Early Medieval Genoa

Ross Balzaretti

This chapter deals with the most neglected period in Genoa's history, its early medieval past (*c*.450-*c*.1050 A.D.).[1] The main reason for this neglect is the erratic survival of evidence, which is poor even when compared with what can be termed the 'normal' gaps encountered in the documentation of this famously 'dark' period in European history. Given the almost complete absence of narrative sources (such as the numerous annals which survive north of the Alps), it is not possible to write a continuous narrative of 'what happened' in Genoa between the end of Roman Empire and the emergence of the Genoese Republic six centuries later. There have, of course, been many attempts to do so, all of them worthwhile in their different ways, but some suffering from a desire to tell a joined-up story. Steven A. Epstein in his influential book on medieval Genoa characterised the early medieval settlement as 'practically nothing', a rather harsh judgment which took no account of archaeology but understandable in relation to its later medieval history.[2] Romeo Pavoni, in a substantial narrative of medieval Ligurian development, often relied on later evidence to tell his early

---

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the editor and especially to Prof. Paola Guglielmotti for their helpful comments on earlier drafts.

[1] Ross Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria. Regional Identity and Local Power, c. 400-1020* (London, 2013), pp. 81-109 uses more archaeological data than the current chapter which expands on the ninth and tenth centuries in more detail using written documentation.

[2] Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese 958-1528* (Chapel Hill and London, 1996), pp. 12-28, critiqued along the same lines by Paola Guglielmotti, 'Review of Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese. 958-1528*', *Studi medievali*, s. III, 47 (2006), pp. 926-930.

medieval story, as documented in his copious apparatus.[3] Short sections on the early medieval city have often appeared in local histories which deal with Genoa over the long term.[4] More recently, Paola Guglielmotti's excellent work on the territorial organization of medieval Liguria has been joined by an essential handbook on the medieval city which is a sure guide to its archives and to printed sources.[5] Currently, the most exciting research is archaeological and results for this period have been well set out in a very well-illustrated recent volume which investigates Genoa 'from its origins to the Year 1000'.[6] Most of these works regard the early medieval phase as a low point in Genoa's history.

This 'dark-age phase' does not appear quite so anomalous when a very long-term view is taken. Genoa has certainly existed for a long time, with dateable occupation archaeologically-documented as far back as *c.*2300 B.C., and for much of this time local populations have survived through a combination of the cultivation of subsistence crops, notably chestnuts, and the judicious importation of products from across the Mediterranean. The Roman period – several centuries either side of the year 200 A.D. – was the real anomaly for then Genoa became part of a huge empire when it became possible for Genoese people to survive largely on imports which must have distorted the nature of the local economy. It is unsurprising that Roman-period writers characterised Genoa in one-dimension only: its

---

[3] Romeo Pavoni, *Liguria medievale. Da provincia romana a stato regionale* (Genoa, 1992), pp. 55-245.

[4] Ennio Poleggi and Paolo Cevini, *Genova* (Rome-Bari, 1989), pp. 23-30 and Giovanni Assereto and Marco Doria (eds), *Storia della Liguria* (Bari, 2007), pp. 25-8.

[5] Paola Guglielmotti, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio nella Liguria medievale* (Florence, 2005, www.ebook.retimedievali.it), pp. 15-39 and Paola Guglielmotti, *Genova* (*Il medioevo della città italiane*, 6) (Spoleto, 2013), pp. 3-13, 29-32, 50-57.

[6] Piera Melli (ed.), *Genova dalle origini all'anno mille* (Genoa, 2014), pp. 199-253.

relationship with the Mediterranean Sea.[7] Strabo, writing early in the first century A.D. famously dubbed it 'the *emporium* of the Ligures'.[8] It is the argument of this chapter that early medieval Genoese history was different because Genoese residents developed economic, social, political and cultural relationships with the mountainous interior in ways never attempted in the Roman period (but certainly evident from the twelfth century).[9]

Yet the Roman legacy was strong in terms of the urban plan. Archaeology has shown that the settlement Strabo described was small and concentrated in the area now known as the *porto antico*, the narrow streets immediately around the cathedral of San Lorenzo leading down to the waterfront.[10] It was of the typical quadrilateral plan favoured by Roman town-dwellers, but in this instance the town appears to have had few of the monumental buildings which dominated places like Milan, Naples and Rome itself. Genoa did not become one of the great centres of the Roman world, an anomaly which still requires explanation.[11] The flat settled Roman centre is still overlooked by a hill known as 'Castello' which rises 50 m above

---

[7] A simplistic view as implied by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study in Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), p. 117 who argue for the complexity of 'dispersed hinterlands' such as that of Genoa, an example they cite.

[8] Strabo, *Geography*, 4.6.1 and 5.1.3.

[9] Catherine Delano Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe. A Historical Geography of Italy, Spain and Southern France since the Neolithic* (London, 1979), pp. 59-60.

[10] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 82-5. Recent archaeological assessment of the flourishing port by Piero Dell'Amico and Lucia Gervasini, 'Merci e mercati. Dal III secolo a.C. al III secolo d. C.', in Melli (ed.), *Genova dale origini all'anno mille*, pp. 191-196.

[11] Most probably it was not attractive for development as it was close to mountains (often problematic for the Roman state) and did not really lead to anywhere else important to Roman transport networks.

sea level and was occupied both before the Romans arrived and after they left in the middle of the seventh century A.D. At the turn of the first millennium it became the first obvious site of power within the town when it was fortified by the bishops of that time who had a huge, solid and presumably impregnable palace constructed, where they lived an aristocratic luxury lifestyle which included copious consumption of roast pork of the choicest cuts served from fine imported tableware.[12] This period also produced the bulk of the surviving charters, records of property transfer which show the Genoese church under the leadership of a couple of long-lived bishops expanding its reach into the Ligurian countryside with the consequence that the city developed an interior hinterland arguably for the first time. For this reason it is these charters – fewer than a hundred - that are the focus here: they document a moment of real change the significance of which only becomes clear when a very long-term perspective is taken.[13]

18 July 958

One of the most famous documents in Genoese history dates from this period, namely the diploma granted to 'the Genoese' by King Berengar II and his son Adalbert on 18 July 958 (issued from the royal capital of Pavia).[14] Its provisions were simple. Having been petitioned

---

[12] Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace. Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca and London, 2000), pp. 65-7.

[13] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 86-97 surveys sixth- to eighth-century Genoa.

[14] Text: Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1936), pp. 3-4; Antonella Rovere, 'La tradizione del diploma di Berengario II a Adalberto del 958 in favore dei Genovesi', *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, 50 (1990), pp. 371-77 and Antonella Rovere, (ed.), *I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*,

by Hebo ('our dear faithful follower'),[15] Berengar and Adalbert confirmed to those inhabitants of Genoa who were their *fideles* ('faithful') the properties both within and outside the city which they held by any title whether acquired by custom or by inheritance.[16] The kings prevented public officials of any rank from entering the houses of these men and staying overnight for free (*mansionaticum*).[17] In most respects this royal grant is typical of the period of fluid politics across the north of Italy in the 950s when Berengar and Adalbert were effectively 'sub-kings' under the 'protection' of the northerner Otto of Saxony, with the important caveat that, in words of Chris Wickham, 'the citizens of Genoa were the first recipients of…the first charter to a citizen body which survives'.[18] This when allied to the

---

vol. 1, pt. 1 (Rome, 1992), pp. 4-6. Discussion: Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 16-7; Poleggi and Cevini, *Genova*, pp. 25-6.

[15] *nostri dilecti fidelis.* Hebo seems to me likely to be the same person as viscount 'Ydo' recorded in an original charter of 952: the spelling of 'Hebo' is unreliable given that it is transmitted in a copy of this text made in the twelfth century.

[16] [*omnibus*] *nostris fidelibus* [*et habitatoribus in*] *civitate Ianuensi* cun[ctas *res et proprietates illorum seu*] *libellarias et precarias et* om[nia] *que secundum consuetudinem* [*illorum tenent aliquot titulo vel modulo*] *scriptionis acquisierunt* (Rovere, *I libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 5 (available at: http://www.storiapatriagenova.it/BD_vs_contenitore.aspx?Id_Testata_Collana=8&Id_Tipo_Pubblicazione=2&Id_Scheda_Bibliografica_Padre=3332).

[17] Romeo Pavoni, 'L'evoluzione cittadina in Liguria nel secolo XI', in Renato Bordone and Jörg Jarnut (eds), *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo* (Bologna, 1988), pp. 241-53 at 244-5.

[18] Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (Basingstoke, 1981), p. 190. The charter does not actually term them 'citizens' though, only inhabitants.

notable absence of any reference to the Genoese bishop (who at that time was Theodulf) has suggested to many historians that Genoa is an important example of a new-found political ambition on the part of the citizen body to protect the customs of their town.[19] The point is seemingly strengthened because Bishop Theodulf was an outsider who could not command local support,[20] as indicated by an earlier charter dated 951-52 in which Theodulf had stated that he was 'newly in office and ignorant of the customs of the place'.[21] While it is absolutely plausible that Theodulf did not have local support in 951-52 as he had only recently become bishop it seems a little odd that he still did not have such support in 958, years later, although he could easily have faced similar treatment to that meted out by the local clergy at Verona to the northern incoming bishop Rather (from Liège) who was expelled from the see on three occasions between 931 and 974.[22]

We can turn to another outsider - who conceivably might have known Theodulf if he was an Ottonian appointment in Genoa as is sometimes supposed - to find a convincing explanation for what was really going on. Liudprand of Cremona, a deacon from Pavia who was to be appointed bishop of Cremona by Otto I in 962, claimed in his 'Book of Revenge'

---

[19] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984), p. 165.

[20] Guglielmotti, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio*, p. 22 and Luca Filangieri, 'La canonica di San Lorenzo a Genova. Dinamiche istituzionali e rapporti sociali (secoli X-XII)', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, VII (2006), pp. 1-37 at 3-4.

[21] Marta Calleri (ed.), *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (951/952-1224)* (Genova, 1997), p. 1: *nullam qualitatem neque consuetudinem loci congnosentes*.

[22] Peter L. D. Reid (transl.), *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (Binghamton, 1991), pp. 5-11.

(*Antapodosis*) written at around this time that the marquis Otbert I, a member of the Obertenghi clan whose power base was in eastern Liguria in the so-called 'March of Genoa',[23] had petitioned Otto I around the year 960 with regard to Berengar and Adalbert's 'savagery'.[24] In 958 the kings had specifically mentioned that 'no marquis' (*nullus marchio*) could infringe the rights of the Genoese, which seems to explain Otbert's gripe as the provision was presumably directed at him personally. Liudprand reported a further complaint to Otto made by Archbishop Walpert of Milan who as the metropolitan bishop was Theodulf's immediate superior. He claimed that Berengar's behaviour in illegally appointing Manasses of Arles to the Milanese see had 'snatched away what ought to belong to him and his people'. These three magnates – Otbert, Walpert and Theodulf – all had reason to be suspicious of Berengar and may even have been allied together against the influence of Berengar and Adalbert within this part of north western Italy. Otbert had other interests in the region as evidenced by his appearance in a late tenth-century inventory of the major monastic community at Bobbio (in the north western Apennines) as a benefactor of that community: *Beneficia que Aubert marchio de abbatia dedit*. Bobbio was not firmly under the control of

[23] Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962)* (Freiburg, 1960), pp. 244-45 and the more extensive study of Mario Nobili, 'Formarsi e definarsi dei nomi di famiglia nelle stirpe marchionali dell'Italia centre-settentrionali', in Cinzio Violante (ed.), *Nobiltà e chiese nel medioevo e altri saggi. Scritti in onore di Gerd G. Tellenbach* (Rome, 1993), pp. 77-96.

[24] Paolo Squatriti (trans.), *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), p. 220. For Liudprand's views of King Hugh of Italy, a contemporary and enemy of Berengar's, see Ross Balzaretti, 'Narratives of success and narratives of failure: representations of the career of King Hugh of Italy (c. 885-948)', forthcoming in *Early Medieval Europe*.

any bishop, least of all the bishop of Genoa, at this time, in part because of a tradition of direct dependence on the papacy, since the seventh century.[25] Closer to home Theodulf had also built up a local power base in the 950s as demonstrated by a series of local charters through which he acquired land for his church both inside the city itself but also outside in the Lavagna, Rapallo and Polcevera valleys at sites on routes of obvious strategic and economic significance, including Albaro,[26] Bavari,[27] Molassana,[28] Pontedecimo,[29] and elsewhere.[30] These charters deserve much greater attention than has been common in the

---

[25] Ian Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani'*, in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 99-120. The bishops of Piacenza and Tortona subsequently had unrequited designs upon it.

[26] Marta Calleri (ed.), *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova*, vol. 1 (965-1200) (Genoa, 2009), documents 1 and 3.

[27] Tommaso Belgrano (ed.), *Il registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*, *ASLSP*, 2, part 2 (Genoa, 1862), pp. 144-5, 161-3.

[28] Belgrano, *Il registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*, pp. 209-10, 222-3, 233-4, 236-8, 257-8, 271-2.

[29] Belgrano, *Il registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*, pp. 236-8.

[30] Fabrizio Benente, 'Incastellamento e poteri locali in Liguria. Il Genovesato e l'area del Tigullio', in Fabrizio Benente and G. B. Garbarino, (eds), *Incastellamento, popolamento e signoria rurale tra Piemonte meridionale e Liguria* (Bordighera, 2000), pp. 61-83 and Paola Guglielmotti, 'Linguaggi del territorio, linguaggi sul territorio: la val Polcevera genovese (secoli X-XII)', in Giovanna Petti Balbi and Giovanni Vitolo (eds), *Linguaggi e pratiche del potere. Genova e il Regno di Napoli tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Salerno, 2007), pp. 241-68.

historiography of Genoese development, both for the light they shed on city politics but also for the unique insights they provide into the local economy in the tenth century. Politics and economy were of course fundamentally interconnected.

The Charter Evidence

'Charters' are one of the most common forms of evidence in this period and the term encompasses many different types of document by which rights over property were transferred between two (or more) parties. At Genoa the earliest authentic survival dates to 916, a very late date indeed for a 'first' charter when compared with survivals from other parts of Italy where similar charters date from the early 700s in many places, notably Lucca, Piacenza and Milan (often surviving as original single sheets and not in later medieval cartularies, copied versions of such originals). It is not clear why this should be, although it is possible that attacks on Genoa by 'Arabs' in 934-935 may have caused the destruction of such documents as we shall see. It could equally well be that the early tenth century was the moment when Genoa 'took off' as an urban society which was sufficiently complex to require the written (as opposed to oral) documentation of important transactions, and that it had not been such a society before then.[31]

---

[31] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 90-102 deals with the period between c. 550 and c.900 when surviving written documentation is sparse: some letters of Gregory the Great, a few inscribed stones, stray references in Carolingian annals, and some local hagiographical works of uncertain date.

Between 916 and the year 1000 a maximum of 58 authentic charters has survived, some with later interpolations.[32] That number compares with, for example, around 150 for Bergamo in the same period, which was probably a much smaller and certainly a more isolated settlement.[33] The number of Genoese charters increases significantly after 990 a pattern which (given their content) seems to reflect real change in society rather than simply chance survival, and that rate of increase is maintained in the first few decades of the eleventh century. Most charters involved extended family groups (parents, siblings, cousins) transacting with the Genoese church in a small range of places mostly in the Bisagno and Polcevera valleys, relatively close to Genoa itself. What was happening in places not documented in charters – the great majority - is therefore hard to judge.[34] Around 14% of the tenth-century documents are original single sheets which is important as these can be used to check the authenticity of the texts (the majority) copied into cartularies in the twelfth century:

---

[32] Marta Calleri, 'Gli usi cronologici genovesi nei secoli X-XII', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 39/1 (1999), pp. 25-100. Appendix 1 (pp. 57-63) lists all the tenth-century Genoese charters and describes their transmission histories. Belgrano's edition of 1862 (note X above) is significantly improved upon by A. Basili and L. Pozza (eds), *Le carte del Monastero di San Siro di Genova dal 952 al 1224* (Genoa, 1979) and especially Marta Calleri (ed.), *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova (951/952-1224*) (Genova, 1997) and Marta Calleri (ed.), *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova*, vol. 1 (965-1200) (Genoa, 2009).

[33] Mariarosa Cortese (ed.), *Le pergamene degli archive di Bergamo a. 740-1000* (Bergamo, 1988), docs 59-212.

[34] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 53-9, deals with tenth-century rural settlement patterns as documented in these charters.

this percentage is perhaps slightly less than is common elsewhere in Italy (but that is hard to prove in the absence of published statistics for all Italian charter collections).

The earliest charter of 916 stands alone as it is a whole generation apart from the next charter dated 946. It is a rent contract (*libellus*) from the time of Bishop Ratpert which concerns property in Bargagli in the upper Bisagno valley immediately north of Genoa.[35] The properties, already owned by the Genoese bishopric, were 'in the territory of Bargagli' at five named sites: *Taciolo*, *Lavaniasco*, *Trasio* (Traso), *Coloreto* and *Monticello*.[36] An extended family group of cousins - men, women and male children – agreed to increase the productivity of the land (*meliorare et colere et nullum neglectum ibidem facere*, a standard formula, i.e. a generic phrase) and make an annual return of 2 *denarii* to the church, while the church retained specific lordly rights over the higher slopes (*scatico et alpatico*),[37] presumably used to pasture sheep. This deal was a renewal of an existing arrangement with their parents, which reveals that this charter did not in fact mark the beginning of something new but a continuation of something already established, probably verbally. Unfortunately, nothing else is known about Bishop Ratpert and his activities.

---

[35] Belgrano, *Il registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova*, pp. 159-60. The comune of Bargagli currently has a population of around 3000 people and is still agricultural in focus. It was on an ancient transhumance route in previous centuries.

[36] 'in finibus Bargalina'. Place names in italics (here and elsewhere in this chapter) remain unidentified.

[37] *Scatico et alpatico* is a relatively uncommon phrase in this period which may indicate that the properties recorded in these charters were commonly on the lower and not the higher slopes. It is also likely that the higher, grazed slopes were managed collectively by local farmers.

The next phase in the history of these charters covers the years 946-981, the pontificate of Bishop Theodulf who from the year 945 governed the Genoese church for more than thirty five years. He is known as the bishop who, in the wake of 'Saracen sackings' of the city embarked on a 'reform' programme which can be compared with similar contemporaneous developments elsewhere in Europe.[38] The traditional narrative is that Theodulf revitalized religious life in Genoa especially at the extra-mural communities of San Siro and Santo Stefano in activities documented in sequences of charters which begin respectively in 951 (nine charters for San Siro between 951-1000) and 965 (fifteen for Santo Stefano between 965-1000). While this may be true it remains hard to estimate the extent of his reforming activity given what we do not know about what came before him. Unfortunately it has proved impossible to identify Theodulf in other charters where he might be expected to have appeared (perhaps as an intercessor?) including the diplomas of successive kings of Italy or documents associated with the monastery of Bobbio. His name and his reforming interests suggest that he may have originated from north of the Alps, although he was not part of the recorded networks of Hugh (d. 948), who was the current King of Italy in 945 when he took charge of the see. Hugh who had a reputation for appointing unsuitable bishops to north Italian sees (for example the Lotharingian Rather appointed as bishop of Verona in 931 and the Provençal Manasses to Milan in 948) does not appear to have had much sway in Liguria, so we may reasonably presume that Theodulf may have had other supporters who facilitated his way to his Genoese job.

[38] Valeria Polonio, 'Tra universalismo e localismo: costruzione di un sistema (569-1321)', in Dino Puncuh (ed.), *Il cammino della chiesa genovese dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria), pp. 77-120 at p. 82.

Twenty six local charters allow the activities of Bishop Theodulf and his church to be traced year by year in some detail to the end of his episcopate in 981, and these reveal developing relationships with the Ottonian royal family, with local aristocrats and other owners, as well the foundation of a monastery at Santo Stefano in 965,[39] and the creation of a community of clergy at the cathedral who may have lived in common. The first document, drafted in Genoa by Silvester a Genoese priest, is another *libellus* contract dated May 946 concerning property in *fontana paupera* which the tenants were to 'improve not worsen'. The required production was wheat, rye, barley and spelt, as well as sheep, goats and chickens. There is, perhaps significantly as we shall see, no mention of trees in this document. A priest named Silvester features in another charter dated 23 Sept. 951 (or 22 Sept. 952) which deals with property in Genoa itself, and this is most likely the same person who drafted the charter of 946. This survives as an original single sheet, and is perhaps the most interesting of the early Genoese charters especially as it was issued while the Saxon Otto I was attempting to take control of Italy for the first time. It reports that Theodulf revoked an existing grant of a vineyard to Silvester, who was his 'faithful adherent' (*adiuratus fidelis*) and re-allocated its tithes to the church of San Siro.[40] The vineyard was bounded by other vines held by viscount Ydo (otherwise unrecorded in this spelling) which extended to Castello, the first written

[39] Analysed in detail by Paola Guglielmotti, 'Patrimoni femminili, monasteri e chiese: esempi per una casistica (Italia centro settentrionale, secoli VIII-X)', in Giovanna Petti Balbi and Paola Guglielmotti (eds), *Dare credito alle donne. Presenze femminili nell'economia tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Asti, 2012), pp. 37-50.

[40] Calleri, *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova*, doc. 1, pp. 1-2; Calleri 'Gli usi cronologici Genovese secoli X-XII', p.57; Sandra Macchiavello, 'Per la storia della cattedrale di Genova. Percorsi archeologici e documentari', *ASLSP*, n.s. 37/2, pp. 21-36. This charter was curiously overlooked by Epstein in *Genoa and the Genoese*.

reference to this Genoese landmark hill,[41] by a 'public road' and ditch, and a road going to Castelletto (outside the city walls). The rest of the boundary clause fills in the wider topography of the mid-tenth-century city: 'outside the wall of Genoa in the ditch of Caderiva and the River Bisagno to the ditch of St. Michael *Caput Arenae*', a large swath of land.[42] In the charter Theodulf used the phrase 'see of San Siro', and signed it himself along with a group of his clergy: Vuitbaldo, 'archpriest of the Holy Genoese Church', two deacons both called Johannes 'chief deacons of the Holy Genoese Church' (*de cardine*), and the priest John, 'of the Holy Genoese church'. The income from the re-allocated property was given to the *clerici* as a group (these four and presumably others) and clearly Theodulf was building up San Siro as the leading Genoese church with a permanent staff of senior clergy to run it, manage its properties and minister to parishioners. San Siro eventually became a Benedictine monastery in 1007 under Theodulf's successor John II,[43] having been the recipient of several grants from locals in the vicinity of the Bisagno and other eastern valleys,[44] and possibly from the widowed Empress Adelaide in 999.[45]

---

[41] Ennio Poleggi, *Santa Maria di Castello e il romanico a Genova* (Genoa, 1973), p.17.

[42] Filangieri, 'La canonica di San Lorenzo a Genova', pp. 3-5.

[43] Calleri, *Le carte del monastero di San Siro*, doc. 9, pp. 14-17; Alessandra Frondoni, 'Tra bisanzio e l'Occidente. Scultura e plastica a San Siro, San Tommaso e San Fruttuoso di Capodimonte', in Piero Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio (eds), *Genova e l'Europa continentale. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2004), pp. 14-39 at p. 17.

[44] Calleri, *Le carte del monastero di San Siro,* docs 3, 5-14.

[45] Calleri, *Le carte del monastero di San Siro*, doc. 4, pp. 6-8. The original is lost, and the entire charter is very fragmentary, and possibly suspect. There are hints in other documents of Ottonian connections with monastic communities at San Tommaso (Genoa) and San

The charters of Santo Stefano record properties owned near Genoa in Albaro and a few other places which are now part of its eastern suburbs. These documents which straddle the year 1000 are notable for contracts with locals to develop new cultivable lands for chestnuts and other fruiting trees.[46] At Albaro the properties were around the small church of San Nazaro, a favourite Milanese saint. Other Genoese churches also developed portfolios of land in eastern Liguria, notably San Giorgio in the Lavagna valley.[47] Here in a typical charter of exchange (*commutatio*) between the church and a certain Eldeprand San Giorgio's land was described as 'under the control of the Genoese church, sited within a wall of the city of Genoa near the church of San Giorgio' and Eldeprand's land was 'sited in the Lavagna valley, at Noali, *Casa Vetere* and *Campo Sculdasio*', and was considerably larger. Although the charter was drafted in Genoa, Liuzo the bishop's representative went to Lavagna and made the agreement in front of local witnesses and from the neighbouring Rapallo valley. Clergy representing the bishop are recorded elsewhere; for example in 969 Archdeacon

---

Fruttuoso di Capodimonte near Camogli. But these charters are also highly suspect. I am grateful to my colleague Roberta Cimino for discussion of Adelaide's charters.

[46] Calleri, *Codice diplomatico del monastero di Santo Stefano di Genova*, vol. 1, documents 2-28. Paolo Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy. Chestnuts, Economy, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2013) has much useful comparative information about chestnut cultivation in the Po valley and in Campania. Cf. Ross Balzaretti, 'Chestnuts in charters: evidence for specialised production in tenth-century Genoa and Milan ', forthcoming in R. Balzaretti, J. S. Barrow and P. Skinner (eds), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of Chris Wickham* (Oxford).

[47] Calleri, *Le carte del monastero di San Siro di Genova*, pp. 3-4; Filangieri, 'La canonica di San Lorenzo a Genova', p.6.

Andrea represented Theodulf at the Milanese synod, but not that often suggesting quite a localised sphere of action for many of them.[48]

Genoa and the World

If the focus is shifted from the charters and their intense documentation of the local details of Genoese society and its developing relationships with the immediate region – what we might term its hinterland – to the documentation, such as it is, which hints at the relationships of 'the Genoese' with other parts of the world, what do we find? In this period the over-riding impression – at least in my opinion – is that Genoa was marginal to most of the important developments which were happening elsewhere, notably north of the Alps. 'Carolingian Genoa' can hardly be said to have existed when the minuscule surviving evidence for it is compared with the large numbers of documents preserved for other parts of that vast empire. Liguria was barely noticed by Carolingian-period authors, including the Italian Paul the Deacon who in his lengthy 'History of the Lombards' written c. 790 mentioned Genoa (or Liguria) five times only (Book II 15, II 16, II 25, III 23, VI 24).[49] It was he who reported (in Book II 25) that Archbishop Honoratus of Milan fled to Genoa to escape the invading Lombards in the year 569, but typically there is no other evidence in support of his statement.

Just after Paul died (most probably in 799) Liguria if not Genoa briefly appeared on the world stage in a way which hints that the town may have been a 'gateway' site of some

---

[48] Valeria Polonio, 'Tra universalismo e localismo: costruzione di un sistema (569-1321)', in Dino Puncuh (ed.), *Il cammino della chiesa genovese dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Genoa, 1999), 77-120 at 83.

[49] Lidia Capo (ed. and Italian transl.), *Storia dei Longobardi* (Vicenza, 1992), pp. 94-7, 104-7, 152-5 and 326-9.

importance to the Carolingian ruler himself, the famed Charlemagne.[50] The arrival of the elephant Abul Abaz - a diplomatic gift from the Muslim ruler Harun al-Rashid to Charlemagne – at Portovenere on the eastern Ligurian coast and subsequent journey northwards overland was an event important enough to be described at length by the 'Royal Frankish Annals' spread over the entries for 801 and 802.[51] These annals reported that in Easter 801 Charlemagne, while at Pavia on his way back north from his coronation as Roman emperor in Rome, was told about the gift of the elephant from a Persian legate. By October Issac 'the Jew' on his way back from the Persian court where he had been sent by Charlemagne four years earlier had landed with Abul Abaz in Liguria. The animal spent the winter in Vercelli (no doubt in icy conditions) and by 20 July 802 arrived with Issac and other gifts in Aachen at the imperial palace. Sadly, the creature did not survive. Genoa itself appeared in the 'Royal Frankish Annals' for 806 when it was reported that Ademar 'count of Genoa' assisted Charlemagne's son Pippin king of Italy in his anti-Arab expedition to Corsica: 'Pippin sent a fleet from Italy to Corsica against the Moors who were devastating the island. Although the Moors did not wait for its arrival but made off, one of our men, Ademar, count of the city of Genoa (*comes civitas Genuae*), rashly engaged with them and was killed'.[52] Although this is the only reference to a Carolingian 'count of Genoa' the reference to Ademar as 'one of ours' suggests that Frankish identity in this specific context and at this

---

[50] Gabriella Airaldi, *Storia della Liguria. Dalle origini al 1492* (Genoa, 2010), pp. 282-8.

[51] Richard Hodges, 'Charlemagne's elephant and the beginnings of commoditisation in Europe', *Acta Archaeologica* 59, (1988), pp.155-68; Leslie Brubaker, 'The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2004), pp. 175–95; Paul E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 59-62.

[52] Peter D. King (tr.), *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, Cumbria, 1987), p. 97.

point in time was constructed in part by being anti-Arab. Another Carolingian text reported that 'Pippin's army liberated the island of Corsica, which was oppressed by the Moors'.[53] These Carolingian stories of 'Charlemagne's elephant (a 'status animal' in Dutton's phrase) and of King Pippin's anti-Arab war in Corsica – widely diffused via contemporary annals – can be seen as evidence of the local impact of an increasingly demanding and effective Carolingian state.[54] More commonly it has been argued that the early ninth-century Genoese were still part of a Mediterranean-wide network of exchange.[55] Such a network is looking increasingly plausible given recent archaeological work in the Po delta, notably at Comacchio.[56] The evidence for Genoa as a flourishing port in the eighth and ninth centuries is not yet so convincing; but it may well be there to be discovered as research continues.[57]

The interaction of the large monastic community of St-Columbanus at Bobbio and the town of Genoa further supports the view that local and international exchange were linked at

---

[53] *Historia Langobardorum Codex Gothanus*, Ch. 11.

[54] Aadrian Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002).

[55] Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 515-22 using evidence from the Lucca charters.

[56] Richard Hodges, 'Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea', *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008), pp. 274-81; Sauro Gelichi, 'Alla fine di una transizione? L'Italia settentrionale nel primo Alto Medioevo tra città, villaggi e economie', *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder* 2 (2009), pp. 143-58; Sauro Gelichi, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città', *Reti Medievali Rivista* XI (2010), pp. 1-31.

[57] L. Carobene, M. Firpo, M. and P. Melli, 'Aspetti geoarcheologici nel Porto Antico di Genova', in N. Cucuzza and M. Medri (eds), *Archeologie. Studi in onore di Tiziano Mannoni* (Bari, 2006), pp. 295-99 (results summarised in Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 83-4).

this time, and that this had potential ramifications for relationships of various sorts with northern Europe. For example, as the ninth century progressed, the monks of Bobbio effectively brought Genoa to the notice of the Carolingian royal family. In a recent environmental history of medieval Europe 'agricultural intensification' was highlighted as one of the defining characteristics of the Carolingian period when seen in a long-term perspective.[58] The famous inventories made at Bobbio (and some other Italian monastic communities, notably Santa Giulia in Brescia and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan) throughout the ninth century evidence this.[59] Intensified production when it resulted in surplus (presumably the intention) meant that surplus could be exchanged, at suitable sites of which Genoa was clearly one. A monastic inventory made at Bobbio in 862 noted that

> In Genoa, the church in honour of St Peter (now S. Pietro in Banchi),[60] can be collected annually 10 *modia* of chestnuts, 8 *amphorae* of wine in a good year, 40 *libra* of oil; there are purchased annually for the use of the brothers 100 strings of figs, 200 citrons, 4 *modia* of salt, 2 *congia* of garum, 100 *libra* of pitch; it has 6 tenants, who

---

[58] Richard C. Hoffmann, *An Environmental history of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 83.

[59] Marie-Aline Laurent, 'Organisation de l'espace et mobilisation des resources autour de Bobbio', in Jean-Pierre Devroey, Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (eds), *Les élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge entre vi^e^ et xie siècles* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 479-94.

[60] On 30 July 972 Otto I confirmed Genoese property to Bobbio and a late copy of the text gives *ecclesiam Sancti Petri que est sita in civitate Ianue*: Carlo Cipolla and Giulio Buzzi (ed.), *Codice Diplomatico del monastero di San Colombano di Bobbio*, 3 vols (Rome, 1918), vol.1, p. 324, doc. XCV.

work the vines and bring the aforementioned renders to the monastery (my translation).[61]

An earlier inventory made between 833 and 835 (for Charlemagne's cousin Wala exiled to Bobbio as its abbot during the rebellion against Louis the Pious) did not mention this property and neither did a confirmation of property received from the Emperor Louis II in 860.[62] This means that the acquisition of the Genoese church of San Pietro by the monks of Bobbio can be dated *between* 860 and 862, although how that happened is not clear. The church seems to have functioned as a sort of clearing house for produce which could only have been obtained by sea in the case of the citrons (or other citrus fruit presumably from Arab suppliers) and probably of the fish sauce.[63] The chestnuts, wine and olive oil – a common trio of Ligurian storable staples which are richly evidenced in the later medieval period here - were most probably locally produced to be exchanged for the more 'exotic' fare.[64] While chestnuts could have been produced close to Bobbio as well as near to Genoa the wine would certainly have been of better quality near the coast and the oil could only have been produced there as the rest of Bobbio's land was at too high an altitude and therefore too cold for successful olive production.

---

[61] McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 634 and Squatriti, *Landscape and Change*, p. 185.

[62] Kurt Wanner (ed.), *Ludovici II diplomata* (Rome, 1994), doc. 31.

[63] McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 633-6.

[64] The oil of course, a product essential both for church lighting and liturgy, may well have ended up at Bobbio itself: Paul Fouracre, 'Eternal light and earthly needs: practical aspects of the development of Frankish immunities', in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (eds), *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53-81.

The development by Bobbio of a centralised Genoese operation between 860 and 862 was probably facilitated by existing monastic ownership of land in eastern Liguria, acquired perhaps within a competitive context given that the Genoese bishops may already have been interested in the area. On 5 June 774 Charlemagne himself had granted to Bobbio 'Alpe Adra' a sizeable tract which was inland from coastal Moneglia in the vicinity of Castiglione Chiavarese in the Petronio valley.[65] Subsequently confirmed in many other royal diplomas this was described in the 862 inventory alongside other upland properties in the Aveto and Taro valleys. Genoa could have provided an outlet on the Mediterranean for production from these and other estates and it is certainly significant that nearby the church which Bobbio had rights over was San Pietro in Banchi sited almost in the water right down in the port area, the remains of several early medieval storehouses have been found.[66] All the properties listed in the inventory of 862 including Genoa (*Ienua*) were confirmed by Louis II on 2 February 865 at the request of his powerful wife Angilberga,[67] and in similar documents dated 882 and *c.* 1000 the latter devoted to *Terra que in Maritima esse videntur*. Bobbio was not the only religious body from outside Genoa to have property in the city's port area: the hugely wealthy and immensely high status royal nunnery of Santa Giulia at Brescia - patronised by

---

[65] Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (London, 1998), pp. 61-2.

[66] Alexandre Gardini and Giovanni Murialdo, 'La Liguria', in Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé (eds), *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano (vi-x secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Florence, 1994), pp. 159–82 at 164.

[67] Wanner, *Ludovici II diplomata*, doc. 42. Roberta Cimino, 'Il patrimonio di Angelberga e la sua dislocazione territoriale', in L. Guidi and M.R. Pellizzari (eds), *Nuove frontiere per la storia di genere. Atti del convegno SIS 2010*, vol. 2 (Salerno 2013), pp. 105-111.

Angilberga among other royal women - also had Genoese land ('5 free men, who return 240 *libras* of cheese') according to an early tenth-century inventory.[68]

At this time the activities of the bishops of Genoa are hardly documented at all. It is unclear for example how they might have responded to the activities of these powerful external forces operating within their diocese. There are hints from early in the ninth century that the bishopric may have been in need of reform (at least in Carolingian eyes), evidenced by a capitulary which Lothar I issued from Olona (now Corteolona near Pavia) in May 825 specifically to rejuvenate the north Italian church. The king required that Genoese clergy should study with the Irishman Dungal in Pavia, while clergy from Albenga, Vado and Ventimiglia in western Liguria should instead go to Turin, somewhat closer.[69] This division suggests that the Genoese see may have been rather detached from the heartland of the north Italian Carolingian kingdom which was significantly further east centred on Pavia, Milan and Verona. However, from the 860s particular bishops appear to have engaged more obviously with the Carolingian church. In October 864 Bishop Peter went to the Council of Milan chaired by his metropolitan Archbishop Tado. His successor Sabatinus, who had a long pontificate between 865 and 889, helped in 876 at the Council of Pavia to confirm the election of Charles the Bald as emperor. In 877 Sabatinus attended a synod in Ravenna called by Pope John VIII, and 878 the pope himself was in Genoa on his way to Provence, the first

---

[68] Andrea Castagnetti (ed.), *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditti* (Rome, 1979), p. 92 and Valeria Polonio, 'Il monachesimo femminile in Liguria dalle origini al XII secolo', in Gabriella Zarri (ed.), *Il Monachesimo femminile in Italia dall'alto Medioevo al secolo XVII a confronto con l'oggi* (Verona, 1997), pp.87-119.

[69] Claudio Azzara and Pierandrea Moro (ed. and Italian transl.), *I capitolari italici. Storia e diritto della dominazione carolingia in Italia* (Rome, 1998), pp. 126-7.

pope certainly to have visited the city.[70] John wrote charmingly to Archbishop Anspert of Milan about his rough sea crossing while resting in Genoa. In the 860s and 870s therefore Genoese bishops began to be part of the northern Carolingian world in ways that their predecessors seem not to have been.[71]

Although ninth-century Genoa was to a degree part of the Carolingian world, it was not this which local sources reported. They were rather more interested in 'Saracens' a fact which gives rise to the possibility that there might be an early medieval aspect to one of the most clichéd themes in Genoese history, namely the militant Christian republic fighting the Moors on crusade.[72] Ademar 'count of Genoa', as already seen, was killed during the Carolingian attempt in 806 to 'liberate' Corsica. Although Carolingian sources presented this as successful, Arab attacks nevertheless soon began along the Ligurian coast suggesting that it had not been a particularly effective intervention. A narrative (in the genre known as a 'translation') of the removal of the bones of Saint Romolus from what is now Sanremo to Genoa itself although difficult to date precisely nevertheless provides further evidence.[73] The author of the surviving version (most probably written in the late tenth century), related how 'in modern times' Bishop Sabatinus (d. 889) had moved the saint's bones because of devastating Saracen attacks from *Fraxinetum* (La Garde-Freinet near St Tropez in Provence).

---

[70] Polonio, 'Tra universalismo e localismo', p. 5.

[71] Guglielmotti, *Genova*, pp. 52-3.

[72] Cf. the excellent discussion of Gabriella Airaldi, *Guerrieri e mercanti: storie del Medioevo genovese* (Turin, 2004).

[73] Jean-Charles Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques. Sépultures, listes episcopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècles* (Rome, 1988), p. 602; Guglielmotti, *Genova*, pp. 53 and 106.

The precious relics were taken by boat by the clergy and the 'people' (*populus*) and to Genoa and reburied under the altar (of an unspecified church, probably San Siro) with an inscription composed by Bishop Sabatinus placed above which has not survived. There is an interesting sense of a collective Genoese identity embedded in this text which, even if a hagiographical *topos*, when read alongside the reference to 'the inhabitants' in the famous charter granted to the Genoese by kings Berengar and Adalbert in July 958 (discussed above), suggests a stronger sense of community at this period than is evidenced in any earlier documentation.

This community feeling is expressed too in the Genoese 'Book of Privileges' in a short section with the title *De sancto Romolo* (and dated 979/980) which narrates more of Romolo's translation.[74] This, in the opinion of this unknown author, gave authenticity to the gift of land near Taggia and Sanremo which Bishop Theodulf had made to the canons of San Lorenzo which restored it to them after the Arab attacks. The text was drawn up precisely to record this symbolically important land transfer. A brief passage stated that Bishop Sabatinus moved Romolo's bones to San Lorenzo and placed them under the altar. This location was crucial to the clergy of San Lorenzo as it meant that their intra-mural church was securely established as the cathedral rather than the extra-mural San Siro. The bones of St Syrus of Genoa were translated at some point to this latter church, although recently Nick Everett has argued that the Bobbio manuscript which deals with this is in fact about Saint Syrus of Pavia.[75] Syrus, by the tenth century, appears to have been regarded as the city's patron in preference to Lorenzo before being supplanted later by the familiar Saint George.

[74] Dino Puncuh (ed.), *Liber privilegiorum Ecclesiae Ianuensis* (Genoa, 1962), document 8.

[75] Nicholas Everett, 'The earliest recension of the Life of Sirus of Pavia (Vat. Lat. 5771)', *Studi Medievali*, 43 (2002), pp. 857-957. Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 601 gives

If translations of saints' relics as well as military campaigns developed some sense of common identity for some Genoese it would seem that a 'crisis' was reached in 934-935 when Genoa was itself 'sacked' by Fatimid Arabs. Although there is no strictly contemporary account (a recurrent problem with much Genoese documentation in this period), the trend of events is clear from both Christian and Islamic authors. Liudprand of Cremona writing with a helpfully transparent western Christian agenda reported that '…the Phoenicians arrived there (Genoa) with many ships, and they entered the city while the citizens were unaware slaughtering all except women and children. Then, putting all the treasures of the city and the churches of God in their ships, they returned to Africa'.[76] Liudprand juxtaposed this information with his negative account of the Arabs ('Saracens' to him) who had settled at *Fraxinetum* and coupled with his reference to a Genoese 'fountain overflowing with blood' is an unsubtle but characteristic literary device to suggest God's disapproval of the Genoese and their corrupt church. Arabs from *Fraxinetum* under the leadership of Muhammad al-Qaim Bi-Amrillah (second Fatimid caliph there) were probably responsible for this attack, even though Liudprand terms them here 'Phoenicians').[77]

As is to be expected Arab sources told a very different story which some historians have used to claim that this 934-5 attack evidences Genoese economic 'vitality' as a place

---

'before mid-ninth century' for this *Vita S. Syri*. It is preserved in a Bobbio manuscript, Vat. Lat. 5771.

[76] *Antapodosis*, IV.5, my translation. cf. Paolo Squatriti (tr.), *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington DC, 2007), p.142.

[77] Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p.66.

worth attacking.[78] The so-called 'Chronicle of Cambridge' written in Sicily (a tenth- or eleventh-century Arabic text) relates that Abu al-Qasim sent a fleet to Genoa and captured it. A much later Arab account of Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn who died in 1468 is fuller which Kedar (ignoring its very late provenance) used to construct an argument that the sorts of Genoese cloth referenced within it revealed a sophisticated tenth-century economy. He linked this late source to Liutprand's 'treasures', especially the linen and raw silk mentioned, to argue that trading with Arabs was well-established in the tenth century. It remains an unproven case although not entirely implausible

Genoa around the year 1000

By the year 1000 the Genoese bishops had developed much greater influence and power to the east of Genoa than to the west. This was largely due to early tenth-century Arab attacks in the western Riviera but also because of the ancient local identity of its own sees, notably Albenga. For whatever reason Genoese bishops failed to acquire comital powers as other north Italian bishops did at this time and such relative institutional weakness has suggested to many historians that Genoese society was ruled quite independently of kings or bishops by a sea-faring aristocracy which came to dominate much of the Mediterranean by the end of the eleventh century. While this is certainly a possible interpretation of the rather thin evidence it has been suggested in this chapter that kings and bishops were in fact rather more locally powerful than has often been believed. The charters evidence this view as they foreground the activities of the bishop and his clergy, centred on the several churches which definitely existed in Genoa by the close of the first millennium, including the cathedral of San Lorenzo,

---

[78] Benjamin Kedar, 'Una nuova fonte per l'incursione musulmana del 934-935 e le sue implicazione per la storia genovese', in L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna. Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino* (Genoa, 1997), pp. 605-16 at 606.

San Siro, Santo Stefano, San Giorgio and San Pietro. The activities of these institutions were all supported by production from lands owned mostly to the east and north-east of the town, most in adjacent valleys but some far away around Lavagna but nevertheless accessible by boat. The properties owned were generally in the lower parts of these valleys on the lower level slopes. The few narrative sources which have survived suggest that the tenth century was a time of intense competition for political control over and within Genoa between various groups of outsiders especially Ottonian and Arab rulers which probably caused as a side effect the development of greater local political consciousness. Even with the bones of St Syrus securely in their cathedral Bishop Theodulf and his successor John (984-1019) seem to have felt insecure; whether it was threats from Arabs, Ottonians or the local aristocracy, they may have had good reason for building their massive fortified tower house on the hill of Castello, the earliest Italian example of a bishop's house which has been archaeologically studied. At the same time – and presumably a process which helped to bring in the resources needed to build such a palace – they also extended the power of their church outside of Genoa by means of alliances based around the management of property, as evidenced by the charters. Because of these patterns of documentation local historiography has emphasised the importance of the bishop and development of a network of urban churches staffed by a growing number of clergy *de cardine* ('cardinals') who were closely linked to the cathedral and possibly even lived in common there. But prominent though Bishops Theodulf and John were almost nothing is known about their origins or beliefs. Their dealings with men and women in the countryside reveal them to have been embedded in local politics and reliant on the interior for much of their wealth as the Genoese had so often been in the past.

All the key themes outlined in this chapter are of course very relevant to later medieval Genoese history (much better documented) which illustrates the expansion of Genoese rule across its Ligurian territory and well beyond. Many more charters have been

preserved after 1000 than before and these have allowed detailed investigation of Genoese expansion westwards, which was not really a feature of Genoese history in early medieval times. The survival for the first time of a rich local historical narrative written by Caffaro (c. 1080-c. 1164) gives historians much more scope to study the detail of Genoese politics.[79] However, the interaction between bishops, clergy and secular society which is evidence before the year 1000 is still highly relevant after it, even though Genoese horizons undoubtedly expanded Mediterranean-wide in later centuries. Early medieval Genoa can therefore be seen both as a distinctive society in its own right as this chapter has argued but perhaps also as the precursor of a later expansionist state.

---

[79] Gabriella Airaldi, *Gli annali di Caffaro 1099-1163* (Genoa, 2002) and Richard D. Face, 'Secular history in twelfth-century Italy. Caffaro of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 169-184 (although this is somewhat outdated).