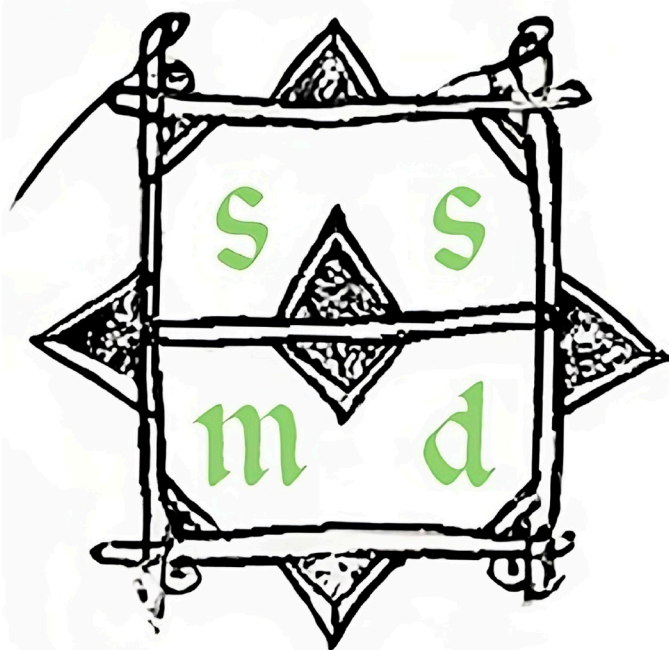


STUDI DI STORIA MEDIOEVALE E DI DIPLOMATICA

NUOVA SERIE VII (2023)



UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI MILANO
DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI STORICI

 Milano University Press

**Families, alliances, clientage and urban space:
the case of the Genoese Alberghi
(thirteenth-fifteenth centuries)**

di Denise Bezzina

in «Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica», n.s. VII (2023)

Dipartimento di Studi Storici
dell'Università degli Studi di Milano - Milano University Press

<https://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/SSMD>

ISSN 2611-318X

DOI 10.54103/2611-318X/20170

Families, alliances, clientage and urban space: the case of the Genoese *Alberghi* (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries)*

Denise Bezzina
Università degli Studi di Genova
denise.bezzina@unige.it

«L'albergo è un istituto a carattere demo-topografico. Questo significa che, principio di organizzazione della popolazione sulla base di un comune *cognomen*, esso è anche principio di organizzazione dello spazio cittadino e conseguentemente principio di distinzione socio-politica»¹.

These words, written by Edoardo Grendi over forty years ago (1975), and well-known to those who are acquainted with the history of Genoa, encapsulate the very essence of the *alberghi*, framing them as an associative form of spatial control. Writing more than a decade before (1962) and focusing on Genoa's urban fabric and social structure in the later Middle Ages, Jacques Heers had already underscored the role of the *alberghi* as a coordinating force². Put simply, the *alberghi* were

* This article is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 839001. GenALMA – Kinship, Alliance and Urban Space: The Genoese 'Alberghi' in the Late Middle Ages (c. 1150 - c. 1450). The project has been carried out at the CNRS – Centre Roland Mousnier (Sorbonne Université), as host institution. The information and views set out in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of the Research Executive Agency (REA). The REA or any person acting on its behalf are not responsible for the use which may be made of the information contained therein.



¹ GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, pp. 244-245.

² HEERS, *Urbanisme et structure sociale*, p. 384. The scholar later (1976) dedicated much attention to the Genoese confederacies, by placing the *alberghi* against the more general European framework in his synthesis HEERS, *Le clan familial*.

family confederacies gathering aristocratic families under a common surname. These are attested from the late thirteenth century and gradually developed and evolved until the late sixteenth century when the system came abruptly to an end³. But the evolution of these confederacies is a complex one, far too complex to be summed up in a single sentence, so before delving into the discussion proper, it is useful to provide a general overview of how the system developed or at least, of what we know about the *alberghi* at the current state of research.

1. *An overview: past approaches and unresolved issues*

Grendi's careful analysis, as Paola Guglielmotti has stressed⁴, provides us with a rather well-rounded picture of the setup that these family confederacies had acquired towards the beginning of the fifteenth century. Such an image, however, tends to be invariably projected backwards and applied to the previous two centuries, as an all-embracing explanation of the *albergo*. But the confederacies described by Grendi bear little resemblance to the late thirteenth-century *alberghi*. In a nutshell, in the 1260s, when it is first attested in the civic annals, the term *albergo* is probably synonymous with *domus* and indicates an aristocratic kin group but not necessarily its allies⁵. In this sense, the *alberghi* are not much different from aristocratic households attested, for instance, in the Veneto area and studied by Andrea Castagnetti in the 1990s⁶. Thus, the earliest known *albergo* gathering multiple families, that of the Squarciafico (established in 1297), is perhaps a unique case and does not reflect the typical *albergo* in the early phases of the phenomenon⁷.

³ On the first attestation, see note 5. The *alberghi* dissolved in 1579; despite the presence of abundant documentation, the vicissitudes of the confederacies up until that date are still obscure and need to be explored through in-depth research. For a general overview of the development of the Genoese political class from the *Quattrocento* and throughout early modern times see BITOSI, *I confini dell'oligarchia*. Although the *alberghi* have been considered a main characteristic of Genoa, similar family setups are attested elsewhere in Liguria and in Piedmont, and specifically in Asti, Chieri and Turin, where they are referred to as *hospicia*. On the matter see BORDONE, *Progetti nobiliari*, GRAVELA, *Il corpo della città*, pp. 269-271, and MADDALENA, *Le torri degli hospicia a Chieri*.

⁴ See GUGLIELMOTTI, in this monographic issue also for a detailed overview and discussion of past historiography on the *alberghi*. For a general overview, the main references are: GUGLIELMOTTI, «Agnacio seu parentella», GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, KAMENAGA, *Changing to a new surname*.

⁵ The very first attestation refers to the Spinola family dates from 1265, GUGLIELMOTTI, «Agnacio seu parentella», p. 25. The chronicler mentions: «Obertus Spinulla cum Thoma fratre suo et quibusdam iuvenibus de albergo suo» (*Annali genovesi*, 4, p. 71).

⁶ CASTAGNETTI, *Famiglie di governo*, pp. 15-16.

⁷ The *albergo* gathered six different kin groups (Squarciafico, Bollerato, Papaione, de Rodulfis, Urseto and Zerbino) whose members decided to adopt a common *cognomen*. The document that sanctions this decision does not contain the term *albergo* and is transcribed in GUGLIELMOTTI, «Agnacio seu parentella», pp 19-20.

From the early fourteenth century references to families joining others begin to be attested in private records. It is at this point that the term *albergo* begins to become synonymous with the lineage and the families associated with it. From the 1370s onwards we can speak in terms of numbers: on the threshold of the fifteenth century one can count a total of 97 *alberghi*⁸. By that time, the aristocratic *alberghi* had acquired a more eminently political role in opposition to the *populares* when offices began to be distributed equally between these two segments of the polity⁹. At the same time, the number of *alberghi* had dwindled, so that in 1414, 74 confederacies gathering about 200 families are attested¹⁰. There are also indications that life within the alliance began to be regulated through *capitoli*, which also established the rules for entry within the confederacy¹¹. It is clear therefore, that by the early 1400s, the *alberghi* were less parental groups joined by fictive ties of kinship, like the Squarciafico, for example, than fully-fledged alliances.

Of course, this is a very schematic description of the evolution of the *alberghi*, but this information serves as background¹². It also serves to stress how both the configuration of the *alberghi*, as well as the very essence of the confederacies changed over time. These shifts must be factored in when considering the issues that are being discussed here. It must also be pointed out, that influence and control over urban space could depend on the size of the confederacies, which varied greatly, from very small entities to extensive families and alliances¹³. In this sense, one question that needs to be raised is the extent to which changes in the configuration of alliances might have affected the relationship of single *alberghi* with the built environment, and vice versa, the ways in which space and how it was configured might have influenced the connections among *alberghi* as well as between the *alberghi* and allied families (or potential allies).

⁸ GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, p. 245.

⁹ PETTI BALBI, *Una città*, p. 117.

¹⁰ Those listed in the *Possessionum* register of 1414 (ASGe, Antico Comune, *Possessionum*, 559). Also called *Gabella Possessionum*, it contains the lists of dwellings of the members of each *albergo*, ordered by *compagna*, with precise indications on the location of the properties. The register has been used by Poleggi and Grossi Bianchi to map out the residences of the *alberghi* in the early fifteenth century, GROSSI BIANCHI - POLEGGI, *Una città portuale*, pp. 176-177. An interactive digital version of the map is available on the Geoportal of the Comune di Genova: <https://mappe.comune.genova.it/MapStore2/#/viewer/openlayers/1000000789>. For a critical overview of the 1414 register see BEZZINA, *Propriété immobilière*, pp. 165-176.

¹¹ Only two such *capitoli* have been found so far, one relative to the Cattaneo family, whose origins date to at least the late thirteenth century, and the other to the Franchi *albergo*, which was a more recent creation and sprung out of the consortium for the management of the Maona of Corsica (see PETTI BALBI, *I maonesi*). Despite the documents are just two, there is no reason to believe that these were the only ones that were written. The documents have been published in GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, pp. 291-300.

¹² I am currently working on an in-depth study which traces the development of the *alberghi* over the course of the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries, which will take into consideration also the two *capitoli* mentioned in the previous footnote and will further expand on the development of the Genoese family confederacies.

¹³ For a discussion see BEZZINA, *Propriété immobilière*, p. 177.

In fact, one of the main characteristics of these alliances, according to Grendi, was the proclivity for monopolizing specific neighbourhoods through their peculiar residential patterns. Strategies for the control of key buildings and neighbourhoods were very common in communal Italy: recently, Enrico Faini has brought to attention the Florentine *pacta turris*, which were essentially aimed at organizing political alliances and coopting groups of individuals into confederacies¹⁴. The little-studied statutes regulating the alliance of the Corbolani of Lucca (1288) is likewise redolent of such cases¹⁵. These tendencies had been observed even before, particularly by legal historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century¹⁶. These forms of control and organization of urban space had certainly a political function, but the impact on social interaction of these strategies and of the heavy investments in, and reorganization of, the built environment from the late twelfth century onwards should not be downplayed.

The issue of the relationship between families, the development of the urban fabric, and political and social preeminence has recently come to the forefront of scholars' agendas¹⁷. The topic is of particular importance when it comes to Genoa partly because its late medieval history is dominated by the presence of the *alberghi*. Moreover, when it comes to the chief Ligurian city, an extraordinarily rich documentary landscape¹⁸, enables not only to trace their development from the first attestations in the second half of the thirteenth century, but also to make a step backwards and consider the long genetic phase, so to speak, of these institutions.

Even before Grendi's seminal study, the relationship between the *albergo* and urban space had been emphasized by urbanist historians Luciano Grossi Bianchi and Ennio Poleggi who, starting from the late 1960s, began to consider issues related to the development of the urban fabric, also addressing the question of territoriality. Grossi Bianchi and Poleggi, however, envisioned the *alberghi* as somewhat closed and isolated entities – «islets» as put by Poleggi – centered around the main family buildings and anchored in specific neighbourhoods¹⁹. In doing so, Poleggi has somewhat dismissed forms social interaction among individuals of different social standing. In their still fundamental reconstruction of the city in

¹⁴ FAINI, *Società di torre*, p. 33 and *Id.*, *Per uno studio*.

¹⁵ BONGI, *Statuto inedito*.

¹⁶ For example, NICCOLAI, *I consorzi nobiliari*, SANTINI, *Società delle torri*, and GOZZADINI, *Delle torri gentilizie*.

¹⁷ It has been for example, one of the themes that has been tackled within the ERC-funded Advanced Grant project *Petrifying Wealth*. But it has also been at the core of recent studies, such as NEVOLA, *Siena*, and ATKINSON, *Architecture*, which focuses on Florence. For a general discussion on historiography, refer to the introduction to this monographic issue.

¹⁸ As it is widely known, Genoa preserves the oldest and most extensive collection of notarial registers which date to the mid-twelfth century; these have been inventoried by: COSTAMAGNA, *Cartolari notarili* and BOLOGNA, *Cartolari notarili*. In addition to private records, a series of fiscal registers which date to the late fourteenth century, shed further light on the relationship between the aristocracy and the built environment: POLONIO, *L'amministrazione*. For a discussion on Genoese sources see MACCHIAVELLO - ROVERE, *The written sources* and GUGLIEMOTTI, *Genova*, part 2.

¹⁹ POLEGGI, *Le contrade*, p. 19.

the Middle Ages, published in 1980, the two urbanist historians have suggested a class-based «structural division» of the city which was reflected in the built environment²⁰ and differentiated residential areas²¹.

Grendi, on the other hand, has tended to view the *alberghi* in opposition to the *conestagie* – the smaller territorial divisions, originally conceived as basis for the city's military recruitment, but later used for fiscal purposes – within which the *populares* were placed. Along with the *compagne* (the 8 later 10 broad districts into which the city was divided), these subdivisions explain, at least in part, political, social and economic ties. All in all, therefore, past historiography has tended to portray a rather rigid image, reflecting the idea of a certain 'zoning'. In her article, Paola Guglielmotti points out a certain fluidity in the different terms that were used to indicate the multiple topographical subdivisions of the city (*conestagie*, *contrate*), which often overlap, emphasizing how the basic division of society should be treated with caution²².

When considering the *alberghi* one of the main problems that needs to be addressed is still the relationship between these confederacies and the actual control of urban space. In what ways could they aspire to maintain a firm grip on specific segments of the city? What role did the *alberghi* play in orienting settlement strategies? How did the presence of the *alberghi* influence social relations and networks? Through their reconstructive work, Grendi, Heers, and Poleggi and Grossi Bianchi have provided an excellent foundation on which to build and expand on the link between the *alberghi* and urban territoriality. My intention here, is therefore neither to distort what has already been acquired by past historiography, nor to provide a comprehensive assessment on the topic – given the limited space and that research is still ongoing. The aim is rather to raise issues by looking at a few meaningful cases.

2. *The alberghi and urban space: a few examples*

The influence of elite families on the development of the urban fabric is evident from very early on. A good number of families of the rising consular aristocracy soon put down solid roots in clearly recognizable neighbourhoods, as happened, for example, for the Doria who, as early as the twelfth century, began to invest in the neighbourhood of Soziglia by building their residences around the aristo-

²⁰ «[...] quella divisione strutturale della città [...] per cui alle grosse divisioni sociali tra classi dominanti e classi subalterne, corrispondono tessiture urbane e tipologie edilizie differenziate», GROSSI BIANCHI - POLEGGI, *Una città portuale*, p. 195.

²¹ An area composed of long and narrow neighbourhoods inhabited by artisans and individuals of lower social standing, and a second, at the heart of the city, where the elites resided: «dove ai raggruppamenti sociali degli 'alberghi' corrispondono nuclei edilizi ognuno coerente ad una sua autonomia morfologica d'impianto, i quali pare siano venuti crescendo fino a saldarsi in un gigantesco puzzle che si estende a tutte le aree centrali», *ibidem*, p. 168.

²² Once again, see GUGLIELMOTTI, *Problemi di territorialità urbana*.

cratic church of St. Matteo²³. The *de Nigro*, another ancient consular family²⁴, had similarly established their main residence in the *compagna* of Soziglia, close to the very heart of the city²⁵. The original settlement eventually grew along with the family so that in 1342, it needed to be restructured to make way for a broad internal courtyard²⁶. Fiscal records of the early fifteenth century show that almost two centuries after the first attestation, the residences of the *albergo de Nigro de Banciis* were still located in the same place²⁷. This proclivity for maintaining a solid presence in the specific neighbourhoods, and especially in the very heart of the city²⁸, eventually influenced urban toponymy: there is no shortage, in fact, of references to distinct spots and areas which were associated with a specific *albergo*. The fiscal register of 1414, for example is replete with such references: *plathea illorum de Marinis*²⁹, *plathea illorum Lercariis*³⁰, *contrata illorum de Mari*³¹, *carrubeo illorum de Promontorio*³², and so on.

This strong connection between the neighbourhood where elite families resided and the *alberghi* also emerges from the way individuals were recorded in fiscal records. In the *Possessionum* register of 1369, which can be described as a preparatory booklet recording all transfers of property made both by nobles and individuals of lesser social standing, a clear difference can be seen between the two. If for those belonging to an *albergo* it was considered sufficient to indicate the surname and *compagna* to which they belonged, since they could be easily identified, the non elite were listed with much more precise topographical indications, including the *compagna* but also the *contrata* where they lived³³. Thus, in 1369, Caterina wife of Luchino Gentile, of the eponymous *albergo* was recorded simply as *de compagna Porte Nove*³⁴, while Francesco Ventura *piscator* was identified as *de compagna Castri cuntrata Sancti Naçari*³⁵.

Such tendencies for maintaining a solid territorial foothold are also evident in the proclivity of families for safeguarding and transmitting documents attest-

²³ EAD., *I Doria*.

²⁴ Family members had occupied government posts since the early decades of the twelfth century. On this *albergo* see, BEZZINA, *I de Nigro*.

²⁵ *I libri iurium*, I/1, n. 272, February 2, 1186, pp. 405-407.

²⁶ ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 23.2, notary Leonardo Osbergerio, 1342, December 31, ff. 2r-6v.

²⁷ ASGe, *Antico Comune, Possessionum*, 559, ff. 232-240.

²⁸ Despite in the mid-fourteenth century the number of *compagne* increased from 8 to 10, with the addition of Borgo Santo Stefano and Borgo San Tommaso, none of the *alberghi* listed in the fiscal cartulary of 1414 (ASGe, *Antico Comune, Possessionum*, 559) is registered in the more recently-created *compagne*. On the *compagne*, see GUGLIEMOTTI, *Problemi di territorialità urbana*.

²⁹ ASGe, *Antico Comune, Possessionum*, 559, f. 136.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 168.

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 144.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 211.

³³ As concerns identifying labels of city dwellers, for a comparison with Marseille, see SMAIL, *Imaginary Cartographies*, pp. 203ff.

³⁴ ASGe, *Antico Comune, Possessionum*, 558, f. 45v.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 36v.

ing their property rights across the generations. In 1258, for example, Corrado di Castello, a member of an ancient aristocratic family that later became an *albergo*³⁶, was able to produce a consular *laus* dated 1176 attesting his right to erect pillars in front of his family's house, in order to obtain permission from the commune to build on public land³⁷.

The aristocratic urban residential complexes became an expression of power and identity that had to be safeguarded: this is particularly evident from wills which often contain very specific arrangements aimed at protecting such buildings. On June 24, 1295, Tedisio *de Camilla*, son of the late Ottobono, chaplain to the Apostolic See and holder of numerous benefices in the diocese of England, dictated his last will and testament to notary Vassallino *de Agneto*³⁸. Tedisio was a scion of an aristocratic family that had built its fortunes through participation in long-distance trade over the course of the twelfth century. His forefathers had come to occupy political posts from the early 1200s, during the years of transition to the podesterial regime and their presence was still strong in the civic government³⁹. Tedisio had no direct descendant. He therefore had to lay down his last wishes carefully in order to avoid conflict, and more importantly, to make sure that the presence of the *albergo de Camilla* in Genoa remained strong and cohesive. It is therefore not surprising that in drawing up his will he gave particular attention precisely to whom to bequeath his key properties.

The first to be mentioned in the document is half a tower located in the city, which he left to his nephews Malqualdo and Federico, sons of his late brother Oberto, specifying that the other half already belonged to the two (who probably inherited it from their father). His intentions were clearly to ensure that the property remained in the hands of his *albergo*: the testator inserted a clause to prohibit *in perpetuum* any transfer of the property «extra albergom seu progeniem

³⁶ Members of the family had occupied consular posts since the 1120s, OLIVIERI, *Serie dei consoli*, pp. 465-466. On the family see also FILANGIERI, *Famiglie e gruppi dirigenti*, pp. 30-33.

³⁷ *I libri iurium*, I/4, n. 765, 1258, January 20, pp. 366-368.

³⁸ Genova, Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Ms. 328/30, 1295, June 24, n.n. The will, which is quite well-known because it establishes also a legacy for the foundation of a monastery in Albaro (a small locality located a few kilometers outside Genoa, see note 39) is very long but incomplete and has come down to us in a copy probably written at the end of the fifteenth century. The document is among a set of miscellaneous documents relative to the *de Camilla* which were donated in the late nineteenth century to the Società Ligure di Storia Patria, BELGRANO, *Rendiconto*, p. CLIV.

³⁹ Simone *de Camilla* was consul for the year 1210 and Ottobono *de Camilla* occupied a post in one of the civic courts in 1211, OLIVIERI, *Serie dei consoli*, pp. 464. The family arrived later on the political scene than other powerful families that gathered in *alberghi*. Yet, the family's aspirations for political power became evident by the end of the twelfth century. In 1197 Angelerio, Simone's son, bought a *bancum* in the city's abattoirs and the relative butchering rights. Two years later Simone was one of the appointed *rectores* in charge of the control of public finances. On the family's investments and interests in the twelfth century, see FILANGIERI, *Famiglie e gruppi dirigenti*, pp. 154-155. Family members occupied posts in the assembly during the thirteenth century, including Ottobono, in all probability Tedisio's father, *I libri iurium*, I/6, n. 1031, 1254, November 20, pp. 170-172; n. 1056, 1256, November 17, pp. 218-220.

illorum de Camilla». In case the two brothers failed to comply, Tedisio specified that the tower would revert to «illos heredes qui existerent masculi ex fratribus meis et ipsos fratres meos, si viverent in stripem et non in capita». The original beneficiaries would be excluded from inheriting. He additionally established that should the two transfer their own share of the tower to anyone outside the *albergo*, they would be obliged to pay «illi seu illis ex progenie illorum de Camilla cuius vel quorum esset domus alba dicti Guillermi fratris mei quem est sita ante dictam turrem» 1,000 Genoese *lire* as penalty. He also prevented his brother, Guglielmo, who owned the said house opposite the family tower, from selling the dwelling to individuals who were not members of the *albergo de Camilla*, establishing a penalty of 1,000 Genoese *lire* to be paid to his kindred in case the clause was violated.

Tedisio established the same binding conditions in regard to an additional dwelling in the same neighbourhood, to another two of his nephews, Manfredo and Enrico, sons of Tedisio's late brother Agelino, who already lived in the bequeathed house. As for the tower and Guglielmo's house, these could only be transferred to the closest male agnates. All properties in question were almost certainly located in Piazza Campetto, which was at the time referred to as the *contrata de Camilla*, where the family had found residence by the early thirteenth century and where they had financed the construction of their family church dedicated to St. Paul in 1216⁴⁰. Interestingly enough, at the time the family had clearly expressed that the reason for the church's construction was their inability to have a safe access to the nearby church of St. Maria delle Vigne, in a period of open civic conflict in which the *de Camilla* had been involved⁴¹.

Yet, Tedisio's will contains another piece of information which is particularly telling of the reality of living in a populous city and the lack of supply of residential properties, as opposed to the ideal of the *albergo* of keeping the family together in the same *contrata*. The testator expressed his wish that his nephew Giovannino and his brothers, sons of Tedisio's late brother Tommaso, receive 1000 Genoese *lire* plus an additional 1000 Genoese *lire* «pro habendo et emendo unam habitationem sive domum pro eis ubi possint Ianua habitare». The testator did not state that his nephews had to find a property in the same neighbourhood where the *de Camilla* lived, perhaps aware that it would be difficult, even with such a hefty sum, to acquire a residence there: his aim was to get his nephews closer to the other *albergo* members.

Tedisio was undoubtedly a prominent member of his family, and one can read his will to maintain his *albergo's* presence in the *contrata* and to direct future ter-

⁴⁰ The noble parish of St. Paul had been built in 1216 by Simone *de Camilla* who owned a *loggia* and a tower precisely in Campetto. The church was built on 6 *tabulae* of land which Simone donated to the archbishop who granted the dedication to Saint Paul in 1217. Simone endowed the church with an annuity and reserved the right for himself and his successors to present and appoint its rector, PAOLOCCI, *Il primo insediamento*, pp. 1215-1216.

⁴¹ GUGLIELMOTTI, *I Doria*, p. 180. The skirmishes which had involved members of the *de Camilla* and Pignolli families had begun in 1216 and continued through 1217, *Annali genovesi*, 2, pp. 140, 144.

ritorial strategies through his choice of beneficiaries⁴². Another example, dated 1342, concerns a member of the *albergo de Nigro de Sancti Laurentii*, who in his will forbade the alienation, for a period of 100 years, of his house located in a central position in front of the cathedral of St. Lorenzo. It should also be stressed that these two cases provide clear and specific information on strategies in respect to immovable property precisely because of an absence of direct heirs. A similar inclination can be observed through substitution clauses, which start to become more common in the late thirteenth century⁴³, in parallel, on the one hand with the development of regulations aimed at reinforcing patrimonial transmission along the male line, and on the other, with the first appearance of the *alberghi*⁴⁴.

Property could otherwise be used as a means to disrupt and damage the *albergo*, and as such it could prove to be a powerful tool, in case relationships became fraught. Such a situation is clearly demonstrated by another will, dating from the early fourteenth century. On May 16, 1310, Filippo *della Volta*, member of an ancient aristocratic family that had recently formed the *albergo Cattaneo della Volta*, dictated his testamentary dispositions⁴⁵. The della Volta kinship was one of the most long-lasting parental groups in the city's political scene: they had occupied government posts since the very inception of the *compagna communis* from which the Genoese commune developed and by 1186 they had already established their residence near the market of San Giorgio, in the very heart of the city in an area that had been enclosed by the ancient walls⁴⁶.

⁴² The same attention to maintaining his family's presence, though, was directed elsewhere, outside the city. The testator established that a castle he possessed was to be held in rotation by the eldest male of each family nucleus that made up the *albergo de Camilla*. Tedisio also established a legacy and a parcel of land for the foundation of a female monastery, built in 1299, and dedicated to Santa Chiara. It should be stressed that the testator specified that the place where the monastery was to be built adjoined a *loggia* and that the said *loggia* «sit et remanere debeat perpetuo ad usu et honore heredum meorum et descendentium ex eis», Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Ms. 328/30, 1295, June 24, n.n.

⁴³ A case in point, dates from a few years earlier (1294), is relative to Manuele Zaccaria, brother of the more well-known Benedetto, who only had an underage son whom he established his universal heir. Among his dispositions, he left clear instructions in the event of his son's untimely death in regard to his property in Genoa, and especially a tower located in the heart of the city, BEZZINA, *The two wills*, n. 2, pp. 223-227.

⁴⁴ By the late thirteenth century, the principles of *exclusio propter dotem* and *exclusio propter masculos* had not only become well-rooted in practice by enforced by law in a specific rubric in the so-called Statutes of Pera, the first extant legal code for Genoa. On these legal developments see EAD., *Dote, antefatto, augmentum dotis*, pp. 90-94.

⁴⁵ ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, notary Ugolino Cerrino, 134, 1310, May 16, f. 222v.

⁴⁶ They started occupying consular posts from 1099 and their presence was constant throughout the consular age, OLIVIERI, *Serie dei consoli*, pp. 478-479. The information on the location of the della Volta residences in the late twelfth century come from a document, dated 1186, that reports the measurements of three urban markets, *I libri iurium*, I/1, n. 272, 1186, February 2, pp. 405-407. On this family see also FILANGIERI, *Famiglie e gruppi dirigenti*, pp. 28, 69, 117, 131 and *I Cattaneo della Volta*.

Filippo was probably one of the more affluent members of his family⁴⁷ and like Tedisio *de Camilla*, he had no direct male heir, but only two daughters. One had been placed in a monastery, while the other, Francolina, had been married off to a member of the *albergo de Nigro*. The document is rather peculiar: contrary to the well-established practice of establishing male family members as heirs, Filippo appointed several women, among whom his own daughter Francolina. The reason for such a choice is explained by the testator himself: his relationship with the other members of the *albergo* della Volta had become strained. In his will Filippo lamented *in anima* that he had never received the 40000 Genoese lire for the castle of Tagliolo and other properties which he had apparently transferred to members of his *albergo*. Filippo lamented that «promisionum pro quas predicti pro toto albergo illorum de Volta vel maiori parte ipsius albergui [...] non fuerunt mihi observate».

He further declared that the contract that sanctioned the property transfer was to be annulled and that these would devolve on his universal heirs, who, as stated were all women, and one might infer, that like Francolina, all were probably female members of the *albergo* della Volta. But more importantly, all of these women, except one, had married into very important families in the city's political arena: apart from the *de Nigro*, the Cattaneo Mallone, Spinola, Doria, and the marquesses Malaspina. Even if all of the mentioned heirs would inherit equally (therefore all property had to be managed *pro indiviso*) at least ideally, establishing these women as heirs meant that key buildings, that included a tower located in Genoa, would be passed to other noble families and *alberghi*, which would consolidate their position to the detriment of the della Volta kinship. This was therefore a form of retribution devised by the testator, and it is significant that Filippo chose to undermine his *albergo's* control of urban (and extra-urban) space. Clearly, his aim was that the property would no longer be associated with his kinship: in his will he declared that the property could not be alienated «in aliquem qui fuerit vel cognominetur seu exiverit de albergo qui consuevit nominari de Volta». In case any of the heirs failed to comply, the instrument of sale would be annulled, and the property would revert to other heirs or their male descendants, except for the tower in which the testator lived. In that case, this would be passed to Amiceto della Volta, another nephew, who could not to sell the property to any other family member. The only other male family members he mentioned were two of his nephews, Matteo and Manfredo, sons of his late brother, Bonifacio della Volta *iudex*, to whom he bequeathed two houses in Genoa.

Despite the efforts towards maintaining control, the will of a single individual could potentially undermine the cohesive set-up of an *albergo*, and jeopardize the family's control over portions of the urban space. It is therefore not surprising that eventually this became reflected in legislation: the 1375 statutes introduced a law establishing a right of pre-emption in both sales and rents not only of houses but

⁴⁷ As evident by the hefty sum he left for *pro anima* legacies, including 2000 Genoese lire that were partly destined for completing a monastery in Albaro which he himself had founded.

also of land in favour of male agnates up to the third canonical degree. This norm was clearly aimed not only at avoiding the chances of such properties falling into the hands of female relatives⁴⁸, but also the risks brought about by situations of conflict within the confederacy, such as the one illustrated by Filippo della Volta's will.

Another point needs to be addressed: wills lay bare how urban territorial control was central to the *alberghi*, but at the same time, they provide information on the importance of extra urban property. In this sense, both Tedisio *de Camilla* and Filippo della Volta show equal concern for property within and outside the city: Tedisio by making sure that his *castrum* was properly managed by all the members of the *albergo* and by bequeathing a legacy for the foundation of a monastery in Albaro, where he lived⁴⁹. Filippo, on the other hand, was adamant in preventing his broader kin from acquiring the castle of Tagliolo, in Southern Piedmont. These two cases highlight a crucial issue: to reconsider the development of these alliances and assess the weight of projects of territorial control within the city, it appears essential to look also at investments and strategies for controlling areas in the *districtus*⁵⁰, and even beyond, in the colonies. Past literature on the *alberghi* deals exclusively with their presence in the city⁵¹. Scholars that have considered the activities of aristocratic families outside Genoa, on the other hand, have not taken into consideration how membership to a confederacy might have shaped their attitude towards investment in property outside the city⁵². So, what is the connection between urban and non-urban investments by the *alberghi*? Were there more distinctly urban confederacies? At the current state of research, we only have clues: these questions may be answered properly only through a thorough prosopographical reconstruction of a sample of *alberghi* over the long term.

3. *The alberghi, residential proximity and social interaction*

The documents examined above have shown the need of the *alberghi* to maintain a solid presence in the area in which they resided. Grendi has even suggested that the *alberghi* required all members (including those who came from other families

⁴⁸ BEZZINA, *Married women*, p. 124.

⁴⁹ See note 42.

⁵⁰ The *districtus* was the area, corresponding roughly to modern day Liguria, over which the Genoese commune tried to assert its rule during the late Middle Ages. For a definition see SAVELLI, *Scrivere lo statuto*, pp. 74-87 and GUGLIEMOTTI, *Genova e il territorio ligure*.

⁵¹ Namely: GRENDI, *Profilo storico*; GROSSI BIANCHI - POLEGGI, *Una città portuale*; HEERS, *Urbanisme et structure sociale*.

⁵² The relationship between city and *districtus* has been thoroughly studied by GUGLIEMOTTI, *Genova e il territorio Ligure*; EAD., *Ricerche sull'organizzazione*; EAD., *Genoa and Liguria*, which provide a solid foundation for examining the issue. Research on the *alberghi*'s strategies in the Mediterranean is lacking even though the Genoese presence outside the city has been one of the main themes addressed by scholars of medieval Genoa. For an example of this kind of approach see BASSO, *Donnos Terramagnesos*, and BALARD, *I Giustiniani*.

and were progressively included in the confederacy) to find residence in dwellings adjacent to the building conglomerate of the confederacy⁵³. Was this really so? Recent research based on fiscal records has raised questions in this regard, especially given that the confederacies continued to welcome individuals and families in the alliance⁵⁴. In this sense, contiguity to the property of members of an *albergo* was perhaps sought more outside the city walls than inside, where it was easier to find and invest in adjacent properties. This is the case, for example, of the *de Zilliano* or Zignani family, who entered the *albergo* Spinola di Luccoli before 1369 and were registered in the same *albergo* even after Andrea Doria's reform of 1528⁵⁵. The *de Zilliano* are not listed among the other *albergo* members who held property in Genoa in the 1414 fiscal register (which lists all the property of members of the *alberghi* located in Genoa and its outskirts)⁵⁶. However, by the second half of the fourteenth century, members of this kinship had bought lands adjoining those of the original members of the *albergo* Spinola di Luccoli in the area of Quarto, immediately outside the city⁵⁷.

On the other hand, in certain cases residential proximity may have been a key factor in pushing families to join an *albergo*. This seems to have been the case of the already mentioned *albergo* Squarciafico, formally created in 1297⁵⁸, and of the Scipioni and Centurioni, that by 1414 gathered several kinships⁵⁹. Residential proximity, however, might not have been a prerequisite for the two confederacies borne out of the *maone* of Chios and Corsica, respectively the *albergo* Giustiniani and the *albergo* Franchi⁶⁰. Unlike most of the other *alberghi*, which gathered around a single family, these two alliances included individuals that came from other *alberghi* and others that did not belong to any at all⁶¹. Did the creation of these two peculiar confederacies serve to redirect investments in property in Genoa, or was the proclivity for controlling space reflected in Chios and in Corsica where members of the two alliances had broad interests?

It should further be noted that among those who joined the Giustiniani in the late fourteenth century were the Adorno and the Campofregoso⁶², who monopo-

⁵³ GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, p. 249.

⁵⁴ On the matter, see BEZZINA, *Propriété immobilière*, pp. 188-189. A clear example is the document attesting the entrance of several members of the Figo and Turturino families in the *albergo de Franchi* which dates from 1393, and is published in GRENDI, *Profilo storico*, pp. 291-296.

⁵⁵ The family members are mentioned as *Spinola olim Ziliani* in a preparatory register (1369) for the one of the *cartularia Possessionum*, ASGe, Antico Comune, *Possessionum*, 558, f. 37v.

⁵⁶ See note 10.

⁵⁷ ASGe, Antico Comune, *Possessionum*, 558, f. 37v.

⁵⁸ GUGLIEMOTTI, «Agnacio seu parentella», pp. 89-94.

⁵⁹ BEZZINA, *Propriété immobilière*, p. 188. Unlike the Squarciafico, the Scipioni and the Centurioni adopted a surname that did not belong to any of the families that joined to form the two *alberghi*.

⁶⁰ That is the consortia responsible to managing the two Genoese colonies, see note 11.

⁶¹ For example, among those who joined the Giustiniani were members of the *de Nigro* and *de Castro*, who already belonged to an *albergo*, BALARD, *I Giustiniani*, p. 135.

⁶² On the Adorno and the Campofregoso, who gained political prestige by the

lized the office of doge from the late fourteenth century. These two families did not constitute an *albergo*, but seemingly the members who joined the Giustiniani kept their *cognomen*⁶³. According to the 1363 and 1413 *leges*, the office of doge had to remain in the hands of the *populares*⁶⁴, which largely explains why the two kin groups failed to establish their own aristocratic confederacy. But precisely because of their link with the *populares* and political clout, the residential choices (which are yet to be reconstructed) of these two families and how these interfered with (or adjusted to) those of the *nobiles* gathered in *alberghi* might prove crucial for understanding the territorial strategies of the aristocracy.

The question of residential proximity and territorial control is therefore quite complex. All in all, however, hints that the *alberghi*'s settlements in the city did not actually accommodate all members of the confederacies abound. As seen before, for example, Tedisio *de Camilla*, had to bequeath a sum of money to provide for his nephews' relocation in the city. This seems to imply that space must have been a problem already in the late thirteenth century, especially among expanding families. This leads to another crucial issue when considering the *alberghi*: what was the actual numerical strength of each confederacy? The data that has been collected so far is misleading. The 1414 tax register, that I have just mentioned, gives the impression of completeness, but it excludes members who only possessed property outside Genoa and its immediate outskirts (and those who lived with other members of the *albergo*). In this regard, other elements must be factored in, such as a certain peripatetic tendency on the part of the aristocracy, who, as said earlier, had interests also outside Genoa, or personal choices, so that one can easily infer that an unquantifiable segment of members of any given *albergo* did not actually live in the city.

Other significant examples are provided by those kin groups that chose to split and settle in different areas (and *compagne*) of the city. Already at the end of the twelfth century, several members of the Spinola family, at the time in full expansion, decided to settle in the area of Luccoli, in the *compagna* of Soziglia. They chose to establish their residence in the *compagna* of Porta Nuova, away from the building complex of the family which was located in the area of San Luca, eventually resulting into two distinct *alberghi*⁶⁵. A similar case relates to the two branches of the *albergo de Nigro*. The earliest settlement was located in Banchi, the commercial heart of the city, and attested already in the late twelfth century, while the other is first attested in the late thirteenth century. This resulted in two different confederacies: the *albergo de Nigro de Banciis* in the *compagna* of Soziglia, and the *albergo de Nigro de Sancti Laurencii*, in the eponymous *compagna*⁶⁶. The *de Mari* instead, split into three separate settlements: in Luccoli, near the Spinola, and in

mid-fourteenth century, see PETTI BALBI, *Simon Boccanegra*, pp. 241-246.

⁶³ BALARD, *I Giustiniani*, p. 134

⁶⁴ PETTI BALBI, *Una città*, p. 117.

⁶⁵ MUSARRA, *Gli Spinola*, p. 56.

⁶⁶ ASCHERI, *Notizie storiche*, p. 2.

Plathea Mamorea, both in the *compagna* of Soziglia, while another branch settled in the *compagna* of San Lorenzo⁶⁷. In all probability, the reasons for choosing to relocate in another area have less to do with internal conflict than with practical needs of space and opportunity.

These *alberghi* were located in distinct neighbourhoods, often situated in different *compagne*, and from a fiscal perspective they were treated as separate bodies. However, in other sources a proper distinction between confederacies pertaining to the same families was generally made only when describing the physical location of urban residences and not in reference to single members of the *albergo*. Thus, a contract dated 1393 mentions the *cuntrata noblium de Malocellis de Banciis*. But in the same document the notary registered the family members only as Malocello, without the topographical indication⁶⁸. Similar examples abound. This suggests a certain fluidity, as it were, the persistence of family bonds irrespective of the decision to reside in separate neighbourhoods and in spite of the creation of separate *alberghi*. In 1342, to resolve a conflict regarding two adjoining houses that were part of the building complex of the *albergo de Nigro de Banciis*, the members of the confederacy appointed as arbiter an *iurisperitus* who belonged to the branch of the family that had established a separate *albergo* in San Lorenzo⁶⁹. The issue at stake was very important, and it is significant that the *de Nigro de Banciis* chose to leave the decision in the hands of a relative who belonged to a different branch of the family. In this case we can detect a certain cohesion between the two *alberghi*. But did these bonds condition family strategies when it came to administering estates, establishing alliances and in creating and managing the network of social ties within the city? Did this result in forms of control that extended over multiple neighbourhoods and *compagne*?

If the relationship between family confederacies and urban space may have been less rigid that historiography has assumed, their settlements can be perhaps described as veritable 'urban landmarks'. Buildings and spaces associated with aristocratic families soon took shape meeting spots and places for economic and social and political exchange. This can be easily observed when considering the places where many notaries chose to exercise their profession. Already in the late thirteenth century notary Oberto *scriba* de Mercato wrote his contracts prevalently in the house of Bonifacio della Volta⁷⁰. A good share of his (mainly commercial) contracts concern family members and their allies, especially the Mallono family, which became the *albergo* Cattaneo Mallono at the turn of the fourteenth century⁷¹. Another such example is notary Ugolino *de Scalpa*, whose deeds date from 1284. Significantly that year we see him working «in plathea

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 313, notary Andriolo Caito, 1393, June 7, f. 102rv.

⁶⁹ ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 23.2, notary Leonardo Osbergerio, 1342, December 31, ff. 2r-6v.

⁷⁰ This is evident only by skimming through the pages of the edited volumes collecting the notary's deeds: *Oberto scriba de Mercato (1186)*; *Oberto scriba de Mercato (1190)*.

⁷¹ In the same years during which the della Volta gathered to form the *albergo* Cattaneo della Volta.

Pallavicinorum et Calvorum sub Porticu domus Accursi de Pallavicinis iudicis et fratrum», but also «in plathea apud Luchulum ante palacium Domini Capitanei»⁷². To this one might add that aristocratic residences were often used as seats of government or as places where courts met: in 1285, the same notary, drew up his deeds «sub porticu palacii illorum de Auria ubi regitur Curia Consulatatus»⁷³.

As a matter of fact, 75 out of the 126 notaries whose documents dating from the late twelfth and early years of the fourteenth century have come down to us, at some point in their career worked inside or in front a property (be it a palace, a house, a shop or a store) that belonged to a member of the aristocracy⁷⁴. But this tendency can be observed even later. Between 1408 and 1415, notary Giuliano Canella drew his deeds in the area of Banchi, in the commercial heart of the city, «sub domo habitacionis Caroli Lomellini ad banchum quod teneo ego notarius infrascriptus»⁷⁵.

Several studies have shown how notaries acted as intermediaries between different segments of society⁷⁶. In late medieval Genoa, like elsewhere, very few people went through life without making recourse to a notary at least once. Given their ubiquitous presence at the service of both government and private individuals, notaries were a veritable linchpin of a web of social ties. Thanks to the presence of notaries, the urban property of the nobility became a reference point for a very broad clientele made up of individuals hailing from all walks of life who necessarily came frequently into contact with these same aristocratic families.

The extent to which this constant interaction translated into ties at a vertical level and a system of clientage is more elusive. Several clues, however, let us infer that vertical social interaction must have been quite commonplace. In his abovementioned will of 1310, Filippo della Volta, when specifying the confining properties of a house he possessed, the testator informs that his nephew Amiceto della Volta lived in the same building in which a *tabernarius* resided⁷⁷. Aristocratic dwellings typically rose upwards and were generally composed of several storeys, out of which those at ground level would generally host stores or workshops⁷⁸. Around the mid-thirteenth century, both Tommaso and Enrico *de Nigro*, for example, owned shops which they rented, and which were also places where notaries drew up their deeds⁷⁹. This typical multi-storey set up, property for rent,

⁷² ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 129, notary Ugolino *de Scalpa*, January-December 1284, ff. 8r-50v.

⁷³ ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 129; 130, notary Ugolino *de Scalpa*, March 1285, ff. 1r-7v; December 1285, ff. 18r-23v.

⁷⁴ A list of places where notaries used to draw up their deeds can be found in, COSTAMAGNA, *Cartolari notarili*, pp. 226-238.

⁷⁵ ASGe, *Notai Ignoti*, notary Giuliano Canella, F bis.1, nn.

⁷⁶ For comparison see for example COSSAR, *Venetian Notaries*, many of whom were clerics who managed to construct their own social networks, as well as the case of Marseille, where many similarities to Genoa can be observed, SMAIL, *Imaginary Cartographies*; *Id.*, *The Linguistic Cartography*.

⁷⁷ The will is discussed in note 45 and relative text.

⁷⁸ As suggested by GROSSI BIANCHI - POLEGGI, *Una città portuale*, p. 138.

⁷⁹ In 1240 Enrico *de Nigro* is attested as owner of the shop where notary Simone *de Flacono*

as well as noble parish churches, or the *loggie* of aristocratic dwellings which are first attested in the twelfth century⁸⁰, must have fostered vertical social interaction, at the same time serving as tools for territorial control and for constructing a clientage that cut across the lines of traditional social classes.

The above considerations apply also when assessing interaction among the elite. Some notaries not only choose to work in front (or inside) dwellings and buildings that belonged to aristocratic families and then *alberghi*, but often worked in close contact with them. A clear example is the case of notary Simone *Vatacii* who exercised his profession in front of the house of a judge, Pietro *de Nigro*, and whose contracts illustrate the bonds among allies⁸¹. A similar, and clearer example in this respect, is provided by notary Leonardo Osbergerio, who was active in the 1340s⁸². Osbergerio was likewise linked to a judge of the *de Nigro* family, Celesterio, who belonged to the branch that lived in the area of San Lorenzo. The notary carried out his profession in front of the house of Avundo *de Nigro*, which was situated right in front of the cathedral of St. Lorenzo, or else in front of the house of Celesterio, who lived in Vico del Filo, an important street axis, right at the corner of Avundo's dwelling⁸³. His minutes are mainly related to Celesterio's activity as *iurisperitus*: a fair share of the documents are in fact arbitrations, and the main actors members of the aristocracy – a restricted circle of 10 families (Fieschi, Spinola, Doria, Grimaldi, Lercari, Salvago, Cattaneo-Mallono, *de Mari*, Usodimare and *de Camilla*), who were in close relationship with (some even neighbours of) the *de Nigro*⁸⁴. In this sense, therefore, the area controlled by the *albergo de Nigro*, was also the site where conflicts were resolved, where family members who were well-versed in law could exert their influence (and power) in deciding on economic and patrimonial issues that would often pit allied families against each other, or else cause internal discord within the *alberghi*.

drew up his deeds (ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 20.2, December–April 1240–1241, ff. 97r–142v), while notary Guglielmo Pairarino worked in Tommaso *de Nigro's* *apotheca* between 1268 and 1272 (ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 91, ff. 1r–142v).

⁸⁰ LEANDRI, *Le logge*, p. 11.

⁸¹ And, in particular, the social and professional ties of Pietro *de Nigro iudex*, BEZZINA, *Il notaio*, p. 126.

⁸² ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 23.2, 192, 231, 275.1, notary Leonardo Osbergerio, extant acts cover the period spanning September 1340 to December 1344.

⁸³ The presence of the notary was systematic throughout the years during which we can follow his activity (1340–1344).

⁸⁴ I will only cite a few examples: Carlo Fieschi receives quittance for a sum of money he paid in compliance with the arbitral decision of Celesterio *de Nigro* (ASGe, *Notai Antichi*, 23.1, notary Leonardo Osbergerio, 1342, February 6, f. 60); Manfredo Grimaldi and Sorleone Spinola appoint Celesterio *de Nigro* as arbiter, entrusting him with the task of settling a conflict between them (*ibidem*, 1342, December 31, f. 1v); Members of the Lercari family appoint Celesterio and Giorgio *de Nigro* (likewise a *iurisperitus*) as arbiters to settle a conflict on the inheritance of Andrea Lercari (*ibidem*, 1342, March 28, ff. 73v–74v); Ambrogio Salvago acting also on behalf of Segurano Salvago's heirs, and Bernardo Doria son of the late Bernardino appoint Celesterio *de Nigro* as their arbiter to settle a dispute among them (*ibidem*, 1342, May 7, f. 135v).

4. Conclusion

It is undeniable that one of the salient traits of the *alberghi* is their close link to the urban fabric and their tendency to maintain a firm grip over specific neighbourhoods. Wills, and particularly those drawn up by individuals with no direct heir, show special attention to how key family property, seen as a key expression of the *albergo's* identity, should be passed to the next generation. Yet, one should consider that the confederacies' strategies for investment and consolidation of their presence in the city were part of a broader project, which stretched far beyond Genoa's walls. So much so, that the same documents elucidate how members of the *alberghi* placed equal attention to property outside the city. This implies that to understand properly the actual importance of urban buildings, it is essential to look at how property outside the city was conceived of and managed.

Urban properties were also a vital element of the *alberghi's* identity, through which the confederacies, and in particular the most influential ones, projected their social, economic and political prestige. The high percentage of notaries who chose to carry out their professional activities inside or in front of these buildings serves to underscore how the residences and properties of the aristocracy were veritable urban landmarks. These buildings and spaces were hubs for social interaction among individuals of different social standing, and were probably instrumental to the *alberghi* for developing a network of clients and in fostering alliances.

As seen, several questions remain unresolved: how urban the configuration of alliances might have affected the relationship of single *alberghi* with the built environment, for example. Vice versa, in what ways space and how it was configured might have influenced the connections among *alberghi* as well as between the *alberghi* and allied families (or potential allies)? To what extent family ties, alliances, and bonds of clientage crossed the, at times overlapping, borders of the *campagna*, the *contrata* and the *conestagia*? These questions will be answered only through a precise prosopographical reconstruction of single *alberghi* and families over the long term.

MANUSCRIPTS

Genova, Archivio di Stato (ASGe),

- *Antico Comune, Possessionum*, 558, 559;
- *Notai Antichi*, 20.2, notary Simone de Flacono;
- *Notai Antichi*, 23.2, 192, 231, 275.1, notary Leonardo Osbergerio;
- *Notai Antichi*, 91, notary Guglielmo Piarino;
- *Notai Antichi*, 129, 130, notary Ugolino de Scalpa;
- *Notai Antichi*, 134, notary Ugolino Cerrino;
- *Notai Antichi*, 313, notary Andriolo Caito;

- *Notai Ignoti*, notary Giuliano Canella, F bis.1.

Genova, Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Ms. 328/30.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, a cura di L.T. BELGRANO - C. IMPERIALE DI SANT'ANGELO, Roma 1890-1929.
- G.A. ASCHERI, *Notizie storiche intorno alla riunione delle famiglie in alberghi in Genova, coll'aggiunta dei Nomi de' Casati nobili e popolari etc.*, Genoa 1846.
- N. ATKINSON, *Architecture, Anxiety, and the Fluid Topography of Renaissance Florence*, D.Phil dissertation, Cornell University, 2009.
- M. BALARD, *I Giustiniani: un modello degli alberghi?*, in *Ianuensis non nascitur sed fit* [see], pp. 131-140.
- E. BASSO, *Donnos Terramagnesos. Dinamiche di insediamento signorile in Sardegna: il caso dei Doria (secoli XII-XV)*, Acireale-Rome 2018.
- L.T. BELGRANO, *Rendiconto dei lavori fatti dalla Società Ligure di Storia Patria negli anni accademici MDCCCLXV al MDCCCLXVI*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», 4 (1866), pp. LXXV-CLXXXIX.
- D. BEZZINA, *I de Nigro fra Due e Trecento: progetti familiari e modalità consociative di un albergo genovese. Prime ricerche*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», n.s. 58 (2018), pp. 5-22.
- D. BEZZINA, *Dote, antefatto, augmentum dotis: costruire il patrimonio delle donne in Liguria nei secoli XII e XIII*, in *Donne, famiglie e patrimoni a Genova e in Liguria nei secoli XII-XIII*, a cura di P. GUGLIELMOTTI, Genova 2020, pp. 69-136.
- D. BEZZINA, *Married women law and wealth in 14th-century Genoa*, in «Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge», 130/1 (2018), pp. 121-135.
- D. BEZZINA, *Il notaio Simone Vatacii: carriera notarile e mobilità professionale a Genova tra Due e Trecento*, in *Notariorum itinera. Notai liguri nel basso medioevo tra routine, mobilità e specializzazioni*, a cura di V. RUZZIN, Genova, 2018, pp. 117-152.
- D. BEZZINA, *Propriété immobilière et stratégies résidentielles de la noblesse des alberghi génois au XV^e siècle à travers le registre Possessionum (1414-1425)*, in *Choix résidentiels et contrôle de la propriété urbaine dans l'Italie du bas Moyen Âge*, ed. by EAD., in «Reti Medievali Rivista», 23/1 (2022), pp. 163-198, <https://doi.org/10.6093/1593-2214/9237>.
- D. BEZZINA, *The two wills of Manuele Zaccaria: protecting one's wealth and saving one's soul in late thirteenth-century Genoa*, in *Ianuensis non nascitur sed fit* [v.], pp. 205-230.
- C. BITOSI, *I confini dell'oligarchia. Allargamenti e delimitazioni del ceto dirigente a Genova (secc. XV-XVIII)*, in *Fra le mura della modernità. Le rappresentazioni del limite dal Cinquecento ad oggi*, a cura di L. SCALISI - C. J. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, Roma 2019, pp. 91-103.
- M. BOLOGNA, *Cartolari notarili genovesi (150-299)*, Roma 1990.

- S. BONGI, *Statuto inedito della casa de' Corbolani (XIV Dicembre MCCLXXXVII-XXX gennaio MCCLXXXVIII)*, in «Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese di Lettere, Scienze ed Arti», 24 (1886), pp. 469-487.
- R. BORDONE, *Progetti nobiliari del ceto dirigente del comune di Asti al tramonto*, in «Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino», 90 (1992), pp. 437-494, also in *Progetti e dinamiche nella società comunale italiana*, a cura di R. BORDONE - G. SERGI, Napoli 1995, pp. 279-326.
- A. CASTAGNETTI, *Famiglie di governo e storia di famiglie. Gli esempi di Verona e Padova (secoli XI-XIV)*, in *Il Veneto nel Medioevo. Le signorie trecentesche*, a cura di ID. - G.M. VARANINI, Verona 1995, pp. 201-248.
- I Cattaneo della Volta, vicende e protagonisti di una millenaria famiglia genovese*, a cura di E. CHIAVARI CATTANEO DELLA VOLTA - A. LERCARI, Genova 2017.
- A Companion to Medieval Genoa*, edited by C. BENEŠ, Leiden 2018
- R. COSSAR, *Venetian Notaries, Space and Sociability in the Trecento*, in «I Tatti Studies. Essays in the Renaissance», 19/1 (2016), pp. 23-39.
- G. COSTAMAGNA, *Cartolari notarili genovesi. Inventario (1-149)*, Roma 1956-1961.
- E. FAINI, *Società di torre e società cittadina. Sui pacta turris del XII secolo*, in *Società e poteri nell'Italia medievale. Studi degli allievi per Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur*, a cura di S. DIACCIATI - L. TANZINI, Roma 2014, pp. 19-39.
- E. FAINI, *Per uno studio del patto politico: patti di torre e società popolari nelle città italiane. Secoli XII-XIII*, in *La familia urbana: matrimonio, parentesco y linaje en la Edad Media*, editores J. Á. SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA - J. HAEMERS - C. LIDDY, Logroño 2021, pp. 201-215.
- L. FILANGIERI, *Famiglie e gruppi dirigenti a Genova (secoli XII - metà XIII)*, tesi di dottorato in Storia medievale, Università di Firenze 2010, tutors G. BARONE, J.C. MAIRE VIGUER.
- G. GOZZADINI, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna e delle famiglie alle quali prima appartennero*, Bologna 1875.
- M. GRAVELA, *Il corpo della città. Politica e parentela a Torino nel tardo Medioevo*, Roma 2017.
- E. GRENDI, *Profilo storico degli alberghi genovesi*, in «Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome», 87/1 (1975), pp. 241-302, also in *Id.*, *La repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi. Politica, carità e commercio tra Cinque e Seicento*, Bologna 1987, pp. 49-102.
- L. GROSSI BIANCHI - E. POLEGGI, *Una città portuale del Medioevo. Genova nei secoli X-XVI*, Genova 1979-1980².
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, «Agnacio seu parentella». *La genesi dell'albergo Squarciafico a Genova (1297)*, Genova 2017.
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *I Doria e la chiesa di San Matteo a Genova nella seconda metà del Duecento*, in «Fiere vicende dell'età di mezzo». *Studi per Gian Maria Varanini*, a cura di P. GUGLIELMOTTI - I. LAZZARINI, Florence 2021, pp. 163-188.
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Genoa and Liguria*, in *A Companion* [v.], pp. 49-71.
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Genova*, Spoleto 2013.

- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Genova e il territorio ligure all'inizio del Trecento: podesterie, castellanie, signorie e grandi famiglie*, in «Società e Storia», 166 (2019), pp. 703-734.
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Problemi di territorialità urbana: per una ripresa delle indagini su Genova tra secolo XII e XV*, in «Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica», VII (2023), pp. 281-306, doi: 10.54103/2611-318X/20159.
- P. GUGLIELMOTTI, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio nella Liguria medievale*, Firenze 2015.
- J. HEERS, *Le clan familial au Moyen Âge. Étude sur les structures politiques et sociales des milieux urbains*, Paris 1974.
- J. HEERS, *Urbanisme et structure sociale à Gênes au Moyen Âge*, in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, I, Milano 1962, pp. 369-412.
- Ianuensis non nascitur sed fit. *Studi per Dino Puncuh*, Genova 2019.
- Y. KAMENAGA, *Changing to a new Surname: an essay regarding the 'albergo' in medieval Genoa*, in «Mediterranean World», 16 (2001), pp. 221-235.
- G. LEANDRI, *Le logge medievali di Genova. Architettura e immagine della città*, Genoa 2023.
- I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/1, a cura di A. ROVERE, Genoa 1992.
- I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/4, a cura di S. DELLACASA, Genoa 1998.
- I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I/6, a cura di M. BIBOLINI, *Introduzione* di E. PALLAVICINO, Genova 2000.
- S. MACCHIAVELLO - A. ROVERE, *The Written Sources*, in *A Companion* [v.], pp. 27-48.
- I. MADDALENA, *Le torri degli hospicia a Chieri*, in *Case e torri medievali*, III. Atti del IV convegno di studi Case e torri medievali. Indagini sui centri dell'Italia comunale (secc. XI-XV), Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardia. Viterbo-Vetralla, 29-30 aprile 2004, a cura di E. DE MINCIS - E. GUIDONI, Roma 2005, pp. 25-36.
- A. MUSARRA, *Gli Spinola a Genova nel secolo XII. Ascesa politica, economica e sociale di un casato urbano*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», 57 (2017), pp. 5-65.
- F. NEVOLA, *Siena. Constructing the Renaissance City*, New Haven 2008.
- F. NICCOLAI, *I consorzi nobiliari ed il comune nell'alta e media Italia*, Bologna 1940.
- Oberto scriba de Mercato (1186)*, a cura di M. CHIAUDANO, Genova 1940.
- Oberto scriba de Mercato (1190)*, a cura di M. CHIAUDANO - R. MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA, Genova 1940.
- A. OLIVIERI, *Serie dei consoli del comune di Genova*, in «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», 1 (1858), pp. 155-626.
- C. PAOLOCCI, *Il primo insediamento dei Barnabiti a Genova. La chiesa di San Paolo in Campetto*, in *Incorrupta monumenta ecclesiam defendunt. Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano, prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, I. *La chiesa nella storia. Religione, cultura, costume*, 2, a cura di A. GOTTMANN - P. PIATTI - A.E. REHBERG, Città del Vaticano 2018, pp. 1211-1228.
- Petrifying Wealth. The Southern European Shift to Masonry as Collective Investment in Identity, c. 1050-1300*, <https://www.petrifyingwealth.eu>.
- G. PETTI BALBI, *Una città e il suo mare. Genova nel medioevo*, Bologna 1991.

- G. PETTI BALBI, *I maonesi e la maona di Corsica (1378-1407): un esempio di aggregazione economica e sociale*, in «Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age - Temps Modernes», 93 (1981), pp. 147-170.
- G. PETTI BALBI, *Simon Boccanegra e la Genova del '300*, Napoli 1995.
- E. POLEGGI, *Le contrade delle consorterie nobiliari a Genova tra il XII e XIII secolo*, in «Urbanistica», n. 42-43 (1964), pp. 15-20.
- V. POLONIO, *L'amministrazione della res pubblica genovese fra Tre e Quattrocento. L'archivio 'Antico Comune'*, Genova 1977 (= «Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria», n.s. 17/1).
- P. SANTINI, *Società delle torri a Firenze*, in «Archivio Storico Italiano», 20 (1887), pp. 25-204.
- R. SAVELLI, *Scrivere lo statuto, amministrare la giustizia, organizzare il territorio*, in *Repertorio degli statuti della Liguria (secc. XII-XVIII)*, a cura di R. SAVELLI, Genova 2003, pp. 3-201.
- D.L. SMAIL, *Imaginary Cartographies. Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille*, Ithaca - London 1999.
- D.L. SMAIL, *The Linguistic Cartography of Property and Power in Late Medieval Marseille*, in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. by B.A. HANAWALT - M. KOBIALKA, Minneapolis-London 1997, pp. 37-63.

All the websites mentioned are to be considered active at the date of the last consultation: August 31st, 2023.

TITLE

Families, Alliances, Clientage and Urban Space: the Case of the Genoese Alberghi (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)

Famiglie, alleanze, clientele e territorio urbano: gli alberghi genovesi (secoli XIII-XV)

ABSTRACT

Within the multifarious context of communal Italy, the Genoese aristocratic *alberghi*, known thanks to the studies of Edoardo Grendi, Ennio Poleggi and Luciano Grossi Bianchi, and Jacques Heers, stand out as a peculiar example that enables to observe the relationship between aristocracy and urban space throughout the late Middle Ages. The Genoese case is peculiar not only because of its originality, already emphasised by past literature, but also in view of the presence of extremely rich documentary sources. In a city characterised by multiple and overlapping territorial divisions (*compagne, conestagie, contrate*), it is thus possible to follow the evolution of these aristocratic confederacies (involving around 200

families of different sizes) from the early communal period. Grendi had emphasised the 'demotopographic' character of the *alberghi* which express a principle of organisation of the urban space based on a common *cognomen*. The paper aims at reconsidering the relationship between the power of the late medieval aristocratic *alberghi* and urban territory by focusing not only on strategies for maintaining control of their residential buildings, but also aspects of social interaction.

All'interno del multiforme contesto dell'Italia comunale, gli alberghi aristocratici genovesi, conosciuti grazie agli studi di Edoardo Grendi, Ennio Poleggi e Luciano Grossi Bianchi, e Jacques Heers, si distinguono come un esempio peculiare che permette di osservare il rapporto tra aristocrazia e spazio urbano durante il tardo Medioevo. Il caso genovese è particolare non solo per la sua originalità, già sottolineata dalla storiografia, ma anche per la ricchezza delle fonti documentarie. In una città caratterizzata da divisioni territoriali multiple e sovrapposte (compagne, conestagie, *contrate*), è quindi possibile seguire l'evoluzione di queste consociazioni aristocratiche (che coinvolgono circa 200 famiglie di diverse dimensioni) fin dal primo periodo comunale. Grendi aveva sottolineato il carattere 'demotopografico' degli alberghi, che esprimono un principio di organizzazione dello spazio urbano sulla base di un *cognomen* comune. L'articolo si propone di riconsiderare il rapporto tra il potere degli alberghi aristocratici del tardo Medioevo e il territorio urbano, concentrandosi non solo sulle strategie attuate per mantenere il controllo delle proprietà cittadine, ma anche su aspetti dell'interazione sociale.

KEYWORDS

Thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, late Middle Ages, Genoa, urban history, territoriality, alliances

XIII-XV secoli, basso medioevo, Genova, storia urbana, territorialità, alleanze