa, 2007.
- Firpo, M. "I primordi a Genova della presenza dei Frati Minori: prospettive per una futura ricerca." *Arte Medievale*, 2nd series, 10 (1996): 109-119.
- Fleet, K. "The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56 (1993): 13-33.
- Fonseca, C. D. and C. Violante, eds. *Pievi e parrocchie in Europa dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*. Galatina, 1990.
- Fowler, L. "Forms of Arbitration." In *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 21—25 August 1972*, edited by S. Kuttner, 133-147. Vatican City, 1976.

- Germovnik, F., ed., *Index analytico-alphabeticus ad secundam partem corpus iuris canonici (secundum editionem Aemilii Friedberg)*. Ottawa, 1980.
- Gilchrist, J. *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*. London, 1969.
- Gorse, G. "The Family Enclave in Medieval Genoa." *Journal of Architectural Education* 41 (1988): 20-24.
- Gutierrez, D. *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages*, 2 volumes, translated by A. J. Ennis. Villanova, 1983-1984.
- Hamilton, B. *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*. London, 1980.
- Harris, J. "Edward II, Andronicus II and Giles de Argenteim: A Neglected Episode in Anglo-Byzantine Relations." In *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, edited by C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin, 77-84. Aldershot, 2003.
- Hays, D. *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century: The Birkbeck Lectures*. Cambridge, 1977.
- Heers, J. *Family Clans in the Middle Ages: A Study of Political and Social Structures in Urban Areas*, translated by B. Herbert. Amsterdam, 1977.
- Heers, J. *Le Clan familial au Moyen Age*. Paris, 1974.
- Helmholtz, R. *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*. Atlanta, 1996.
- Henderson, J. *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*. Chicago, 1997.
- Heyd, W. *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, 2 volumes, second edition. Leipzig, 1923.
- Hinnebusch, W. A. *The History of the Dominican Order*. 2 volumes. New York, 1966.
- Holt, P. "Qalāwūn's treaty with Genoa in 1290." *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 101-8.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford, 2000.
- Hughes, D. O. "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe." In *The Marriage Bargain: Women and Dowries in the European History*, edited by M. A. Kaplan, 113-158. New York, 1985.

- Hughes, D. O. "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa." *Past & Present* 66 (1975): 3-28.
- İnalçık, H. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, 1990.
- Jacoby, D. "Les italiens en égypte aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?" in *Coloniser au Moyen Âges*, edited by M. Balard and A. Ducellier, 76-89. Paris, 1995.
- Jacoby, D. "The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century." *Μελέται καί Ὑπομνήματα* [Meletai kai Hypomnemata] 1 (1984): 143-179.
- Janin, R. *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, volume 3: *Les églises et les monastères [de Constantinople]*. Paris, 1953.
- Jansen, K. "Peacemaking in the Oltrarno, 1287-1297." In *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honor of Brenda M. Bolton*, edited by F. Andrews, C. Egger, and C. M. Rousseau, 327-344. Leiden, 2004.
- Jehel, G. "Gênes, ses évêques et ses papes au moyen âge." In *Les prélats, l'église et la société, XIe-XVe siècles: hommage à Bernard Guillemain*, edited by F. Bériac and A.-M. Dom, 199-206. Bordeaux, 1994.
- Jehel, G. *L'Italie et le Maghreb au Moyen Âge: Conflits et échanges du VIIe au XVe siècle*. Paris, 2001.
- Jehel, G. *Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale (fin XIe-début XIVe siècle): Ébauche d'une stratégie pour un empire*. Amiens, 1993.
- Jenkins, P. *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice*. Oxford, 2003.
- Jobin, N. V. "An Undetermined Number of Thrushes: The Meaning and Value of Land in the Ecclesiastical Land Market of Genoa, 950-1400." PhD diss., University of Colorado-Boulder, 2003.
- Johnson, P. *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France*. Chicago, 1991.
- Kaye, J. *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought*. Cambridge, 1998.
- Kedar, B. "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIV^e siècle." *Le Moyen Âge* 73 (1967): 31-46.

- Keller, H. "Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella germania e nell'Italia settentrionale." In *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Societas Christiana dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie—Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974*, 136-186. Milan, 1977.
- Klapisch-Zuber, C. "'Kin, Friends, and Neighbors': The Urban Territory of a Merchant Family in 1400." In *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L. Cochrane, 68-93. Chicago, 1985. Originally published as "Parenti, amici, vicini." *Quaderni storici* 33 (1976): 953-82.
- Krueger, H. C. "Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa in the Twelfth Century." *Speculum* 8 (1933): 377-395.
- Kuehn, T. *Law, Family & Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*. Chicago, 1991.
- Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age: Actes du XXIIe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.* Paris, 1993.
- Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Societas Christiana dei secoli XI-XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie, Atti della sesta Settimana internazionale di studio, Milano, 1-7 settembre 1974*. Milan, 1977.
- Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe s.)*, Colloque de Fanjeaux 24. Toulouse, 1989.
- Little, L. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, 1978.
- Liva, A. "Vescovo e città a Genova fra X e XIII secolo." In *Cattedrale, città e contado tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by G. Santini, 41-51. Milan, 1990.
- Loenertz, R. *La société des Frères Pérégrinants*. Rome, 1937.
- Lopez, R. S. "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin." *Medievalia et humanistica* 8 (1954): 6-16.
- Lopez, R. S. "Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa." *The Journal of Economic History* 24 (1964): 445-464.
- Lopez, R. S. "Proxy in Medieval Trade." In *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Stayer*, edited by W. C. Jordan, B. McNab, and T. F. Ruiz, 187-194. Princeton, 1976.
- Lopez, R. S. *Genova marinara nel duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante*. Milan, 1933.

- Lopez, R. S. *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, second edition, with a preface and updated bibliography by M. Balard. Genoa, 1996; orig. pub. Bologna, 1938.
- Lopez, R. S. *Su e giù per la storia di Genova*. Genoa, 1975.
- Lopez, R. S. *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350*. Englewood Cliffs, 1971.
- Lunardi, G. *Le Monete delle Colonie Genovesi*, ASLSP n.s. 20. Genoa, 1980.
- MacKenzie, R. "Social Organization and State Control in Two Genoese Merchant Colonies: Tunis and Famagusta, in the Late 13th Century." DPhil diss., University of Cambridge, 1996.
- Maiolino, T. M. "Diocesi di Genova." *Liguria monastica*, Italia benedettina 2. Cesena, 1979)
- Marchesani, C. and G. Sperati, *Ospedali genovesi nel Medioevo*, ASLSP n.s. 21. Genoa, 1981.
- Marchetti Longhi, G. *Il cardinale Guglielmo de Longis de Adraria di Bergamo: la sua famiglia e la sua discendenza; studio storico*. Rome, 1961.
- Marengo, E. *Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515*, ASLSP o.s. 32. Genoa, 1901.
- Mascanzoni, L. *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia: Saggio di bibliografia storica*. Bologna, 1988-1989.
- McCormick, J. "Clergymen and Clerical Bodies as Factors in the Business Life of Genoa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1938.
- Melloni, A. *Innocenzo IV: La concezione e l'esperienza della cristianità come "regimen unius personae,"* with a preface by Brian Tierney. Genoa, 1990.
- Miller, M. C. "Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750-1200." In *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, edited by M. Frassetto, 305-35. New York, 1998.
- Miller, M. C. *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950-1150*. Ithaca, 1993.
- Miller, M. C. *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy*. Ithaca 2000.

- Mollat, M. *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, translated by A. Goldhammer. New Haven, 1986.
- Moore, J. C. "Pope Innocent III and Usury." In *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honor of Brenda M. Bolton*, edited by F. Andrews, C. Egger, and C. M. Rousseau, 59-75. Leiden, 2004.
- Moorman, J. *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*. Oxford, 1968.
- Moresco, M. "Le parrocchie gentilizie genovesi." *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* 31 (1901): 163-191. Reprinted in *Scritti di M. Moresco*, 1-27. Milan, 1959.
- Morris, C. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050-1250*. Oxford, 1989.
- Morse, V. M. "The *Vita mediocris*: The Secular Priesthood in the Thought of Opicino de Canistris." *Quaderni di storia religiosa* 4 (1997): 257-282.
- Muldoon, J. *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550*. Liverpool, 1979.
- Nicolini, A. "Commercio marittimo genovese in Inghilterra nel Medioevo (1280-1495)." In *ASLSP n.s.* 47/I, 215-328. Genoa, 2007.
- Nightingale, P. "The English Parochial Clergy as Investors and Creditors in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century." In *Credit and Debt in Medieval England, c.1180-c.1350*, edited by P. R. Schofield and N. J. Mayhew, 89-105. Oxford, 2002.
- Osheim, D. *Tuscan Monastery and Its Social World: San Michele of Guamo (1156-1348)*. Italia Sacra 40. Rome, 1989.
- Otten-Froux, C. "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle d'après les notaires génois." *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988): 147-171.
- Papacostea, S. "Les Génois et la Horde d'Or: le tournant de 1313." In *Chemins d'outre-mer: études d'histoire sur la méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, edited by D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès, and D. Valérian, 651-659. Paris 2004.
- Peterson, D. S. "Out of the Margins: Religion and the Church in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 835-879.
- Petti Balbi, G. *Genova e Corsica nel Trecento*. Rome, 1976.

- Petti Balbi, G. *L'insegnamento nella Liguria medievale: scuole, maestri, libri*. Genoa, 1979.
- Petti Balbi, G. *Una città e il suo mare: Genova nel Medioevo*. Bologna, 1991.
- Piastra, W. *Storia della chiesa e del convento di San Domenico in Genova*. Genoa, 1970.
- Piergiovanni, V. *Gli statuti civili e criminali di Genova nel Medioevo: La tradizione manoscritta e le edizioni*. Genoa, 1980.
- Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso Medioevo (sec. XIII-XV), Atti di VI Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, (Firenze 21-25 Settembre 1981)*, 2 volumes. Rome, 1984.
- Pistarino, G. "Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie nella Liguria medievale (secoli XII-XV)." In *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. XIII-XV): atti del VI convegno di storia della chiesa in Italia*, volume 2, 625-676. Rome, 1984.
- Pistarino, G. "Monasteri cittadini genovesi." In *Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare, (sec. X-XII): relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXII Congresso storico subalpino [e] III Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia, (Pinerolo, 6-9 settembre 1964)*, 239-281. Pinerolo, 1966.
- Pistarino, G. "The Genoese in Pera -- Turkish Galata." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6 (1986).
- Pistarino, G. *La capitale del Mediterraneo: Genova nel medioevo*. Bordighera, 1993.
- Pistarino, G. *Liguria medievale*. Genoa, 1968.
- Poleggi, E. "Le contrade delle consorterie nobiliari a Genova tra il XII secolo e il XIII secolo." *Urbanistica* 42-43 (1965): 15-20.
- Polonio Felloni, V. "Da 'opere' a pubblica magistratura: La cura della cattedrale e del porto nella Genova medioevale." In *Opera: Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all'inizio dell'Età Moderna*, edited by M. Haines and L. Riccetti, 117-136. Florence, 1996.
- Polonio, V. "Canonici regolari, istituzioni e religiosità in Liguria (secoli XII-XIII)." In *Gli Agostiniani a Genova e in Liguria tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Genova, 9-11 dicembre 1993*, 2 volumes, edited by C. Paolucci, volume 1, 19-57. Genoa, 1994.
- Polonio, V. "Devozioni di lungo corso: lo scalo Genovese." In *Genova, Venezia, il*

- Levante nei secoli XII-XIV: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Genova – Venezia, 10-14 marzo 2000*, edited by G. Ortalli and D. Puncuh, 349-394. Venice, 2001.
- Polonio, V. “Tra universalismo e localismo: costruzione di un sistema (569-1321).” In *Il Cammino della Chiesa genovese: dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, edited by D. Puncuh, ASLSP n.s. 39, 77-210. Genoa, 1999.
- Polonio, V. “Vescovi e capitoli cattedrali in Liguria: Albenga, Genova, Luni-Sarzana.” In *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia dal XIV alla metà del XVI secolo: Atti del VII Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia (Brescia, 21-25 settembre 1987)*, edited by G. de Sandre Gasparini, volume 1, 139-147. Rome, 1990.
- Polonio, V. *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Liguria medievale*. Rome, 2002.
- Preti nel medioevo*, Quaderni di Storia Religiosa 4. Verona, 1997.
- Pringle, D. “Churches and Settlement in Crusader Palestine.” In *The Experience of Crusading*, edited by P. Edbury and J. Phillips, volume 2, 161-178. Cambridge, 2003.
- Pryor, J. “Mediterranean Commerce in the Middle Ages: A Voyage under Contract of ‘Commenda.’” *Viator* 14 (1983): 133-194.
- Pryor, J. “The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships: A Reconstruction of Some Archetypes for Round-Hulled Sailing Ships.” *Mariner’s Mirror* 70 (1984): 171-219, 275-92, and 363-86.
- Pryor, J. *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248*. Toronto, 1981.
- Pryor, J. *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571*. Cambridge, 1988.
- Puncuh, D. “Liguria: edizioni di fonti.” *Annali dell’Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento* 28 (2002): 321-344.
- Puncuh, D. *Storia di Genova: Mediterraneo, Europa, Atlantico*. Genoa, 2003.
- Queller, D. E. “Thirteenth-Century Diplomatic Envoys: *Nuncii* and *Procuratores*.” *Speculum* 35 (1960): 196-213.
- Racine, P. “L’Aïas dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle.” *Rivista di bizantinistica* 2 (1992): 173-206.
- Reyerson, K. *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier*. Toronto, 1985.

- Reyerson, K. *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Leiden, 2002.
- Reyerson, K. and D. Salata. *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327-1328 Register of Jean Holanie*. Kalamazoo, 2004.
- Reynolds, R. L. *The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa, 1179-1200*. Bruxelles, 1929.
- Reynolds, R. L. "In Search of a Business Class in Thirteenth-Century Genoa." *Journal of Economic History* 5 (1945, supplement): 1-19
- Reynolds, S. *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, second edition. Oxford, 1997.
- Riesenberg, P. "Roman Law, Renunciations, and Business in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans*, edited by J. H. Mundy, R. W. Emery, and B. N. Nelson, 207-225. New York, 1955.
- Rigon, A. *Clero e città: "fratelia cappellanorum," parroci, cura d'anime in Padova dal XII*. Padua, 1988.
- Roberts, S. *Order and Dispute: An Introduction to Legal Anthropology*. New York, 1979.
- Rocca, P. *Pesi e misure antiche di Genova e del Genovesato*. Genoa, 1871.
- Ronzani, M. "L'organizzazione della cura d'anime e la nascita della pieve di Figule." In *Lontano dalle città: il Valdarno di sopra nei secoli XII-XIII: atti del convegno di Montevarchi-Figline Valdarno, 9-11 novembre 2001*, edited by G. Pinto and P. Pirillo, 213-277. Rome, 2005.
- Ronzani, M. "L'organizzazione della cura d'anime nella città di Pisa (secoli XII-XIII)." In *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della Toscana medioevale*, edited by C. Wickham, et al., 35-85. Galatina, 1980.
- Rosenthal, J. T. *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485*. London, 1972
- Rosenwein, B. H., T. Head, and S. Farmer. "Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach." *Speculum* 66 (1991): 764-796.
- Rosenwein, B. H. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049*. Ithaca, 1989.

- Rubin, M. *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1987.
- Schmutz, R. "Medieval Papal Representatives: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate." *Studia Gratiana* 15 (1972): 441-463.
- Shinners, J. and W. J. Dohar, eds. *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*. South Bend, 1998.
- Sisto, A. *Genova nel duecento: il capitolo di San Lorenzo*, Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi 28. Genoa, 1979.
- Slessarev, V. Review "Il Liber Privatus di Giovanni da Diano (1392-1419)," edited by M. L. Balletto. *Speculum* 43 (1968): 505-507.
- Stone, L. "Prosopography." In *Historical Studies Today*, edited by F. Gilbert and S. R. Graubard, 107-140. New York, 1972.
- Thompson, A. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325*. University Park, 2005.
- Thompson, A. H. *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages: The Ford Lectures for 1933*. Oxford, 1947.
- van Doosselaere, Q. *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa*. Cambridge, 2009.
- van Engen, J. "The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem." *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 519-552.
- Verboven, K. and M. Carlier, and J. Dumolyn. "A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography." In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, edited by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 35-69. Oxford, 2007.
- Vigna, R. *L'Antica collegiata di Santa Maria di Castello in Genova*. Genoa, 1859.
- Vincent, C. "L'avènement du curé et de la cure d'âmes dans la pastorale médiévale: bilan et perspectives de recherche dans le domaine français." *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 60 (2006): 17-30.
- Vitale, V. *Breviario della storia di Genova*. Genoa, 1956.
- Waley, D. *The Italian City-Republics*. 3rd edition. New York, 1988.
- Wasserman, S. and Faust, K. *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge, 1994.

- White, S. D. *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to the Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150*. Chapel Hill, 1988.
- White, S. D. “*Pactum... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium*—The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France.” *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978): 281-308.
- Williman, D. *The Right of Spoil of the Popes of Avignon, 1316-1415*. Philadelphia, 1988.
- Zupko, R. E. *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia, 1981.
- Zutshi, P. “Petitions to the Pope in the Fourteenth Century.” In *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance*, edited by W. M. Ormrod, G. Dodd, and A. Musson, 82-98. Woodbridge 2009.