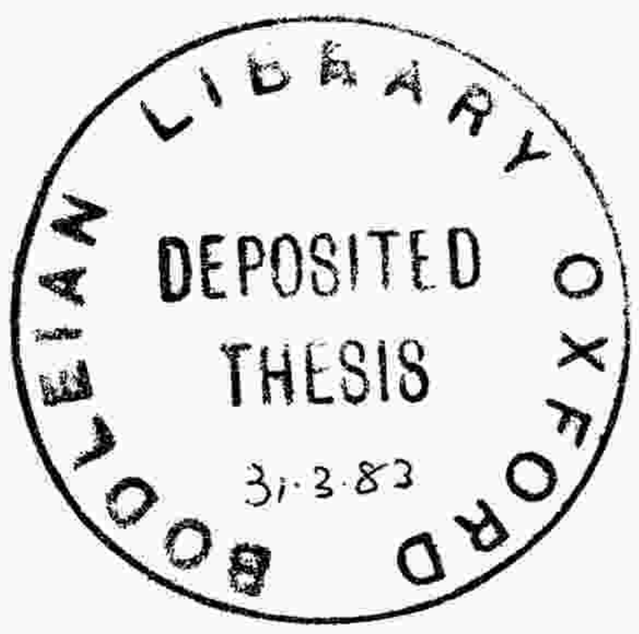
THE PERUGIAN NOBILITY Ca. 1200-1430



HF 1983

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) in the University of Oxford in Trinity Term 1982.

[c.1982] HT

Besides seeking to outline social changes over two centuries in a medium-sized Italian town very different from the greater centres of Northern and Central Italy, this study aims chiefly at defining the concept of nobility as it appeared at Perugia, tracing changes in its meaning and investigating its relationship to knighthood, so important a feature in the definition of nobility in areas of Northern Europe, and to the Italian anti-magnate legislation.

Attention has thus been directed towards the changing patterns in social vocabulary of honour and distinction as well as to a prosopographical analysis of those families who, by 1333, were classified as noble in the Perugian magnate lists. Their overwhelmingly rural base has been noted. The ancient territorial aristocracy continued both independent and strong, although newer families had emerged c.1200 upon old lay and ecclesiastical lands.

Perugian political history has been re-evaluated; special consideration has been given to the actual powers of the popolo during the period of its apparent predominance, c.1260-1400, to the complex interaction between town and countryside, to the persistence of private jurisdictions and to the degree to which the rural nobility was attracted to urban life. Finally, from 1370, the gradual assimilation of members of the mercantile classes to the ranks of the nobility has been traced, together with the formation of an urban oligarchy. In this way, both noble and civic consciousness in Perugia at the close of the Middle Ages were considerably modified.

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Later medieval Italian history is dominated by the history of its towns, and especially by their demographic and commercial development, by the subjugation of the *contado*, largely held to have been achieved by the mid-thirteenth century and by a fascination with the political process whereby the *popolo* achieved and maintained power. Not surprisingly, most attention has been directed towards the larger centres, such as Genoa, Florence, Milan or Venice. Thus, in dealing with Perugia and its nobility, this study has turned to a geographical area that has been largely overlooked and to an aspect of Italian social history which, in the concentration upon the economic and 'democratic' flowering of late medieval Italy, has received equally scant attention.

As a geographical area Umbria was less easily and closely touched by the major shifts in political influence in Central and Northern Italy; it was also situated off the main trade routes, and although clear evidence exists of the development of guilds, of demographic expansion and of other signs of thriving economic activity such as markets, much of this seems to have been a fairly local affair. Nonetheless, the temptation has been great, at Perugia as at other smaller towns, to transpose historiographical models from towns such as Florence and to apply them *a priori* to local developments. In seeking throughout to give due weight to the autonomous and, indeed at times peculiar, Perugian circumstances, it is intended to help develop a more appropriate regional typology.

The nobility constitutes a neglected theme for, by emphasizing a supposed process of 'democratisation', social historians, from Salvemini onwards, have tended to reduce the nobility to a spent force by the mid-thirteenth century. The subjection of its *contado* to the political hegemony of the town, the organisation of mercantile and artisan groups into guilds and the passing of the anti-magnate legislation are held to have quite diminished noble powers. From c.1950 a piecemeal re-assessment of this historiographical tradition has been undertaken by various scholars; more emphasis has been placed upon fluidity in politics, upon family rivalries, patronage and the extent of the countryside's independence of the

town. Moreover, studies on either side of the chronological timespan treated here have suggested, for the early Middle Ages, that many of the social developments long held to be peculiarly Italian, in fact, bore much similarity to the situation in other parts of Europe and, for the Renaissance era, that noble consciousness again came to the fore, together with a concrete assertion of physical power.

Taken together, these different paths of research imply that for the late Middle Ages, the nobility merits re-examination, and that, possibly, some of the developments in the definition of a noble class and of the internal structure of its families, as have been detailed, for example, for parts of Germany and France, might have some bearing upon Italy, too. The nobility at Perugia has been studied in this light. More important has been the need to develop a coherent framework whereby to approach such questions. Apart from occasional discussion of the ideas of men such as Dante or Bartolo of Sassoferrato, respectively literary or juristic, the concept of nobility has been little explored. Thus, a systematic study of the terminology of private and public documents has been undertaken with the aim of charting developments in the use of titles of honour and other vocabulary of personal distinction, so as to reconstruct a definition of nobility at Perugia in the thirteenth century, tracing the way in which such a concept arose at all and how it came later to be modified. This definition is closely intertwined with the role of knighthood, which historians of Northern Europe have long demonstrated played an important role in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in creating both a more cohesive and a more extensive noble class. It may be seen fulfilling a similar role at Perugia and later, in the early fourteenth century, its function as a vehicle of social mobility and definition being complete, it itself underwent change, becoming a rarer and more magnificent honour, a process distinctly at odds with the 'democratisation' which has sometimes been attributed to it in Italy.

A detailed prosopographical analysis of the Perugian families listed in 1333 as being nobles/magnates has been undertaken. At Perugia, where few surnames existed in the thirteenth or even in the early fifteenth centuries, a re-examination has been necessary of all possible means by which it might be held that a family relationship existed. A dearth of private documents prior to the late fourteenth century limits the extent to which investigation of family structures can be carried out, although some consideration of items such as intermarriage, basic inheritance customs and the adoption of surnames is possible. Most importantly, however, such work clearly

demonstrates that the origins and base of the early fourteenth century nobility at Perugia were overwhelmingly rural. As late as 1330 nobility at Perugia had not begun to assimilate mercantile elements; on the contrary it harked back to the ancient families of margraves and counts, to the *domini loci* as well as to lesser figures whose families had knightly traditions.

The ancient territorial aristocracy have been portrayed as subject to a fragmentation of their patrimonies, marked by the emergence of various independent lines centred on different castles. It is suggested, as has been done typically for the Berardenghi of Siena, that in this way such families were irretrievably weakened. There is certainly some evidence of the transfer of lands c.1200 from the margraves to newer families who were to be included in the nobility. But for the counts of Coccorano, who provide an example of the territorial aristocracy on the borders of Perugia and Gubbio, the sources demonstrate a cohesiveness which stretches beyond 1200, and, indeed, there is considerable evidence of a reorganisation of the patrimony aimed at securing it against such a process of fragmentation. Their power and authority continued well into the fourteenth century, as did that of the margraves, despite their loss of some lands.

Having established the rural origins of the nobility, the question of their subsequent *inurbamento* arises. Taken to its greatest lengths, such an interpretation has seen the expropriation of the rural nobility in whole or in part by the commune, their swearing allegiance in a series of submissions, agreeing to reside in the town and transfer thither many of their interests. Clearly, the question of the balance between town and countryside is fundamental, as is an evaluation of the political developments within the town and particularly an assessment of the real power of the *popolo*. Examinations of the *popolo* c.1250-1300, in towns such as Bologna, have come to lay much emphasis on the alignment of faction. The *popolo* could not merely be defined as a social class. Nobles might subscribe to it, even control it, for personal and factional reasons. There is nothing at Perugia to suggest that this sort of explanation held true until a very much later date - c.1380 and beyond. Throughout the time in which the *popolo* predominated in political institutions, all nobles were excluded by statute and in reality from holding office as guild consuls or priors. This ban was complete. Moreover, although on rare occasions, especially in the early fourteenth century, when disputes came to the fore between specific noble families, although there are suggestions that one of the parties might have been supported by, or allied with, the *popolo*, this was a temporary phenomenon.

Thus, it is not possible to offer a re-evaluation which stresses the manipulation of the popolo in any large measure by members of the nobility.

On the other hand, the fundamental question remains of the continued independence of the countryside even after its nominal submission to Perugia. Like most other Italian towns, Perugia maintains a series of documentary submissions. However, hardly any speak of residence; many are more in the form of independent political alliance; most deal with the submission of individual rural communes and their men, omitting any reference to personal responsibility or submission demanded from their lord. Much the same can be said of the quality of citizenship at Perugia; whilst it was a matter of great significance for lesser persons, for the nobility its juridical context was extremely vague, and it seems to have been looked upon largely as a quid pro quo in political bargaining at particularly difficult moments. At most, from the commune's point of view, its main interest appears to have been financial. Few nobles sold or were forced to sell their castles; occasionally, instead of passing to the commune, such castles went to another more solvent noble family. For families forced to sell, events a century later show how strong remained their influence in the immediately surrounding area despite the loss of the castle. In short, the contado remained a mosaic of conflicting interests and it was often in taking advantage of these and developing a power base, that they certainly never lost, that members of the nobility, even throughout the height of the communal era, were able to retain their own independence and their own very considerable strength.

Finally, in the late fourteenth century and beyond, it is possible to chart the further development of these processes, which resulted in the re-establishment of the nobility within the institutionalised politics of the town, often including members of families which had never previously been active in urban life at all. Also certain of the merchant and professional classes were assimilated into the nobility for the first time. Changes such as these involved a considerable shift both in civic and in noble consciousness. Perhaps, only at this date does the town begin to emerge fully as a centre of pride for the noble class. But at the same time, the growth of offices such as that of the captain of the contado shows a more remarkable linking of town and countryside than any which occurred under the popolo, and it was the nobility which acted as the bridgehead between the two. Similarly, now that the old definition of nobility as those of knightly descent had lost its force, through the assimilation of new families, much more emphasis came to be placed on newly acquired titles, such as that of count, which began

to become far more widespread through the granting of papal fiefs and of privileges of countship palatinate. This age also seems to have marked the first fabrications of illustrious classical and Germanic origins for individual families.

This study, therefore, shows the degree of continuity which may be traced over two centuries in the history of the Perugian nobility. It does not seek to minimise turning points - the assimilation first of a knightly class and then of a mercantile element, developments in family structure, changes in civic or noble ethos or in the impact of political activities - but it aims to avoid the hiatus which exists in present interpretations and to present the social history of Perugia through its upper echelons as a coherent process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFH	Archivum Franciscanum Historicum
Annales ESC	Annales. Economies, Societes. Civilisations.
Arch. Capit. San Lorenzo	Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo, Perugia.
ASG	Archivio di Stato, Gubbio.
ASI	Archivio Storico Italiano.
ASL	Archivio Storico Lombardo.
ASP	Archivio di Stato, Perugia.
BISI	Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo.
BSSP	Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria.
BU	Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria.
MA	Le Moyen Age.
MEFRM	Melanges de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome. Moyen Age/Temps Modernes.
MIöG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung.
NRS	Nuova Rivista Storica
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy.
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome.
QFIAB	Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken.
RSDI	Rivista per la storia del diritto italiano.
SM	Studi Medievali.

NOTE ON PROPER NAMES

Local Umbrian place names have been given, where possible, in their modern Italian equivalents.

Some personal names could be rendered in Latin, Italian or English; others have no equivalent in either Italian or English. Because so much importance is attached to the exact form of names and titles, most have, therefore, been kept as they appear in the sources - that is, mainly Latin, but for some fifteenth century names, Italian. At times, this has led to some apparent inconsistency in that the same person's name may be spelt differently in different sources. No attempt has been made to standardise such spelling.

Denominations of currency have been given as *libra*, *soldi* and *denarii* with their respective abbreviations, rather than in their modern English equivalent, £.s.d. The unit of account to which they refer is not always the same; it is usually Cortonese pounds, but may be Lucchese or some other.

INTRODUCTION

The title given to this study speaks intentionally of 'nobility' rather than of a more general 'aristocracy' or 'ruling class'. It reflects a double and a specific concern: not merely to investigate the structure and mechanisms of change in the upper echelons of a medieval society but, above all, to discover when and how at Perugia it was possible to speak of a juridically-defined noble class, tracing the origins of the concept of nobility and its fate during the communal era.

As a subject of historical investigation, the medieval nobility has a long and very distinguished pedigree. North of the Alps much of the original impetus stemmed from the problems raised by the continuity and descent, or otherwise, of the great Carolingian families. First Guilhiermoz and then Marc Bloch were pioneers in this field[1]. The latter's belief, however, in a fairly radical break between the Carolingian aristocracy and that of his 'first feudal age' has been modified by more recent studies which have stressed the persistence of many of the greater lineages. Regional

1. GUILHIERMOZ P. Essai sur les origines de la noblesse en France au Moyen-âge. (Paris 1902); BLOCH M. 'Sur le passé de la noblesse française; quelques jalons de recherche' in Annales d'histoire économique et sociale (1936) pp. 366-78 and later in La Société Féodale. (Paris 1940). The classic study for Germany is VON DUNGERN O. Der Herrenstand im Mittelalter (Papiermühle 1908)

monographs for many parts of Europe have dealt with these questions through a study of the social vocabulary of charters and literary texts and through the reconstruction of innumerable family genealogies which have then been set in relation to public authority, to the Church and to territorial change[1]. Central to much of this work has been an evaluation of the role of knighthood in defining noble class, and it has been recognised that only at a fairly late date can knighthood and nobility be said to have been in any way synonymous, depending upon a fusion of the more ancient aristocracy, whose Carolingian antecedents scholars have painstakingly pieced together, and a lesser knightly class, whose family trees can rarely be traced before the twelfth century at the earliest. Considerable chronological variations are in evidence for this process; they range from the early twelfth century in the Mâconnais to the late thirteenth in Namur and perhaps as late as the sixteenth in Guelders and Zutphen[2].

1. See especially DUBY G. La société aux XI et XII siècles dans la région mâconnaise. (Paris 1953) and more recently 'Une enquête à pour-suivre; la noblesse dans la France médiévale' in Revue historique CCXXVI (1961) pp.1-22; GENICOT L. L'économie rurale namuroise au bas moyen âge.(Louvain 1960) II. Les hommes. La noblesse. Higuonet C. 'Le groupe aristocratique en Aquitaine et en Gascogne (fin Xe-début XIIe siècle).' in Annales du Midi LXXX (1968) pp.563-71; BONNASSIE P. Croissance et mutations d'une société: la Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle. (Toulouse 1975)
2. For a summary and bibliography of recent work in this area see the Philippe Contamine's introduction to La Noblesse au Moyen Age, ed. Ph. Contamine (Paris 1976) pp.19-23.

In the Empire, the study of the nobility has always borne a particular relationship to questions of freedom and personal dependence, and the position of the _ministeriales_ has been crucial. By the later Middle Ages some of these had come to found dynasties which might mingle with the highest ranks of the German nobility, and yet whose original taint of personal dependence still appeared as a problem to be solved by princely intervention[1]. More generally, the precociously strict hierarchical ordering of the nobility which occurred in Germany in the twelfth century continued to include among its lower echelons a knightly class which remained legally unfree[2].

Similar attention has been given to the internal structure of dynasty and family. In northern France, for example, Georges Duby has argued that the 'reserrement du lignage' noted here among the knightly class was necessary in order to preserve the integrity of the family allod before

1. Much of our understanding of the problem of freedom and the position of the _ministeriales_ is due to the work of Karl Bosl. For a recent review of the question with special attention to the later Middle Ages see TRAUTZ F. 'Noblesse allemande et noblesse anglaise' in _Famille et Parenté dans l'Occident médiéval_ (Rome 1977) pp.63-81
2. For one of the most recent syntheses of the peculiarities of the German nobility see DOLLINGER Ph. 'La noblesse allemande XI-XIII siècles' in _La Noblesse au Moyen Age_ pp. 133-149.

nobility itself became hereditary[1]. In Germany, from about the twelfth century, a growing emphasis has been placed upon the dynastic and territorial elements within the nobility, as exemplified in the studies of the Welfs and the Staufer[2]. And further east, in Poland, the thirteenth century has been pin-pointed as the critical age marking the establishment of the noble family clans whose history was to dominate their country in the later Middle Ages[3].

Thus, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when in many areas of Europe it became possible to speak of a fairly clearly-defined noble class, new avenues of inquiry may, indeed must, be approached. How, for example, might a

1. DUBY G. 'Structures de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI et XII siècles' in Miscellanea mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer. (Groningen 1967) pp. 149-65 and 'Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise. Une révision' in Annales ESC XVII (1972) pp. 803-23
2. See originally the works of G. Tellenbach, whose writings are listed in Adel und Kirche (Freiburg 1968) a festschrift which includes a number of articles by colleagues and pupils along the same lines. See especially K. Schmid on the Welfs. Other important works by Schmid include 'Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel. Vortragen zum Thema: Adel und Herrschaft im Mittelalter' in Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins. CV (1957) pp. 1-62. A recent article STOERMER W. 'Adel und Ministerialität im Spiegel der bayerischen Namengebung (bis zum 13 Jahrhundert. in Deutches Archiv XXXIII (1977) pp. 84-152 illustrates what may be learnt in this way and both reviews and qualifies some of the German work to date.
3. See the contributions of Bieniak, Gieysztor and Samsonowicz in Famille et Parenté.

non-noble acquire nobility? From what social sphere and at what rate were new families assimilated? In some regions the right of ennoblement was claimed as a princely monopoly; in the 1270's in Provence, Raymond Berengar V announced this to be his prerogative alone, and here it was closely connected with the right to become a knight[1]. Another topic of great importance is the continued existence of different strata within the nobility and the likelihood of a shift in balance between them. A recent study of Bavaria has demonstrated that the pretensions of the lesser nobility were a source of endless complaint, but in no way prevented its members from establishing a right to participate in local tournaments, until then the preserve of the greater nobility, the so-called Tournieradel. Here, too, the Dienstherren came to mingle with the Hochfreie through the concession of Freiherr privileges and the gradual admission of intermarriage between the groups[2].

Even the northern European town, the history of which differs in many respects from that of its Italian counterpart, throws up problems concerning the social and political status of its inhabitants and their relationships with surr-

1. BLANC F.P. 'L'apparition du droit régalien d'anoblissement en Provence au XIIIe siècle' in Provence Historique XXIII/93-4 (1973) pp. 69-93
2. LIEBERICH H. Landherren und Landleute. Zur politischen Führungs-schicht Baierns in Spätmittelalter. (Munich 1964), a model study of the changes that occurred in a regional nobility.

ounding principalities and powers that have a considerable bearing upon the position of the nobility. Otto Brunner has brought this most clearly to light for medieval Vienna, in showing the complexity of the citizen class, drawn as it was from both mercantile families and from the ranks of the episcopal knights and ministeriales. The juridical status of person and property was intimately bound up with the distinction between town and countryside: the houses of the nobility within the town were exempt from the judicial and administrative control of the town, whilst the possessions of the Bürgerritter in the countryside enjoyed a freedom which those of the ordinary unfree rural knight would lack. Furthermore, Viennese culture had much in common with the rural poets among the lesser nobility of the Waldviertel area of Lower Austria. The relations of town and countryside, therefore, form a very subtle and fascinating mosaic[1].

How have these particular lines of inquiry been reflected in Italy? For the early period, the interaction and development of Lombard and Frankish families has aroused an interest similar to that engendered by the dynastic question in post-Carolingian Europe[2]. This has been pursued at two

1. Besides his classic study Land und Herrschaft (Vienna 1959) see also BRUNNER O. 'Zwei Studien zum Verhältnis von Bürgertum und Adel' in Neue Wege der Verfassungs-und Sozialgeschichte. (2.edn.Göttingen 1968) pp.242-80
2. See HLAWITSCHKA E. Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien. 774-962. (Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1960); also TABACCO G. 'La storia politica e sociale. Dal tramonto del Impero alle prime formazioni di stati regionali' in Storia d'Italia vol.2(i) (Turin 1974) pp.5-180 and the bibliography cited there.

levels: that of the leading Italian families, where it is exemplified in the work of Hlawitschka, and that of the localities, such as in the development of Lucchese society from the seventh to the eleventh centuries[1]. Since bishoprics and monasteries are the source of much of the historian's evidence, and since they also acted as a real and vital link between dynasties and power-structures, a good deal of attention has quite rightly been directed towards the particular interaction of religious, social and political history. This is especially true of tenth and eleventh century Lombardy and Tuscany where material is very rich[2]. Recently, Paolo Cammarosano has devoted a complete monograph to the Sienese family of the Berardenghi, whose history can be followed over a number of centuries in the documents emanating from Fontebona, the monastery originally founded in 867 by an ancestor. For the latter period, from the twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries, this material can be enlarged by recourse to the Sienese urban archives, and these cast some light upon the relationship of the now distinct branches of the terri-

1. SCHWARZMAIER H. Lucca und das Reich bis zum Ende des 11 Jahrhunderts. (Tübingen 1972)

2. See particularly the work of Schwarzmaier, Kurze and Schmale in, for example. Adel und Kirche and Lucca e la Tuscia nell'Alto Medioevo. (Spoleto 1973) Also other articles in QFIAB XLIV (1964); XLVII (1967) For the most recent appraisal of Italian and French contributions see Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen. (Xe-XIIIe siècles), conference held at Rome under the auspices of the Ecole Francaise 10-13 October.1978, especially the contributions of Bordone, Sergi, Settia, Menant and Nobili.

torial family to the early commune[1]. It is from the results of works such as these that Violante recently outlined a model for the changing aristocratic family structure of the early Middle Ages, laying considerable emphasis on the close links between family structure and patrimony and the increasing fragmentation of both[2].

From the high Middle Ages onwards it is the town that lies at the heart of almost all Italian historiography, and this urban emphasis has conditioned much of work undertaken concerning changes in social structure. For certain towns, such as Milan or Verona, important work has been done well into the communal era in pursuing urban development from the point of view of those families - territorial, mercantile and members of the bishop's curia - whose interests were often decisive in determining the course of the town's history[3]. Hagen Keller's recent study of Lombardy has had much to say that is new and illuminating[4]; and eleventh and twelfth-

1. CAMMAROSANO C. La Famiglia dei Berardenghi. Contributo alla storia della società senese nei secoli XI-XIII (Spoleto 1974)
2. VIOLANTE C. 'Structures familiales en Lombardie, Emilie et Toscane aux XIe et XIIe siècles' in Famille et Parenté pp. 87-147
3. For Milan a chronological extension of VIOLANTE C. La società milanese nell'età precomunale. (2 ed. Bari 1974) in the work carried out by pupils and colleagues. For example, FASOLA L.'Una famiglia di sostenitori milanesi di Federico I. Per la storia dei rapporti dell'imperatore con le forze sociali e politiche della Lombardia.' in QFIAB vol.LII (1972) pp. 116-218. For Verona, the studies of A. Castagnetti.
4. KELLER H. Adelherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien (9 - 12 Jahrhundert). (Tübingen 1979)

century Pisa has attracted the attention of an _équipe_ who have studied in detail many of the individual family histories. Here, Gabriella Rossetti is at pains to point out how necessary it is to pay far closer attention to family history; she sees this as the only way to get behind the over-schematisation which has bedevilled much work on the Italian town[1].

After c. 1250 this tendency to emphasize commercial growth and rarely to go beyond the outer facade of social reality, such as is revealed by institutional change, has been yet more marked. Even when anachronistic notions of class conflict have not been brought into play, the prosopographical and conceptual analyses necessary for a more balanced assessment are often completely lacking. Where some considerable study of individual noble and merchant families has been carried out, this has usually been for towns which were more likely to have experienced peculiar developments by reason of their massive and precocious comm-

1. At Pisa ROSSETTI G. 'Histoire familiale et structures sociales et politiques à Pise' in _Famille et Parenté_ pp.159-179 and now _Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: Formazione e caratteri di una classa di governo_. ed. G. Rossetti (Pisa 1979)

ercial expansion, such as Pisa, Genoa or Florence[1]. It cannot be expected that the smaller towns would necessarily offer a similar picture.

Nonetheless, a good deal of revisionism has been in the air in the past decade, and new considerations have emerged. The persistence of private jurisdictions in the countryside has been alluded to, and it has been recognised that feudal structures might develop alongside the nascent or indeed fully-grown commune[2]. In some areas it has been shown that the nobility took control of the play of faction within the town itself or that, as in many of the smaller centres of the Romagna, the inurbamento of members of the

1. GRENDI E. 'Profilo storico degli alberghi genovesi' in MEFRM LXXXVII (1975) pp. 241-302; ROON-BASSERMAN E. 'Die Rossi von Oltrano' in Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte LI (1964) pp. 235-48; STAHL E. Adel und Volk im Florentiner Dugento. (Cologne-Graz 1965). For Pisa in the thirteenth century CRISTIANI E. Nobilta e popolo nel comune di Pisa. Dalle origini del podestariato alla signoria del Donoratico. (Naples 1962)

2. CHERUBINI G. Signori, contadini, borghesi. (Bologna 1974), volume of collected essays, especially pp.177-99, 201-18 on the lordships of the Cerretani and the Ubertini at the beginning of the fifteenth century. SOLDI RONDININI G. 'Nuovi aspetti e problemi della signoria rurale (sec. XIII-XIV) in NRS. LVII (1973) pp.545-70, an important review article. Similarly TABACCO G. 'Fief et Seigneurie dans l'Italie communale. L'évolution d'un theme historiographique' in MA. (1969) pp.5-37, 203-218.

territorial aristocracy subjected the town to the forces of the countryside[1]. Some attempt has been made, especially for Tuscany, to reverse the traditional judgment upon the relationship between town and countryside; Caggese's view of the entire domination and exploitation of the latter by the former has been seriously, if not always convincingly, questioned[2]. However, the detail of the relationships in fields other than those of demography, the bare terms of political treaties and the stipulations of fiscal policies, still remains little explored. Finally, the possible tendency towards a concentration of wealth and a fresh burgeoning of feudal relations and lordships has been outlined[3]. Many of these, however, remain isolated suggestions,

1. Among other things KAMP N. Le istituzioni comunali in Viterbo (Viterbo 1963) especially pp. 60-61; WALEY D. Mediaeval Orvieto. (Cambridge 1952) pp. 53-58; LARNER J. The Lords of Romagna, Romagnol Society and the origins of the signorie. (New York 1965) and JONES P.J. The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State. (Cambridge 1974)
2. Initially CAGGESE R. 'La Repubblica di Siena e il suo contado nel secolo decimoterzo' in BSSP. XIII (1906) pp. 3-120. His conclusions are questions for Florence in FIUMI E. 'Fioritura e decadenza dell'economia fiorentina' in ASI. CXV (1957) pp. 385-439, CXVI (1958) pp. 443-510, CXVII (1959) pp. 427-502, and for Tuscany more generally in 'Sui rapporti tra città e contado nell'età comunale' in ASI. CXIV (1956) pp. 18-68, BOWSKY W. The Finance of the Commune of Siena. 1287-1355. (Oxford 1970)
3. Concerning the distribution of wealth see, for example, HERLIHY D. Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia. (New Haven and London 1967) esp. pp. 180-212; for Perugia itself BLANSHEI S.R. 'Population, Wealth, and Patronage in Medieval and Renaissance Perugia' in JIH. IX/4 (1979) pp. 597-619. For an illuminating discussion of the concession of fiefs at Milan in the early fifteenth century by the Visconti see CHITTOLINI G. 'Infeudazioni e politica feudale nel ducato sforzesco-visconteo' in Quaderni storici XIX (1972) pp. 57-130

although various of their wider implications have been examined by Philip Jones in a far-reaching discussion of the changes experienced by Italian society from the early Middle Ages to the Renaissance[1]. His particular concern is that the role of the nobility should be reassessed.

From here, two paths at least should be followed. It is essential that, with the hindsight gained from individual studies in the past years, many single areas should be re-considered in their own right. Regional differences should be carefully charted, together with an assessment of the way in which Italian developments were similar to those in other parts of Europe, as well as the way in which they differed most fundamentally. Secondly, questions which it is perfectly legitimate to ask about Italy have not always been voiced. One of the most important of these is to discover exactly what in specific circumstances contemporaries meant by nobility. All analysis which has been done for this subject has used either literary or juridical sources. The discussion which Dante recounts in the Convivio about the relationship between nobility, descent, wealth and virtue is frequently cited as a point of departure.[2] Arguments have been

1. JONES P.J. 'Economia e società nell'italia medievale. La leggenda della borghesia' in Storia d'Italia. Annali I. Dal Feudalismo al Capitalismo. (Turin 1979) pp. 185-372.
2. DANTE Convivio IV xiv

put forward for a transition from the concept of nobilità-casta to that of nobilità-sapere, but again, almost exclusively from literary sources[1]. At a slightly later time the legists, especially Bartolo of Sassoferrato, have been much quoted with their distinctions between natural nobility, which could be identified with Dante's virtù, and civic nobility, to which Bartolo gave a sufficiently elastic interpretation to provide scope for considerable discussion by his successors[2]. These are all valuable testimonies, but the debate could be fruitfully extended to the more sober witness of archival and administrative documents for, as Tabacco and Rossetti have both suggested, the thirteenth century was probably the first time in Italy that a workable definition of nobility appeared on the more mundane political scene.

Certainly, there is a hiatus which must be bridged before the debates which concern the aristocratic and patrician classes of modern Italy can be reached. Berengo, in his study of sixteenth-century Lucca, suggests that it was during this latter period that the foundations of the modern aristocratic consciousness were laid. A brief recent study of Pisa has outlined some of the threads of continuity which may be gathered through the communal era - family traditions, the memory

1. VALLONE A. 'Il concetto di nobiltà e cortesia nei secoli XIV e XV' in Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei viii ser., IX (1954) pp. 8-20
2. SHEEDY A. Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century. (New York 1942) pp. 116-125

of seigneurial jurisdictions and the nature of landed property - but it is very clear that in this field the antecedents of the modern period are all too little understood[1].

For many of these things, Perugia is offered as a test case, furnishing an example of a town which in no way belonged to the foremost waves of commercial expansion, but was large enough to register a certain amount of economic activity and not to be swamped by the forces of the surrounding countryside[2]. It is intended to discuss what nobility meant in a commune such as this and, thus, to offer a counterpart to the forthcoming work of Alberto Grohmann. He surveys, with especial reference to the fifteenth century, the rural and urban economies, demography and settlement patterns and their influence upon the political life of the town[3]. This present study,

1. BERENGO M. Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento. (2 ed. Turin 1975) esp. pp. 243-62. LUZZATI M. 'Familles nobles et familles marchandes à Pise et en Toscane dans le bas Moyen Age' in Famille et Parenté pp. 275-296.
2. See particularly SERVINI D.P.D. Perugian merchants and mercantile activity c.1370-1424 (London Univ. M.Phil. thesis 1974).
3. The work is to be published shortly. I am grateful to Prof. Grohmann who has discussed its main emphases with me, but I have not seen any of the manuscript. Some of the sources used are the same as those which served for Sarah Blanshei's monograph on the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: Perugia 1260-1340:Conflict and Change in a medieval Italian urban society. (Philadelphia 1976), but he goes on to include a detailed study of sample volumes of the catasti to give a more wide-ranging picture of economy and society.

however, the chronological emphasis of which falls much earlier, is essentially of a socio-political nature, seeking to illuminate noble and civic consciousness and to re-assess the balance of power and influence in town and countryside.

The chronological point of departure is determined by a lack of available evidence for the period before c.1180; and the nature of that which does survive from the ensuing centuries has decided in large measure the form that the investigation must take. If that form has certain rather strange features and appears to contain various considerable omissions, this is chiefly because the archival sources at Perugia before the fifteenth century are particularly intractable and subject to many unfortunate gaps.

For the early Middle Ages only the deposit of Santa Maria Valdiponte and occasional charters from San Pietro and the cathedral chapter of San Lorenzo break an otherwise complete silence. The religious houses, indeed, can offer very little to the historian before the fifteenth century, although the systematic editing of such charters as do remain would be an undeniable boon[1].

1. The first hundred charters of Santa Maria Valdiponte have been published in full, but most of the remaining material, comprising over fifteen hundred individual parchments, has still to be approached through the register made by Fatteschi Tabularium perantiqua coenobi Santa Mariae

A similarly advanced date must be reached before the literary sources are at all forthcoming. For the centuries under discussion here, we possess a rather meagre collection of chronicles, the prototype of which was discovered some fifteen years back by F.A. Ugolini in MS. 871 of the Biblio-teca Nazionale at Rome. It was certainly written before 1350, possibly as an official record, and was probably contemporaneous with most of the events it describes. The Brevi Annali are wholly derived from it, and the so-called

Vallis de Ponte in Corbiniano of 1798 ASP. Corp.Relig.Sopp Santa Maria Valdiponte Miscellanea LVII.

Some of the earliest of the cathedral charters were edited in Il Notariato a Perugia ed. R. Abbondanza (Rome 1973), and many of the others have been transcribed in the Libro Verde, now part of the archive at San Lorenzo itself. Most of these deal solely with ecclesiastical matters. All the San Pietro charters were published in full in the 1950's, but they are relatively few.

These religious institutions possess volumes of leases and other contracts, none of which, however, commences before the thirteenth century. The first complete volume from San Pietro, covering the years 1330-32 has been edited and an incomplete manuscript series continues through the fourteenth century from this date. The cathedral has four volumes ca.1250-1340. When they peter out here, they do not resume until the end of the fourteenth century. For Santa Maria Valdiponte there are a few early fourteenth century lease-books, but a serious body of such documentation exists only from a hundred years later.

There are collections of charters from other houses such as Monte Morcino, Monteluce, San Francisco al Prato, the hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia. Because they remain for the most part uncatalogued, my use of them has been, of necessity, rather haphazard.

Diario del Graziano employs and continues it[1]. This latter provides a much fuller narrative for the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is also a collection of Latin and vernacular verse, much of which is unedited. The Eulistea, composed by Bonifazio of Verona in the 1290's, is a patriotic poem of the type which had elsewhere passed out of fashion by that date. What we know of it suggests that, while it can offer a little by way of illumination upon thirteenth century Perugian society, it is largely a collection of literary conceits[2]. Probably more important, but largely unknown, are the Italian poems written by Perugians in the first half of the fourteenth century and preserved in Cod. Vat. Barb. 4036[3].

Private documentation also commences fairly late. There are notarial volumes from the second half of the

1. For the text of the chronicle and a critical introduction Annali e Cronaca di Perugia in volgare dal 1191 al 1336. ed. F.A. Ugolini in Annali della Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia della Universita degli Studi di Perugia I (1962) pp. 141-337. The other two chronicles were edited by Fabretti in ASI. XVI/i (1850).
2. Part of the Eulistea appears ASI. XVI/i (1850) pp.1-52. There is a commentary on it in GALETTI A.I., 'Considerazioni per una interpretazione dell'Eulistea' ASI. CXXVIII (1970) pp. 305-334.
3. One of the poems was edited and critically examined in SALVATORELLI L. 'La politica interna di Perugia in un poemetto volgare della metà del Trecento' BU. L (1958) pp. 5-109. Two others are to be found in UGOLINI F.A. 'L'Abbazia di San Pietro nel secolo XIV e la sua influenza sulla vita sociale e politica di Perugia' BU. LXIV/ii. (1967) pp. 137,149. See also TOMMASINI MATTIUCCI P. 'Neri Moscoli da Città di Castello. Antico rimatore sconosciuto' BU. III (1897) pp. 1-159.

fourteenth century, but the deposit does not achieve a certain richness before the late fifteenth century. Whilst this existence of veritable lacunae is naturally disappointing, it does make it possible to consult a very large section of the available material and, upon the basis of it, to consider the noble class as a whole, rather than to be forced, through an overwhelming wealth of documentation, to choose one or two sample families.

The documents which form the core of this study come chiefly from the administrative centre of the commune. They consist of political treaties, administrative decisions, council minutes and tax registers. Beginning with the volumes of the sommissioni which, apart from an odd document of 1139, run from 1180 to the mid-thirteenth century, they are continued by the individual parchments of the diplomatico and the volumes of the riformanze. Unfortunately, for the mid-fourteenth century much seems to have been destroyed. Except for 1351, there are no volumes of council minutes at all from 1326 to 1370, and the archive contains little else to inform us in detail upon these years[1].

At a first glance, this sort of material appears best

1. For a description and catalogue of the communal archive see Archivio storico del comune di Perugia. Inventario. ed. G. CECCHINI (Rome 1956). A new and revised edition is being prepared at the moment.

suited to the writing of plain administrative history. Even the riformanze, except in some of the thirteenth century volumes, are mainly a record of policy decisions, and concern matters such as the election and payment of officials and ambassadors, orders for defence and repair works in the countryside and other such routine questions. There is little of the cut and thrust of debate which Ottokar was able to take from the Florentine council minutes of the 1290's and from which he was able to put together in some detail the changing alignment of faction and the shifting motivations behind official policy[1]. Thus, the Perugian sources are not even particularly well adapted to the narrating of straight political history, and this is reflected in the recent work by J. P. Grundman. It is marred fundamentally by the author's having applied with little discrimination to Perugia Salvemini's thesis of class conflict, such as it was outlined for Florence in the latter decades of the thirteenth century. But it is doubtful whether, in the absence of such a framework,he would have been able to reach any coherent interpretation of the mass of statutory rubrics which are the main source for his study. These latter have been examined in minute detail. This is a considerable contribution to Perugian history, even if, on occasions, totally unwarranted

1. OTTOKAR N. Il comune di Firenze alla fine del Dugento. (2 edn. Turin 1962).

conclusions have been read into these legislative provisions. Apart from this, from the mid-thirteenth century, a good deal of Grundman's analysis is not original; he merely repeats, without further investigation, incidents reported in Pellini's annals, fitting them into his own preconceived framework[1].

Pellini, in fact, still furnishes the essential outline of Perugian political history[2]. Through a systematic reading of the urban records, and especially the council minutes, he constructed a chronicle which runs from year to year throughout the Middle Ages to 1572. There are certain errors, especially in the dating of individual events, and it was inevitable that there should be a concession to local traditions and anachronisms. Taken as a

1. GRUNDMAN J.P. The Popolo at Perugia (1139-1309). (Washington Univ. Ph. D. thesis 1974.) For the early part of the thirteenth century, Grundman was able to consult all the available material. His discussion of the papal letters dealing with the conflicts of the 1220's is particularly interesting, but for most of the remaining documentation, even from this early period, he did little more than refer to its bare existence, rarely consulting in detail the terms of political agreements. This tendency becomes even more marked as the century proceeds. Very often, therefore, he has done little more than fit such events within his preconceived framework. From 1280 to 1309 he was able to concentrate on the miscellany of dated rubrics preserved ASP. Statuti XII. But anonymous policy decisions are not necessarily the best guide to the motors of political and social change: and his attribution of these laws to a perpetual struggle between popolo grasso and popolo minuto seems on many occasions to be stretching a point too far.
2. PELLINI P. Dell'historia di Perugia (I-II Venice 1664, III reprinted Perugia 1970).

whole, however, this remains a remarkable monument to seventeenth-century erudition and has certainly not been surpassed by more recent local historians. The histories of Bonazzi and Guardabassi offer nothing new, except for all the commonplaces of nineteenth-century liberal historiography. William Heywood, whilst taking advantage of the individual documents published by Ansidei, degli Azzi and others at the turn of the century, still remained a prisoner of old-fashioned visions and interpretations[1]. In the last decade or so, a number of scholars have studied isolated political events, correcting and enlarging sections of Pellini's work and also placing Perugia in a wider Italian setting. Such, for example, are the studies of Goldbrunner concerning Perugia's relations with Milan and the Visconti and that of Maria Fop for relations with the Papacy in the fourteenth century to 1370[2]. There is no

1. BONAZZI L. Storia di Perugia dalle origini al 1860. (Perugia 1875/9) GUARDABASSI F. Storia di Perugia (Perugia 1933): HEYWOOD W. A History of Perugia (New York/London 1910).
2. GOLDBRUNNER H. 'Die Mailandische Herrschaft in Perugia 1400-1403' QFIAB. LII (1972) pp.397-475: FOP M.P. Il comune di Perugia e la Chiesa durante il periodo avignonese con particolare riferimento all'Albornoz. (Perugia 1970). For the thirteenth century see GALETTI A.I. 'La societa comunale di fronte alla guerra nelle fonti perugine del 1282' BU. LXXI/i (1974) pp.35-98. Among the other Umbrian communes Città di Castello in the hands of Magherini Graziani and Orvieto under the pen of Daniel Waley have received the best political narratives. See also the latter's The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century. (London 1961).

doubt that the whole political history of Umbria needs to be taken in hand, but this is quite obviously not the place to endeavour to do such a thing.

Another contribution to Perugian history has been the series of monographs dealing with individual castles and rural communes. These are of varying weight and scholarship[1]. For the most part, even the best do no more than relate the fortunes of a single locality within a traditional interpretative framework. This type of study, while on occasions a valuable preliminary work, needs re-evaluation as a whole.

Here no attempt will be made to provide a continuous chronological narrative. Rather, the aim has been to assess the patterns of change in social and political relationships to which the bare bones of traditional political history stand witness. On occasions this has involved a detailed re-assessment of an individual series of events; on others, more emphasis has been given to the most significant characteristics of a wider group of treaties and agreements.

1. For the individual monographs published before 1968 see the bibliographical notes to MARINELLI O. 'I castelli dell'Umbria' Storia e Arte in Umbria nell'età comunale. Atti del VI Convegno di Studi Umbri. (Perugia 1971) pp. 427-9. The article in general, together with other similar pieces which have considered castles, rural communes and the submissions at the end of the twelfth century and in the early thirteenth, is disappointingly sterile and repetitive. Other relevant local monographs published since that date are cited in chapter IV below.

This is a hazardous task, obviously open to abuse through unscrupulous or even careless selection, but it seemed time to reconsider single studies against a broader time-span and against the backcloth of a multiplicity of settlement patterns. It is hoped thus to bring to the fore the shifts and varieties of interest and influence to which a strict chronological narrative cannot always do justice.

A second major element in this study has been a prosopographical analysis of the Libro Rosso, the list of Perugian nobles drawn up in 1333. Perugia is fortunate to possess such a register at all, and very few other communes could offer such a list at this date. The need to appreciate the identity of individuals, their family relationships, their network of clientage and interest would seem self-evident. Prosopography has proved a valuable tool for the history of the early Middle Ages, and occasionally has been used at a later date, as in Ottokar's work on Florence and that of Cristiani for Pisa. In general, however, the prosopography of later medieval Italy remains a barren field. At Perugia this lack is very evident but also understandable. The first family monograph from this period is Bartoli Langeli's detailed investigation of the Coppoli in the thirteenth century[1]. Two

1. BARTOLI LANGELI A. 'Nobiltà cittadina, scelte

things render such studies particularly difficult; the lack of private documentation and the general absence of surnames before the end of the fourteenth century. This is a great hindrance and makes all such forays rather tedious and convoluted, but it is not a sufficient excuse for ignoring this line of enquiry.

Local _erudits_ have already provided a large number of miscellanies and collections, both published and in manuscript form, to illustrate the history of most Perugian families. The _Biblioteca Augusta_ is richly endowed with all manner of such _memoires_, and the largest single achievement in the field, Agostini's _Famiglie Perugine_, is now housed in San Pietro. All these are based on the _catasti_, the _riformanze_ and the notarial archive. Very little can be accepted without further verification, and often an author's fantasy seems far to have surpassed his critical ability. Especially in the early period, before the advent of the family name, it is possible to find the same individual placed in at least four or five different families, and many family origins have been invented. Moreover, the entire perspective of these local antiquaries

religiose, influsso francescano. Il caso di Giacomo Coppoli perugino' _MEFRM._ LXXXIX/ii (1977), an abridged version of his study of the family. 'La famiglia Coppoli nella società perugina del duecento' _Francescanesimo e società cittadina: l'esempio di Perugia_. (Perugia 1979) pp. 45-112.

was different; they intended to reveal the history and the glories of individual dynasties, rather than to treat them as a means of understanding social change.

The third major emphasis has been placed on the study of terminology, another field that has been neglected in Italy. A recent article by George Duby sought to carry south of the Alps the fruitful discussion of the vocabulary of social status which has been developed in France and Germany; but it touches the Italian evidence somewhat slightly and, for the most part, through secondary sources[1]. Before the thirteenth century, attempts to take up research in this field are likely to founder upon the general lack of any such vocabulary in many of the existing documents. Even Keller, who has shown how much there is to be learnt from this, has warned against the little help that the sources give. From c.1200, however, there is a bulk of communal records which await systematic exploitation in this way. It is a method which has already served well to illuminate the social structure of certain German towns

1. DUBY G. 'La diffusion du titre chevaleresque sur le versant méditerranéen de la Chrétienté latine' La Noblesse au Moyen Age pp. 39-70. This lack in the early Italian documents is my own experience for Umbria, see below chapter I. The Farfa register and much Tuscan material offer, at a first glance, similar results. For northern Italy, see the conclusions of MENANT F. 'Entre Milan et Bergame: une famille de l'aristocratie rurale au XIIe siècle' MEFRM. LXXXVIII/ii (1976) p. 433 n.1.

during the Middle Ages[1], and there is no reason to believe that all Italian notaries came to use titles and courtesy descriptions in an entirely random manner, although on some occasions this does indeed seem to have been the case. A Pisan statute of the fourteenth century suggests, however, that such forms might be properly regulated: 'Ubi dicitur in hoc proemio tempore nobilis et sapientis viri .... sic dici debet si capitaneus est nobilis[2]. And it is in the belief that the makers of this statute were reflecting a genuine concern that the first part of the ensuing work has been written.

1. See especially PLANITZ H. 'Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte des städtischen Patriziats' MIÖG. LVIII (1950) pp. 317-335, which studies the use of terms such as miles, civis, meliores, dominus (her).
2. SHIMIZU K. L'amministrazione del contado pisano nel Trecento attraverso un manuale notarile. (Pisa 1975) p.viii of Violante's introduction. Cp. the general observations on fourteenth century Roman notarial practice in MAIRE VIGUEUR J.C. 'Les 'casali' des églises romaines à la fin du Moyen Age. (1348-1428)' MEFRM. LXXXVI/i. (1974) esp. pp. 131, 132n.1, 135.

CHAPTER I. TITLES, TERMINOLOGY AND SOCIAL STATUS (c. 1200-1350).

Through a consideration of the use of titles together with official descriptions of individuals and of social groups, the changing nature of Perugian society and particularly of its noble class, will be investigated. Most of the documents which are of use for such a study, come from the administrative centre of the commune. Before c. 1180, however, the only source material of any bulk are the earliest charters of Santa Maria Valdiponte[1]. It has also been possible to make some comparison with five hundred or so charters from Gubbio and a similar number from the monastery of Santa Croce of Sassovivo, near Foligno[2]. These latter, which cover the tenth to the

1. DE DONATO V. Le più antiche carte dell'Abbazia di S. Maria Val di Ponte. 967-1170. (Rome 1962). It includes two documents from the tenth century, twenty-seven from the eleventh and the remaining seventy-one from the twelfth century. Almost all were drawn up in Perugia, its contado or that of Gubbio. Whether, in fact, no. 1, which is the monastery's foundation charter, refers to Santa Maris Valdiponte at all has recently been questioned in CENCETTI G. 'L'Abbazia di San Pietro nella storia di Perugia. (Note critiche e diplomatiche sui suoi antichi documenti) BU. LXIV/ii (1967) pp. 52-3. From the point of view of this study, however, the papal bull in question offers nothing of interest. The second tenth-century document, undoubtedly of Valdiponte provenance, is extremely valuable, however.
2. CENCI P. 'Codice diplomatico di Gubbio dal 900 al 1200'. Archivio per la storia ecclesiastica dell'Umbria. II (1915) pp. 125-534. Le Carte dell'Abbazia di Sassovivo I. 1023-1115 ed. G. Cencetti; II. 1116-1165 ed. V. de Donato (Florence 1973 and 1975). The third volume, covering the years 1166-1200, has not yet been published.

twelfth centuries, confirm the picture of terminological developments that the very few Perugian documents of this period suggest.

The early Valdiponte charters know very little of the use of titles or of any other designations of rank. Dominus, for example, whilst appearing with some irregularity for popes and emperors in the dating clauses and elsewhere for the abbot and other members of the monastic community, occurs in only one other place and then in the vocative case[1]. The document in question is unusual in that it provides a reasonable comprehensive picture of the social class of its participants. The codicil of one Iohannes, it was drawn up:

> in presentja iudicium et bonorum ominum, nomina eorum Guido iudice et Andrea et Bonizo iudicibus, et Bonizo vir magnificus de Monte Martelli et Acto nepote suo et Teuzo fil(io) Benedico et Bonizo germano suo et Georgio de Turite et Petrus vir magnificus.

Iohannes speaks to the assembled company in the following way: 'domino Bonizo frater et consobrino meo et vos iudici et alii plures omnibus'. He went on to make a substantial donation to the abbey. Three things should be noted about this charter. Besides the rare use of dominus, there is also the appearance of magnificus vir, a title that was

1. DE DONATO Le più antiche carte no. 2.

applied by the Lombards to counts and gastaldi[1], and lastly the association of judges with other men of a high social rank.

Among the remaining documents, there is occasional reference to the margraval family: for instance, to Ugo marchio, the donor in 1050 of the castle of Castiglione[2]. It is also usual to find that judges were explicitly designated as such, as were the witnesses Bucco iudex of 1053 and Iohannes filius quondam Azzo iudice of 1063[3]. On several occasions a viscount is named. He seems to have had a particular connection with the town, for the only documents in which he appears refer to urban rather than rural property. Similarly, mention of judges is made more often in an urban context. Thus, the possessions which in 1073 were given to the abbey by Fermosa and Hermiza filie Attonis iudice lay within Perugia itself. The same is true of those donated by Dulcizia filie Dominico iudice in 1116. The boundary description in the first grant refers to the res heredibus Bonizo vicecomes, and among the witnesses to the second was Ugolino vicecomes[4]. After

1. CONTI P.M.'L'uso dei titoli onorari ed aulici nel regno longobardo'. Studi storici in onore O. Bertolini (Pisa 1972) I. 171.
2. DE DONATO Le piu antiche carte no. 7.
3. ibid nos. 8, 16.
4. ibid nos. 25, 38.

this latter date the title of viscount disappears, and this may well be connected with the development of the consular office at Perugia from the 1130's[1]. There is an unusual Valdiponte charter from September 1183. In it the donor of land is described thus: 'Ildebrandinus filius quondam Iohannis de Vice-comitibus per perabolam filiorum de Monaco de Vicecomitibus'[2]. This suggests that the title of vicecomes may have become hereditary at Perugia; if it did, however, the family concerned was not destined for a long life. There are no further references to its members.

In all other Valdiponte charters, except for that of 1160 in which Divizio faber made a donation[3], any inference about social status must be derived from the nature of the transaction or the property involved. Sometimes, this would clearly give us to believe in a person of considerable social standing, but there are no titles to furnish assistance, no adjectives such as illuster or nobilis and, finally, no use of the term miles.

Gubbio and Sassovivo provide comparable results. The

1. The first of the Perugian submissions contains a list of consuls; this document dated 1139 is the first evidence we have of the existence of the Perugian commune.
2. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. Santa Maria di Valdiponte cass. III, 129.
3. DE DONATO Le più antiche carte no. 85

comital title and that of marchio are relatively common, as is that of judge[1]. Adjectives of rank and the dominus title, on the contrary, are very rare. The following is one of the few instances: 'Ideo constat me Gentile inclitus comes filius bone memorie donno Rainerio inclito comite atque donna Maria inclita comitissa coniuge mea.'[2]. This combination of descriptive adjective and title of rank is found again in the same document, but not elsewhere. A further employment of dominus with reference to a count comes from 1149 when Gentile comes filius domini Albrici comitis received a fief from the canons of Foligno[3]. The occasional use of domina in the Eugubine records deserves attention. By the mid-thirteenth century at the latest, it was used of all women, regardless of rank. However, in these twelfth-century documents it still seems to have borne a connotation of dignity. It is found, for example, before the names of Panfilia and Gasdia, the wives of Andreas and Stephanus Armanni, members of one of the few recognisable aristocratic lineages from early Umbria[4].

From the close of the twelfth century it is possible

1. For the use of marchio see CENCI p. 'Codice diplomatico' no. 95; for counts ibid nos. 15, 83, 91, 110, 167 etc. and Sassovivo I. nos. 1, 6, 9, 20, 28, 56, 70, 74, 102, 139, 151; for judges Sassovivo I. nos. 12, 82, 99, 131, 165, 219.
2. Sassovivo I. no. 159.
3. Sassovivo II. no. 150.
4. CENCI op. cit. no. 298. See also below p. 142-5

to limit our inquiry to the strictly Perugian documentation and to a consideration of three fundamental words: nobilis, miles/milites and the title dominus. None appears at first with much frequency. The submission of the Polvese Island in 1139 contains a clause which offers a unique glimpse of the local Perugian hierarchy at this date:

'Et unquam in tempore in predicta insula non recolligamus persona(m) de comite neque de cataneis vel de milite sine parabola de perusini consules et de cuncto populo'[1].

This is a lone description of social divisions, but its terms are of considerable interest in the light of future developments, and we shall return to them later.

The diploma issued for Perugia in 1186 by Henry VI gives a further example of use of the term miles[2]. It is employed in its plural form, the milites appearing as a definite social group to which various concessions were made. Lake Trasimeno was to form part of the imperial domain, 'exceptis trecentis tencis quas militibus perusinis in feudo concessimus'. Tolls were also to belong to the Empire 'preter quod militibus perusinis quinque solidos de soma concessimus'. The submission of Nocera to Perugia in 1202 furnishes a similar usage, in the form of a tax

1. ASP. Somm.II. f. 37v (Somm. LX)
2. ASP. Somm.II. f. 35v (Somm. LXIII).

exemption common in the early communal period. When Perugia levied a collecta upon its contado, that of Nocera was to contribute as well, 'exceptis civibus omnibus civitatis Nuverii et exceptis sesaginta mansis canonice episcopatus quos episcopus voluerit excipere et exceptis militibus'[1].

For nobilis, the first recorded use is in the imperial privilege of 1186. In it the nobiles de Deruta were exempted from Perugian jurisdiction[2]. The next appearance of the word is in a somewhat different context. In 1214, Perugia made a grant of land to the monks of Camaldoli; the podestà is recorded as having made the concession 'cum consilio et voluntate infrascriptorm consiliariorum .... et aliorum prudentum nostrorum nobilium civium qui interfuerunt primo et secundo consilio'[3]. The formula is repeated in the preamble to the list of those later confirming the donation, and a similar instance is to be found in the 1217 peace between Perugia and Gubbio, made by the representatives of Gubbio 'cum nobilibus hominibus eiusdem civitatis'[4].

Thus far, neither of the terms has been found in

1. ASP. Somm. I. ff. 117r-118r (Somm. VI)
2. ASP. Somm. II f. 35r (Somm. LXIII)
3. ASP. Somm. II ff. 1r-2v (Somm. XCIV)
4. ASP. Somm. II f. 51r. (Somm. XCVIII)

connection with an individual's name. For nobilis, no such instance can be traced in the early thirteenth century. A sole and unexpected use of the knightly title in this way comes in a witness list to a Valdiponte charter of 1199[1], but otherwise the first personal use is in the witness list to the 1251 submission of Nocera, where it is employed as a courtesy title for the podestà. Two further cases are to be found in witness lists drawn up during the middle years of the thirteenth century, one in 1259 and the other in 1262[2]. Chronologically, this coincides with the period which saw, at Perugia, the introduction of the office of captain of the people (1255) and the passing of the Ordinamenta Populi in 1260. It does not seem at all fortuitous that the tendency towards differentiation in the witness lists should occur at about the same time as the establishment of a more general form of social differentiation. In the latter two documents the witnesses are divided into three groups: the milites, who head the list and bear the dominus title, the judges who follow and are likewise designated and, finally, a miscellaneous group who bear no title at all. In this third group are the names of certain prominent popolani, but also included in 1262 was Andreas domini Acerbi, a member of an important

1. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. Santa Maria di Valdiponte Pergamene cass. III/79.
2. ASP. Somm. I. ff. 52r, 69v (Somm. XXXVIII and XLVI).

family in pre-popular Perugia, whose members were later to be represented in the Libro Rosso. Presumably, as we shall see below, he had not been dubbed knight when he witnessed the document in question here.

In the early thirteenth century, the title of dominus begins to make a hesitant appearance, certainly by 1201 for the podestà[1], then later for his judges and occasionally his notaries, too[2]. The Perugian consuls were never thus designated, although consuls in other towns did occasionally receive the title dominus[3], and the witness lists from the first decades of the century remain generally innocent of this usage. The names of only a few of those who witnessed the Camaldolese donation are proceded by dominus. These are dominus Iannes, dominus Leo and dominus Latinus. It is hard to tell how, if at all, their social rank differed from that of the others present, several of whom are later to be found among the milites of the 1220's conflicts. Iannes defies identification. Leo may well have been identical with the man who was consul and camerarius in

1. ASP. Somm. II. ff. 44-5 'Nos T. Orlandini et G. Rainutii de Fusco et Petrus iudices delegati a domino Iohanne Capocci Romanorum consule et perusinorum potestate'.
2. ASP. Somm. I. ff. 10v, 52r, 69r, 72v.
3. For instance at Spoleto, see SANSI A. Documenti storici inediti in sussidio allo studio delle memorie umbre. (Foligno 1879) p. 218 (1212). Such usuage was not consistent, however.

1202, and Latinus could be the person who appears in other communal documents of the period as Latinus Herri and seems to have been a judge[1].

It is a hypothesis worth considering that these men were given the dominus title by reason of their judicial training. This would be consonant with the earlier tradition, noted above in the Valdiponte charters, of recording particularly the rank of judge, and it would also be in accordance with a very early and singular use of the title of dominus in a Valdiponte witness list of 1187, which includes the words: 'signum manus domini Homodei legislatoris de Monte Abbatis'[2]. However, with regard to the 1214 list, this interpretation is scarcely strengthened by the inclusion of one Homodeus iudex who clearly does not have the title of dominus, although other roughly contemporaneous documents do suggest that it was indeed judges who tended to receive this title[3]. All that

1. See above p.33 n.3.For Leo see ASP. Somm. I. f. 116r, (Somm. V); for Latinus ibid ff. 118v-119v (Somm. VII); I. f. 41v (Somm. LXXXV); f. 46r (Somm. XCVII).
2. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. Santa Maria di Valdiponte Pergamene cass. III. 137.
3. ASP. Somm. I. f. 107r. (Somm. X.) 1216'in presentia Bernardi Uguitionis domini Benveniatis, domini Homodei, domini Latini iudicis'. Witnesses to the submission of Sarteano in 1214 include d. Petrus iudex (ibid. II. f. 27v.). See also I. 108v-110r.

can be claimed with any assurance is that the title was known and used of certain Perugians by the second decade of the thirteenth century and even before, but with extreme rarity.

A second and perhaps more plausible reason for the title's employment comes from a document of 20 July 1225, the confirmation of an alliance made by the pars militum with Assisi during the conflicts of the 1220's[1]. The names of the Perugian guarantors of this agreement are given as follows: 'Andreas Iacobi, Andreas Tiberii, Kelfonus Uguiccionis Guidonis, Nicola Bevegnate, Vivianus Andree, Armannus Ascagnani, Abbiosus Abbiani de Podio, Sensus Guergoli, Acerbus et dominus Bonifatius de Deruta'. Is there any explanation for this solitary use of dominus at a period when the title was still very rare indeed?

Of the names recorded, those which can be identified were all prominent figures in early thirteenth century Perugia. Andreas Iacobi and Andreas Tiberii were members of the Montemelini family[2]. Kelfonus Uguiccionis is perhaps to be identified with the Gelfonus who was consul and witness. Armannus Ascagnani was a member of the contado family from Ascagnano, and one of his kinsmen was instru-

1. FORTINI A. Nuova Vita di San Francesco. (Assisi 1959) III. 611-2.
2. See below pp. 195, 197.

mental in concluding the peace which ended hostilities between Perugia and Gubbio in 1217[1]. The family from Poggio was later listed among the Perugian megnates[2], and Acerbus was to give his name to the Acerbi family, his son being consul domicellorum in 1260[3]. The nobles of Deruta provided Perugia with its first podestà, but they alone among the list of 1225 were mentioned in the Henrician privilege of 1186[4]. In this document, which exempts them from Perugian jurisdiction, they appear in this connection alongside the margraves, the monastery of San Salvatore, the filii Hogolini and Bernardinus Bulgarelli and his heirs. The latter are almost certainly the counts of Marsciano, and it is more than likely that the filii Hogolini were members of the comital family of

1. ASP. Somm. I. 8r (Somm. XI) where one of the witnesses is Berardus de Ascagnano.
2. FABRETTI A. Documenti di storia perugina (Turin 1887) I. 111.
3. ASP. Statuti I. f. 40/39; for the family in general see below p.164-5.
4. For the imperial privilege see above p. n.33 . The list of the podestà is in Annali e cronaca p. 143. It gives as podestà for 1192 one Reonardus de Deruta. Ugolini insists on this reading. It seems, however, from documents of Santa Maria Valdiponte that his name was Leonardus and that he was podestà in 1195. (ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. Santa Maria di Valdiponte Pergamene cass. III/170,174 - 21,24 April, 1195). The first document includes Rainaldus de Leonardo de Diruta as arbiter of a dispute; the latter mentions 'Leonardus dei gratia perusinorum potestas'. Use of the dominus title for another member of the family is found in SANSI Documenti storici inediti p. 235 (1218): d. Martinus de Diruta. Dominus is also used of Saracenus Viveni, the Perugian who was podestà of Spoleto then (p.233) but not for the Perugian consuls or any other witnesses to this document.

Coccorano. Here, therefore, the nobiles de Deruta were ranged beside the three most important families with interests in the Perugian contado and those who also bore the titles of margrave and count. Probably, the family from Deruta should be placed at a more exalted level than those of Montemelino, Ascagnano and Poggio, even if the latter were also closely associated with castles.

Further developments occurred. By the late 1230's, use of the dominus title was far more frequent. Following the pact of 1237, which regulated a dispute between Perugia and Gubbio concerning the castle of Valmarcola, there are listed the 'nomina consiliariorum de consilio speciali comunis qui iuraverunt corporaliter ad sancti Dei evangelia omnia et singula predicta'[1]. Of the forty-eight names, twenty-five have the dominus title. Five of these are specifically referred to as judges, and many of the remainder belonged to families later to be classified as magnate: certain names are unidentifiable. Even a swift glance at the documents of the period will show that the title was by now in reasonably frequent use. There were, however, various distinct ways in which it might be employed. The first was a strictly personal usage; a man who was accorded the title once continued to receive it in whatever context his name might appear. In this case,

1. ASP. Somm. II. ff. 67r-68v (Somm. CXIV)

the title of the father would come to form part of the patronymnic of the son as in, for example, Guido domini Munaldi Suppolini. The second way, which appeared a decade or so later at Perugia, was a purely public use. By reason of his forming part of a communal council, an individual might be termed dominus on that particular occasion, but his title was detachable, and outside of his public function, his name would stand alone without any preliminary title at all. A further use of dominus should be noted: the description, generally following a man's name, of his being, for example, dominus de Arrone. This form persisted, denoting the possession of authority and jurisdiction over a contado castle, and it should not be confused with the first usage discussed above which had no such connotation.

The dominus title in its mid-thirteenth century public form is bedevilled with ambiguity, ambivalence and, indeed, manifest confusion. Taking the index of Ansidei's edition of the riformanze for the years 1256 to 1260 and counting the persons described as dominus, very considerable figures are soon reached. On closer examination of the text, this is hardly surprising, since in the list of a hundred counsellors elected for each porta in the special and general council of 16 December 1259, the following situation is to be found: for Porta San Pietro and Porta Eburnea almost everyone is described with the prefix dominus; for

Porta Sole this is true of about half the number listed and for Porta Santa Susanna and Porta Sant'Angelo very few[1]. It is difficult to discover any particularly logical reason for the use or otherwise of the title in these cases. Men such as Mafeus Centurie can appear in certain places with the title and equally well in others without it. It is even recorded of Bonavere calzolarius, of Benvenutus and Amelius who were blacksmiths.

Volume VI of the riformanze, in which resolutions from the years 1266 to 1269 are recorded, reveals that a far more selective use of titles was beginning to make headway. Possibly, this is to be related to the growing proliferation of communal councils and increasing differentiation in their structure and membership. In volume VI the councils recorded are as follows :

(a) 1266-67 'Consilium speciale et generale et aliorum bonorum virorum civitatis Perusii'.
(b) 1268 'Consilium speciale et generale et centum per portam et aliorum qui tenentur ad consilium venire'.
(c) 1269 January. 'Consilium speciale et generale comunis civitatis Perusii, centum boni homines per portam nec non omnes alii qui ad consilium generale vocari solent'.
(d) 1269 March. 'Consilium speciale et generale populi civitatis Perusii et consules mercatorum et rectores artium'.[2]

1. ANSIDEI V. Regestum Reformationum Comunis Perusii ab anno MCCLVI ad annum MCCC. (Perugia 1935) pp. 247-53 n.74 for lists of sapientes on 16 December 1259.
2. ASP. Rif. VI. ff. 1r., 192r., 234r., 254r.

For the years 1266 and 1267 the use of titles continued to be erratic, whilst the notary of 1268, Albertus Ricardini, gave to everyone who spoke in council the dominus title. This practice ceases with the records of 1269 (d), in which figures such as Andreas Guarneri and Matteus Pelegrini, who previously oscillated between dominus and no title at all, are finally deprived of their right to a title.

Volumes VII, VIII and IX of the riformanze, covering the years 1278-79 especially, testify to the firm establishment of this procedure. The dominus title came to be reserved to those individuals who would receive it as a matter of course and as a personal dignity. Naturally, there were some abberations. In volume VII, for example, all those men mentioned in a syndication of the podestà are called dominus, and at another point, the notary seems to have commenced with a liberal scattering of titles only to have desisted after a few pages[1]. Perhaps, the most consistent irregularity is that of the notarial advisors: there was uncertainty as to whether they should receive a title or not. The notary, Branducius Iacobi, a prominent personage in these years, appears almost as often with the dominus title as without it, and other notaries such as Bovicellus Vitelli and Taurellus Clarissimi were, on

1. ASP Rif. VII. ff. 173r-189v.

occasions, accorded a title, too[1]. It is possible that these persons were also judges even if they were practising as notaries, but it seems more likely that usage was merely confused. This ambiguous use of terminology, however, was of relatively short duration, and by the early fourteenth century, both elements within the judicial profession could be clearly distinguished, dominus being used of judges and ser of notaries.

Before then, ser was almost completely unknown in the Perugian documents. Notaries had occasionally been termed magister[2], although this probably referred to master notaries, but in general they received no title at all. Ser should be distinguished from messer, which appears at about the same time at Perugia, and is a direct vernacular translation of the Latin dominus[3]. However, an interesting deviation may be noted. From the second decade of the fourteenth century, the riformanze include lists of the entourage of the podestà and captains of the people. In these, the judges are always called dominus and the notaries

1. ibid. ff.1v,105v for Taurellus Clarissimi with the dominus title and 4r, 11r, 13r for the same individual without it. For Branducius f. 1v, 26v, 29r with dominus and ff. 21r, 45v and 53v without; f. 29r for d. Bovicellus notarius.
2. See, for example, Il Notariato a Perugia. plate 10, a document of 1203.
3. Annali e cronaca passim for the entries from the late thirteenth century; 1283 (p.14/156) seems to be the first instance of messer preceding the name of the podestà.

ser. The domicelli are never given a title at all. For the sotii or milites two titles are used interchangeably: that of dominus and that of ser. Perhaps, in this instance, it is an abbreviation of the vernacular messer. This practice is not unique to the Perugian records; it appears in similar registers at Gubbio[1].

Having traced in outline the history of the title of dominus, it is time to inquire into its significance. Leaving aside for the moment speculation about the early years and ignoring the public employment of dominus, the starting point will be its personal use from the mid-thirteenth century. It will be well to state first that the title was always used of judges and continued to be employed in this way to 1400 and beyond. For the rest, it is a cardinal submission of this study that those domini who were not judges were belted knights. To demonstrate

1. For Perugia see the lists in ASP. Rif. XV-XX passim; for Gubbio ASG. Rif. I-II passim. There is no doubt that the domicelli of both podestà and captain were of a high social class; on occasions they belonged to the same family as the podestà himself; for example, ASP. Rif.XVI ff. 105r-v the familia of the podestà d. Prividinus de Prendepartibus of Bologna included among his sotii (here designated as domini in comparison to f. 104r-v where the captain's sotii are called ser) was d. Tucius domini Prenedini de Prendepartibus; two of the same family, Nicola and Blaxinus, were domicelli. In the 1370's the Perugian notaries sometimes used the word domicelli of the familia of the guild priors instead of the more usual famuli (for example ASP. Rif. XXVI 46r-v). In this latter case, however, the social status of those named was not high.

this with the sort of clarity one would wish for is difficult. In part it is no more than an impression, or rather a conviction, derived from extremely close attention to the terminology of the Perugian sources. However, by analysis of the internal Perugian evidence and by comparison with results from other areas, some attempt at coherent reasoning may be made.

To begin with a sure, if chronologically rather advanced, point of departure: by the first decades of the fourteenth century, there is no doubt that dominus placed before a man's name indicated that he had been dubbed. At this time we are greatly assisted by the much more frequent practice of indicating whether an individual had been knighted by putting miles either before or after his name. Volume XIII of the riformanze (1308-1310) is especially illuminating in this respect: its pages furnish many examples of the formulae nobilis vir X or nobilis domicellus Y but nobilis miles dominus Z[1]. Some assurance is necessary that the title's significance had not been modified during the seventy years or so since its introduction. The three

1. ASP. Rif. XIII f. 45v 'nobilis et potens milex dominus Gualfreductius domini Iohannis de Balionibus'; f. 54v 'dominus Taddeus domini Bartoli milex'; f. 57r 'nobilis et potens vir Burgarutius domini Ugolini comes de Marsciano'; f. 93r 'nobilis domicellus Lellus domini Gualfredutii'; f. 145r 'per nobiles et sapientes viros dominum Rodolfinum domini Ranerii militem et dominum Franciscum Oddutii legum doctorem'.

witness lists already discussed above and dating from the mid-thirteenth century, would allow a similar interpretation, and the Ordinamenta Militum provide a further point of reference[1]. The ordinances are inserted among the rubrics of the 1279 statute and are not themselves dated, but it is reasonable to place them in 1260, the same year as the Ordinamenta Populi to which they form a perfect complement. The milites in this document are a social group, not just men who happen to fight on horseback, since in the constitution of the society the domicelli are clearly distinguished from the milites. Essentially an organ for the regulation of its members' disputes, the society was to be governed by two consules militum, a capitaneus militum and a capitaneus domicellorum. These officials are referred to in the following manner:

> Hec sunt ordinamenta facta per dominos Iohannem Arhiberi et Iacobum Boniohannis consules militum et Paulum Acerbi capitaneum domicellorum et per consiliarios ipsorum consulum et per eorum capitaneum dominum Andream Tiberii.

In this preamble it would really be stretching a point to suppose that the first 'dominos' can also be said to refer to Paulus Acerbi; hence the lack of a title before his name strongly supports the interpretation of knighthood

1. ASP. Statuti I. ff. 40/39r-v. For consideration of their dating and significance see GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp. 153-4.

that has been placed upon dominus.

It has already been shown from the Sassovivo documents that early in the twelfth century, dominus might occasionally be used as an appropriate title for a count. For the witness list of Perugian milites from 1225 it has been suggested that dominus Bonifatius of Deruta might well have been of a rank intermediate between that of the other milites who subscribed and the comital and margraval families. It is possible in this way to gain a fleeting glimpse of a hierarchy within the Perugian nobility. In the decades surrounding the first and mysterious appearances of the dominus title, it is likely that certain familes, whilst not possessing the ancient titles of comes or marchio - up to this point the only titles that appear to have been recognised in the Perugian area - were judged worthy of this new one, whilst most of the milites were not. Thus, when dominus came to be employed of all belted knights by the 1240's, in the realm of social terminology at least, a gulf had been bridged. The appearance of the knightly title, miles, supplementing the previous meagre store of marchio and comes, is indicative of a similar tendency. It had become socially desirable to show that an individual was a knight, and one of the ways of doing this was to extend the use of a previously very limited title, that of dominus.

The process that has been outlined here is not peculiar to Perugia, but, in Italy at any rate, it is far from universal. Salvemini thought that he could detect an identical development at Florence, and references in Ottokar's work give one to understand that he, too, believed that dominus in the latter part of the thirteenth century indicated a belted knight[1]. The Bolognese evidence, however, produces a different picture, at least with regard to the public use of titles. The printed statutes from the close of the century show that dominus was employed as a matter of course in all lists of communal officials and guild members. This practice continued well into the fourteenth century[2]. J. K. Hyde has surveyed similar terminology at Padua in the second half of the thirteenth century.

1. SALVEMINI G. 'La Dignità Cavalleresca nel Comune di Firenze' Magnati e popolani in Firenze (1280-95. 2 ed. Turin 1960) pp. 392-3 n. 3. Here, on the basis of the documents published by Santini, he traces exactly the same development at Florence as that outlined above. About 1235, from being limited to the podestà and then to his judges, dominus begins to be used of judges without public office. Then the number of domini increases 'finchè verso il 1245 l'uso del titolo e costante ad indicare le dignità di cavaliere e di giudice'. He links this with the specific political circumstances of Florence in these years, that of noble predominance under the Ghibellines; but since, at Perugia, the diffusion of the dominus title falls during a time of diminished noble influence we should beware of making such overt connections between social and political changes. See also OTTOKAR N. Il Comune di Firenze p. 29 n. 3 and JONES P.J. 'Economia e società' p. 251.
2. Statuti di Bologna dell'anno 1288. (ed. G. Fasoli, P. Sella. Vatican City 1937) I. 392-423 for the anziani, consules and sapientes; 469-72 for the sapientes societatum. Sarah Blanshei, who has worked with the Bolognese documents up to 1330, assures me that this type of usage continued at least until then.

It seems that there was a relatively restricted use of the dominus title here until c. 1255-60, after which it became common coin in municipal records and was used indiscriminately[1].

A review of the situation north of the Alps gives similar results. Evergates is quite certain that in the bailliage of Troyes dominus, at some point before the mid-thirteenth century, became the normal courtesy title for the belted knight, whilst a century earlier it had been used only of a smaller and far more restricted group of aristocratic families[2]. As a rule for all French medieval society, his conviction has not been universally accepted[3]. The same regional diversity may obtain in

1. HYDE J.K. Padua in the age of Dante. (Manchester 1966) p. 62 notes that in the 1254 oath the title was still being used with discrimination, but that after this date it gradually came to be applied to everyone above the rank of peasant.
2. EVERGATES T. Feudal society in the bailliage of Troyes under the counts of Champagne. 1152-1285. (Baltimore and London 1975) pp. 97-8. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the comital title was restricted to four families only and was not adopted in this period by any new family. From 1120 to 1130, dominus was used for a very narrow group, until slowly at the beginning of the thirteenth century it came to be applied to men who had previously been called milites. Thus, in the 1249-52 Role des fiefs, the descendants of the twelfth-century domini and milites were listed together indiscriminately as domini.
3. CONTAMINE Ph. 'Points de vue sur la chevalerie en France à la fin du moyen âge' in Francia IV (1976) p. 258 expressed doubts about the general validity of Evergates' conclusions. See also FOSSIER R. 'La noblesse picarde au temps de Philippe le Bel' in La Noblesse au Moyen Age pp. 110-12.

France, too, although first it must be shown that historians are, in fact, comparing precisely the same thing. In French vernacular literature, Foulet's study of the use of titles from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries bears a striking resemblance, in many respects, to the situation unearthed at Perugia. The material which he has been able to use is, of course, far richer than anything which could be found in central Italy, especially in the Perugian area, and the developments he has traced are interesting in their own right. But a remarkable point of comparison exists. Between the chronicles of Villehardouin and Joinville - that is, at a date roughly parallel to the developments in the use of dominus at Perugia - the employment of the title messire, which is the French equivalent of messer, underwent considerable change. In the former writer's work it hardly appears at all, but of the latter, Foulet has this to say:

> Le temoignage de Joinville est formel. Le roi, les ducs, les comtes continuent à être nommes par leur titre féodal. Mais en dehors d'eux, tout chevalier est de droit un messire....Plus de place parmi elle (i.e. the nobility) pour le sire du passé devant un nom de chevalier, quoiqu'on le retienne précieusement pour indiquer le possesseur d'un fief.

Furthermore, in his study of Jean le Bel, Foulet illustrates how the same person would appear without a title in the text at a point in time before he had been knighted only to re-appear eight lines further on, having been

dubbed, with the title of messire[1]. All this, therefore, would encourage us to place the Perugian experience within a wider geographical context.

Thus, in tracing the emergence of the knightly title and the use of dominus, it has been suggested that at Perugia this represents the first step towards the cohesion and consciousness of the noble class. Lacking at this stage seems to be a strict and readily usable juridical conception of nobility. As has been seen, references to nobiles as a group are very rare and they do not lead us to believe that contemporaries had developed any exact legal notion of what a noble was[2]. Nor is this absence in the least surprising. Recently, for Arezzo, Giovanni Tabacco has recounted a particular case which shows how fluid was the notion of nobility. For whilst it was certainly associated with traditions of equestrian activity and a certain life-style, it was so far from having concrete definition that the same man might be described as either noble or unfree depending on the point of view of the parties involved[3]. The relatively current use of the

1. FOULET L. 'Sire, messire', Romania LXXI (1950) p. 220, LXXII (1951) p. 75.
2. Pisa nei secoli XI e XII. p. xxvi; and G. Tabacco in the transactions of the conference held at Paris, Famille et Parenté p. 252.
3. TABACCO G. 'Nobiltà e potere ad Arezzo in età comunale SM. 3.ser. XV (1974) esp. pp. 1-7. This was a legal case of 1238 regarding the offspring and possessions of Ughetto of Sarna. The monastery of SS. Fiora and Lucilla claimed

comparative, nobiliores, argues along the same lines.

If there were no class of nobles, what should be made of the references to milites in the first half of the thirteenth century? This is a beclouded and slippery terrain, and perhaps presents more problems than it solves; in general, it has been the subject of neglect or of too many unwarranted assumptions. The Perugian evidence is neither very plentiful nor particularly informative but, for what it is worth, it merits consideration.

Three strands, at least, form the background to the meaning of the term miles/milites at this time. The first is connected with the question of political conflict. In the early decades of the thirteenth century many Italian communes passed through a phase of internal unrest, the contending parties in which have been called, by contemporaries and modern historians alike, milites and pedites. Perugia was no exception to this, and the appropriate decades have been analysed by Grundman, as far as it is possible to do so from the few remaining sources. The

that he had been one of the abbey's homines by reason of his long residence on monastic land, despite the fact that he had later possessed a house in Arezzo, 'utendo privilegio civitatis sicut aliquis honorabilis civis', had served the commune on horseback and had led a style of life described by witnesses as 'noble' - 'quod vixit more militum ludendo cum armis cum aliis domicellis in castro de Turrita'. There are overtones in this of the problem of the ministeriales and their relationship to the nobility such as it is debated for northern Europe.

papal letters on the subject and the political alliances made by the *milites* leave no doubt that the Perugians thought of their factions in *milites*/*pedites* terms. It is also clear that the named and identifiable representatives of the *milites* included members of families which later appeared in the magnate lists; for the very few named *pedites*, this does not seem to have been the case. Grundman points to various possible seeds of dispute, which mainly revolved about finance and taxation. After a brief prosopographical excursus, he also makes the suggestion that two of the most prominent representatives of the factions might have been related and that party interests, cutting across strict social alignments, were probably involved too[1]. This would be entirely in agreement with similar events elsewhere. All this is quite reasonable, but perforce very sketchy, and it does not greatly advance our own particular line of inquiry.

Secondly, it must be asked whether the *milites* of the early thirteenth century were dubbed knights or not. Except for the forays which both Salvemini and Davidsohn made into the field at Florence, this problem, which remains fundamental to an understanding of the Italian nobility, is

1. GRUNDMAN *The Popolo at Perugia* pp. 41-79, appendix ii pp. 463-80.

almost completely unexplored[1]. Again, the Perugian evidence is inadequate, but at certain points suggestive. If the above reading of the dominus title is correct, then it would appear that, at least by the 1230's and 1240's when the title became widespread, most of those who might politically be called milites were also belted knights. The relative importance of the milites/domicelli in the Ordinamenta Militum points in the same direction. The squires, as has been shown, were represented by one captain only, the milites by two consuls as well as a captain[2]. This would lead us to suppose that the knights formed a numerical majority or that the squires, being the sons of knights who were themselves as yet unknighted, occupied a less important position, in part through lack of seniority. A much earlier document supports a similar interpretation for the family of Girardus Gislerii Albericii with which it is concerned. On 17 January 1200, during the war with Assisi, Perugia granted him citizenship. The agreement includes the following clause which, undoubtedly, implies

1. For a summary of the literature on this see TABACCO G. 'Nobili e cavalieri a Bologna e a Firenze fra XII e XIII secolo'. SM. 3 ser XVII (1976) pp. 55-9. Salvemini presumed that there were registers of dubbed knights at an early date, despite lack of evidence of any such thing, whilst Davidsohn thought that dubbing, far from being a condition of entry to the comune militum of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was introduced at Florence only after the disappearance of this institution from the mid-thirteenth century.
2. See above p.46

a tradition of belted knighthood from one generation to another:

Insuper ex quo filii eius vel descendentes fuerint militia decorati, faciunt illud idem infra xxx dies post quam erunt requisiti a rectoribus perusinis[1] vel eorum nuntiis et omnia predicta observabunt.

The life of St. Francis raises a matter quite pertinent to this discussion[2]. Well known is the fact that Francis's father was a merchant and that Francis, when he took part in the war against Perugia (1203), was captured and imprisoned for a year. The Legenda Trium Sociorum then recounts that, although not noble himself, 'tamen quia nobilis erat moribus cum militibus captivis est positus'[3]. It is not necessary to dismiss this statement out of hand as no more than a typical hagiographical flourish. It was certainly a convention to suggest that a saint, whilst of noble birth, was even more noble by reason of the quality of his life, or

1. ASP. Somm. II. f. 14v; edited in FORTINI. Nuova Vita III 547. For the political implications of this document see below pp.283-4.
2. For the sources generally see MOORMAN J.R.H. The sources for the life of St. Francis. (Manchester 1940). In using the Franciscan sources as evidence here one encounters problems of authenticity, of the influence exerted by standard hagiographical conventions, of the justifiability of using sources written thirty or forty years later to illuminate a situation existing at the beginning of the century. These objections have been borne in mind, but they do not seem to invalidate the particular examples used below.
3. Legenda S. Francisci Assisiensis tribus ipsius sociis hucusque adscripta. ii. 4 (ed. P.G. Abate Misc. Franc. XXXIX (1939) p. 378) FORTINI Nuova Vita II. 170.

conversely that, whilst not of noble birth, a saint's virtues stamped him with nobility in the sight of God[1]. But the reference here to the noble mores of St. Francis is somewhat more mundane and concrete; it relates to his way of life in a purely secular and not a moral sense. Furthermore, it is worth emphasizing what the passage in question does not say: that is, that Francis was held captive with the nobles because he was fighting on horse-back. The literal interpretation of the sentence is, in fact, exactly the reverse: that he was held captive with the knights because his way of life seemed noble. In the writer's eyes, the milites of the early commune were a social group, associated with which were certain traditions of nobility: they were not just a set of mounted warriors. Francis, with his mercantile origins, seems to have been set somewhat apart. However, like Tabacco's source from Arezzo, this incident emphasizes the importance of an individual's behaviour in influencing the attribution of social status.

All that is known of Francis's preferences confirm

1. For this type of usage in an Umbrian source see SIGISMONDI D.G. 'La Legenda Beati Raynaldi. Le sue fonti e il suo valore storico' BU. LVI (1959) esp. p. 41. See also VAUCHEZ A. 'Beata stirps: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles'. Famille et Parenté pp. 404-5 where he notes that in the later Middle Ages it was the second half of the tag 'nobilis genere.....sed nobilior secundum Deum' which was more important.

this picture: his interests in knightly troubadour culture and his own desire to get himself knighted. The main sources relating to this stage of his life are the Legenda Trium Sociorum, and the two vitae, the first by Thomas of Celano and the second by St. Bonaventura: the details of these years seem to have become rather garbled in the telling. Nonetheless, all the various renderings are scored through by a young man's preoccupations with knightly culture: generosity, courage, military valour, splendour and show. Such notions lie behind the story Bonaventura gives of how Francis, his mind full of the problem of providing for himself a costly wardrobe, was moved to clothe a poor and badly-dressed knight: 'quo et nobilis militis verecundiam tegeret et pauperis hominis penuriam relevaret'[1].

The motives which, according to Thomas of Celano, inspired Francis to join a local noble in a military expedition to Apulia are of much the same kind:

> Quibus auditis, Franciscus, quia levis animo erat et non modicum audax, ad eundum conspirat cum illo, generis nobilitate impar sed magnanimitate superior, pauperior divitiis sed profusior largitate.

1. Bonaventura Legenda Maior i. 2 (ed. Analecta Franciscana X 561)

This incident appears in a slightly different version in each of the three sources; again the Legenda Trium Sociorum is particularly revealing:

> Post paucos vero annos quidam nobilis de civitate Assisii militaribus armis se praeparat, ut ad pecuniae vel honoris lucra augenda in Apuliam vadat. Quo audito, Franciscus ad eundum cum illo aspirat, et ut a quodam comite Gentili nomine miles fiat, pannos pro posse praeparat pretiosos, concivi suo pauperior divitiis, sed profusior largitate.

Here, particular emphasis is laid upon Francis's desire to get himself knighted, and it is suggested that the taking of knighthood may have dovetailed very well with Francis's social pretensions[1].

A chapter of the Scripta Leonis seems to corroborate this consciousness of social distinctions; it is rather generic, but it helps to illustrate the social setting and the attitudes among which Francis grew up and into which the account of his knightly aspirations should be placed:

> Quodam tempore ibat beatus Franciscus cum quodam fratre spirituali de Assisio, qui erat de magna parentela et potenti. Beatus Franciscus, quia debilis homo erat et infirmus, equitabat in quodam asino. Frater ille fatigatus ex itinere cepit cogitare intra se dicens: 'Non equiparabantur parentes istius ad meos, et ecce modo iste equitat,

1. Thomas of Celano Vita Prima i. 2. (ed. Analecta Franciscana X 7); Leg. 3. Soc. ii. 5 (ed. Abate p. 379); FORTINI Nuova Vita II. 183; PAGNANI G. I viaggi di S. Francesco nelle Marche. (Milan 1962) pp. 25-6 n. 82

et ego vado retro post ipsum tangendo bestiam fatigatus'. Et hec eo cogitante, statim Franciscus descendit de asino, dicens ad eum: 'Frater, non est equum neque conveniens quod ego equitem et tu vadas ad pedem[1], quia nobilior et potentior in seculo me fuisti.

The third element pertaining to the term milites at this time was that of fiscal exemption. Here the use of the word is at its most bewilderingly ambiguous. Were financial privileges accorded because of an individual's social position as a dubbed knight, in virtue of the fact that he was rendering mounted service to the commune and thus deserved special consideration, or for a variety of notions which it is difficult for us to penetrate fully? We cannot determine, for example, who exactly were covered by the exemption of milites in the 1202 Nocera submission[2]. In this connection a document from Camerino, consulted in a vernacular regesto form only, contains a provision of some interest, although fiendishly difficult of interpretation. Speaking of an exemption from the obligation to pay an annual tax of 26 pence, imposed upon the newly-submitted castle of Belforte, the source mentions the 'militi, i figli de' militi e coloro che ritengono l'onor della milizia'[3]. This appears to suggest that exemption

1. Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S.Francisci. ed. R.Brooke (Oxford 1970) pp. 140-42.
2. See above pp. 32-3.
3. SANTONI M. 'Il Libro Rosso del comune di Camerino' in Archivio per le Marche e per l'Umbria. II. (1885) p. 40. Document of 10 October 1205. Also exempt were clerics and widows.

from the wealth tax extended to a wider social group than that of the belted knights, and that it was possible to draw a distinction between those who provided cavalry service and those who had been dubbed.

By the mid-thirteenth century at Perugia, it is clear that contemporaries were just as puzzled as historians are today as to who precisely should benefit from the financial privileges accorded to this ill-defined group of milites. In the debates of 1262, in which this problem was ventilated, the issue was rendered even more complex by the fact that contado status was also involved; this latter point was to remain a source of complication throughout the century. Under discussion at this time was the question of whether the milites should bear the same obligations as the other inhabitants of the contado. Many different opinions were expressed, and the use of the milites was definitely ambiguous. At one point it was suggested that the exemptions should be given only to those milites whose wealth reached 400. lib. and that all others should be excluded from such benefit. Other recommendations were more concerned to make place of habitation the deciding factor, distinguishing between milites residing in the town and those in the countryside. In all such statements it is not clear whether we are to understand milites as meaning belted knights or simply individuals who gave the commune mounted military service. But the advice of

another counsellor is much more explicit:

Riccabene dixit quod focularia reinveniantur et milites qui in comitatu sunt solvant sicut alii, scilicet in fontibus et syndicis, exceptis militibus de corredu, et in omnibus aliis sicut alii de comitatu, exceptis in tribus soldis pro salariis.[1]

This is an early use of the term milites de corredu in Italian municipal sources. It does not appear with any regularity at Perugia, however, until the fourteenth century. This suggestion, which set the belted knight apart in the sphere of financial privilege, was not adopted by the Perugians, but the Bolognese, in facing similar problems, did allow such a provision to enter into force at about this time[2].

Whilst it is difficult to draw any general conclusions from these few esoteric examples, they do help in giving

1. Reformationes Comunis Perusii quae extant anni MCCLII. ed. U. Nicolini (Perugia 1969) pp. 14-18. The opinion of Blancus Bonusmeri suggests that he thought the deciding factor lay in whether mounted service was provided for the commune: 'Item quod milites qui equos tenent pro comuni de comitatu sint in statu quo steterunt' (p.16). That of Bernardus Benencase makes specific reference to privileges: 'Item milites eodem modo solvant non obstante aliquo privilegio' (p.15). The opinion of Riccabene Complite, with its requirement of a mininum wealth of 400 lib. in order to enjoy tax exemption compares interestingly with decisions made elsewhere, for example in Provence, where an individual might still preserve his privileges of exemption even if unable to bear the costs of mounted service for a generation. (See TABACCO 'Nobili e cavalieri' p. 79.)
2. TABACCO 'Nobili e cavalieri' pp. 41-54.

some background to the sort of social considerations which surrounded knighthood in central Umbria in the early thirteenth century. Towards 1300, however, a process of clarification took place. There is evidence of the development of a juridical concept of nobility, which was closely associated with this earlier knightly tradition and which was inextricably bound up with the history of the local anti-magnate legislation. Of late, in many general discussions of this subject, it has become the practice to play down 'class' interpretations of these laws. Such an approach is exemplified in Cristiani's treatment of the Pisan evidence, which also includes a widely-ranging review of the state of scholarship from Gina Fasoli's fundamental study onwards. In the place of class, stress is laid on fluidity and faction[1]. There is no need to believe that what was true of Perugia was necessarily true also of Pisa, but Tabacco's recent review article has suggested that the social attributes of knighthood were present in the minds of those who formulated the anti-magnate legislation and that, approached with rather more subtlety than heretofore,

1. FASOLI G. 'Ricerche sulla legislazione anti-magnatizia nei comuni dell'alta e media Italia.' RSDI XII (1939) pp. 86-133, 240-309. CRISTIANI Nobilta e popolo pp. 75-110 where he concludes: 'Quando si alludeva alla nobiltà, si riferiva dunque ad una categoria mutevole e non bene determinata'. Also TABACCO 'Nobili e cavalieri' for a revised view. Cristiani himself (p. 76) notes that at the beginning of the fourteenth century a popolano at Pisa was one in whose family there had been no knight (miles) since 1251.

these laws may indeed have as much to tell us about social structure as about the more ephemeral aspects of factional struggle.

At Perugia, particularly, it will be contended, the very definite by-product of these laws was the juridical definition of a noble class. Certainly, this was not their primary intention which, at Perugia as elsewhere, was that of assuring greater control over a group which escaped too easily from the net or ordinary judicial processes. The first appearance at Perugia of such discriminatory legislation was concerned solely with the maintenance of public order. These were the Ordinamenta Populi and the Ordinamenta Militum of 1260, and in the light of the turbulent political circumstances obtaining in those years, it is not in the least surprising that special steps to keep the peace should have been envisaged. These years saw the battle of Montaperti, the rise of the Flagellant movement, which originated at Perugia, the war against Gubbio of 1258-59 and a variety of institutional changes within Perugia which gave increased prominence to the popolo. Grundman, rather unwisely, has tried to read far too much into these documents, seeing them as a frontal attack on the nobility and its way of life and as a definite attempt to secure its political subjugation; it is probably better to view them instead as a measure directed more precisely towards the preservation of order at a moment of heightened

uncertainty[1].

The Ordinamenta Populi are particularly interesting in that they constitute the only set of laws of this type to make any distinction between different kinds of milites/nobiles:

> Et si quis fuerit inventus portare vel penes se habere aliquod de dictis armis, si fuerit de illis qui fecerunt paces tempore D(omini) Raynaldi de Brunforte olim Pot(estatis) P(erusii) ...centum lib. den.si fuerit miles, si filius militis de illis qui non fecerunt dictam pacem solvat... C(omuni) P(erusii) L. libr., si fuerit pedes solvat X libr.[2]

No names are given, but here Grundman is probably right to see in the first group men who, even before the preaching of Raynerius Fasani in 1260, had made certain peace agreements privately among themselves[3]. Presumably, they were doubly obliged both because morally, if not also legally, it was far more reprehensible to break a definite peace agreement than merely to create disorder, and also because the fact that they had had to make such pacts at all suggests that they were the most memorably, and probably

1. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp. 98-120; the resolutions taken by the commune in the climate of Montaperti can be read in ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. and the after effects of the war with Gubbio may still have been felt. Moreover, this appears to have been a time of bad harvest which could only have added to the general disquiet.
2. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. pp. 162-66 (6 April 1260); the reference here is from p. 163.
3. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p. 157.

the most dangerously, turbulent. In no other piece of legislation, however, did such a differentiation obtain.

Not until the 1280's and later did the anti-magnate legislation really get under way. Its individual provisions from that date until the early fourteenth century have been discussed by Blanshei and Grundman in their respective works, and it is not necessary to dwell on them again in detail here[1]. In general, they aimed at limiting the influence of the magnate and his following upon the course of justice, checking the points of contact between magnates and communal officials and, finally, defending popolani from magnate violence and intimidation. Whether they were in the least effective it is far more difficult to decide.

The preamble to a law, passed between 1315 and 1342 and forbidding captain of the people and podestà to converse with magnates after the evening bell, contains a heightened measure of verbal exasperation: 'A cio che glie grande delinquente meglio e più legiermente siano punite e a cio che a loro se tolla facilita de peccare....'. This is followed by new procedures for secret accusations[2].

1. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp. 60-66; GRUNDMAN op. cit. caps 7-10 passim. The bulk of the legislation had been passed by the time the redaction of 1315 was made and can be found in ASP. Statuti XII. Their vernacular translation is in Statuti di Perugia dell'anno MCCCXLII. ed. G. degli Azzi Vitelleschi (Rome 1913-16) II. iii/rubs. 13, 143-51.
2. Statuti de Perugia MCCCXLII. II iii/rub. 146.

Usually, the anti-magnate rubrics simply state their business quite soberly, without declaiming in general about the lawlessness of the magnates. It is suggestive that after three decades of such legislation more violent language was creeping in, and secret accusations, presumably intended to enhance efficiency, were being introduced. It may reflect nothing more than a shift in the use of language, but it may also be evidence of the failure of the anti-magnate legislation to do its job. And this is also the impression given by the judicial archive. The Perugian magnates seem to have been largely absent from the legal records, which abound, on the contrary, in cases of much more humble violence.[1]

However, if evidence of the success of such penal legislation in the field of law and order is hard to come

1. In dealing with the giudiziario at Perugia there are numerous obstacles, not the least of which is the entirely fragmentary nature of the surviving documentation. It is much to be regretted that Grundman who catalogued the material for the years 1300-1330, did not use it more fully in his own work. He seems to have been a little too ready to presume enforcement, from the very fact of enactment alone. It is perhaps significant that the anti-magnate legislation to which he devoted most attention, concerns nothing more alarming than the illegal exportation of grain from the contado at the time of shortage,(GRUNDMAN 'Documenti umbri sulla carestia degli anni 1328-1330' ASI. CXXVIII (1970) pp. 232-4 - a case of 1328 against the nobles of San Valentino). The provisional judgement of Sarah Blanshei that cases against nobles do not bulk large in the surviving documents (BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p. 65) will be elaborated further in work in progress; my own fleeting glance through the judicial records has led me to the same conclusion.

by and may well never have existed at all, complete exclusion of the magnate class from the guilds after the end of the thirteenth century and throughout a considerable portion of the fourteenth is clearly documented. Among the lists of guild priors and consuls it is quite impossible to discover the name of a single noble[1]. It was not until the 1370's that the ban was lifted. Thus encourages us to see the Perugian magnates/nobles as a clearly distinguishable class of persons and to remove the discussion from the shifting sands of temporary political expediency.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the anti-magnate legislation from the point of view of this study consists not in its provisions but in its terminology. The variety of the vocabulary used to describe the magnate class in communal Italy has been remarked upon by a number of scholars, but they have tended to do little more than display a certain surprise at the apparent linguistic inventiveness of the framers of this legislation[2]. In the Perugian measures there was little deviation from a standard

1. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp. 115-16 for the consules artium; pp. 117-21 for the priores artium to September 1320. I have completed Dr. Blanshei's lists from the fragmentary evidence available to mid-century, and this also reveals complete absence of nobles.
2. FASOLI 'Legislazione anti-magnatizia' pp. 241. ff. discusses this phenomenon of linguistic variety, which includes terms such as potentes, milites, casatici, de hospicio, marchiones, comites barones, lambardi. It deserves fuller and closer study in its own right.

formula: this might undergo slight variation, but its essential elements remained unchanged. In 1298, a rubric establishing a quadruple penalty for magnates who attacked popolani gave the formula as: 'aliquis marchio, comes vel cataneus vel miles vel aliquis qui sit de prole militari ex paterna linea'. Inversely, popular status was said to include all who were 'de consilio populi et iudices et notarii qui non fuerunt nati de prole militari ex paterna linea'[1]. In 1308, in a statute restricting their entry to the communal palace, the magnates are described thus: 'comes vel marchio vel de prole militari vel marchionis vel comitis'[2]. In the statute of 1342 the terms are vulgarised. The magnates are the grande, and definitions are variously made as 'alcuno conte, cavaliere, marchese overo catanio ne etiando alcuno de schiacta de cavaliere, conte, marchese, catanio overo nato de schiacta de cavaliere de paterna linea'[3]. The Libro Rosso of 1333 provides a list for the first time of 'magnates et nobiles de prole militari ex paterna linea' for each of the five porte.

The regularity of this terminology is striking. It is

1. ASP. Statuti XII. iv/rub.85.
2. ASP. Statuti XII. iv/rub.10.
3. Statuti di Perugia MCCCXLII. II. iii/rubs. 13, 144, 146.

unconnected with the vicissitudes of political life, except insofar as it is the creation of popular Perugia. The magnates do not seem to have been merely a group, a cabal or any such, but were rather co-terminous with the nobility. In the phrase magnates vel nobiles, the function of vel seems to have been conjunctive rather than disjuctive, although admittedly on occasions, the usage does possess an air of ambiguity. It is difficult to find known noble families who were not entered in the Libro Rosso. Conversely, even if the disputes recorded among leading popolani were anything more serious than slight disagreements over certain aspects of policy, there remains no hint that a popular faction might also have been attached to the magnate group and similarly penalised[1]. Noble faction was by no means absent from early fourteenth century Perugia, but again there is nothing to suggest that the Baglioni, who may have enjoyed a greater degree of intimacy with the popolo, were ever expugned from among the magnates. Nor is there anything to show that the count of Coccorano, vexillifer populi from 1303 for more than a decade and closely associated with the life of the guild republic at some of its more dramatic moments, was ever considered as anything but a magnate[2]. There is only one known case in

1. ASP. Rif. XV f. 66r (May 1312); XVIII f. 5r. (Jan 1320) referring to the July of the previous year.
2. The primary source for this is Annali e cronaca p. 26 GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia chapters 8-10 passim discusses the role of noble faction and has something to say

the early fourteenth century of the complete removal of an individual from the list of magnates. This is recorded in the Libro Rosso itself, and concerns one Cellolus Barhutii and his son who, in 1334, petitioned that they might be struck out[1]. We do not know who they were or the reasons for their request. Presumably, they brought forward the argument that they were not,in fact,of knightly descent.

The sole surviving volume of council minutes between 1325 and 1370, that of 1351, provides two instances of concessions granted to individual Perugians in order to mitigate the full rigours of the anti-magnate legislation. Following upon the suppression of the 1351 conspiracy, Tancius Lelli de Mastinellis was rewarded for his services to the commune of Perugia by an agreement to treat him in future as if he were a member of the popolo: nonetheless, he was not to be allowed to assume office tamquam popolaris within Perugia[2]. On the same day, 19 June, Rodulfus and Donatus Ugolini of Panicale, both of whom were notaries and 'ghelfi et zelatores et amatores partis ghelfe' petitioned for a similar, if less substantial dispensation. Since

about the count of Coccorano; see below p243. For the 1330's UGOLINI F.A. 'L'abbazia di San Pietro nel secolo XIV e la sua influenza sulla vita politica di Perugia' in BU. LXI/ii (1968). See also below pp.75, 270.
1. FABRETTI Documenti I. 108-9
2. ASP. Rif. XXIII f. 131r-v (19 June 1351)

their ancestors had been entered as nobles, they were not allowed to enter the communal palaces. This had an adverse effect upon their notarial practice. However, they stated that various Perugian notaries of knightly descent had had this law waived in their favour; similar permission was granted to the two brothers 'nonobstante quod sint de magnatibus et de prole militari nati'[1]. In neither case was there any derogation from magnate/noble status for the individual concerned. He was merely relieved of a certain legal inconvenience and socially he was in no way assimilated to the ranks of the popolo. For other communes, such as Florence and Pisa, writers have talked about magnates becoming popolani[2]; as far as can be seen from the Perugian evidence, such a fundamental change in status does not seem to have taken place.

The formulae used in the repeal of the anti-magnate laws in 1370 tend to substantiate this view of the legislation's social significance. In that year an attempt was made at a general reconciliation. Iacobus domini Guidonis of Montemelino was received back into Perugian favour for

1. ASP. Rif. XXIII f. 132r (19 June 1351)
2. Compare CRISTIANI op. cit. pp. 113-23. He is able to give a considerable number; for example the nobles of Putignano, the Margatti and the Lanreducci in 1322. By the beginning of the fourteenth century ten families had been admitted to the anzianato. JONES P.J. 'Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries' PBSR XXIV (1956) p. 184 refers to the Cerchi, one member of whom had by 1363 already become a popolano, changing his name and his family arms.

the nominal payment of a florin's fine, and a more comprehensive provision was enacted concerning the noble class as a whole. The proposal was made in a general assembly of more than three hundred guild members. It recalled that the Perugian statutes against nobles, magnates and those of knightly descent, whilst having been appropriate to the period in which they were passed, were no longer useful or necessary 'secundum temporum varietatem'. Now, some of the magnates had proved that they had the interests of popular Perugia as fully at heart as the popolani themselves. Since they had shown themselves to be 'in omnia rerum eventum tamquam popolares ... fideles et rei publicae zelatores', it was only equitable that they should be properly rewarded. Thus it was proposed to repeal the various rubrics which penalised the magnate class.

Et quod omnes penae mallifitiorum quae per forman dictorum statutorum vel etiam ordinamentorum seu reformationum dicti comunis imponuntur graviores dictis magnatibus et nobilibus quam popolaribus reducantur et ex nunc reducte esse intelligantur et sint ad penas et quantitates penarum que imponuntur popolaribus. Ita quod pro dictis mallefitiis pares penae imponantur et impositie seu imponi intelligantur pro mallefitiis ipsis nobilibus et magnatibus que pro ipsis mallefitiis ex forma dictorum statutorum, ordinamentorum et reformationum perusinis civibus popolaribus imponuntur. Haec omnia et singula intelligantur in illis et de illis dumtaxat magnatibus et nobilibus et descendentibus eorumdem qui non se inmiscuerunt vel exercuerunt contra statum et libertatem civitatis Perusii vel in dedecus dicti comunis.[1]

1. ASP. Rif. CLXXXII ff. 13r-14v, 18v (20 Jan 1371)

Once again it may be seen that this measure did not abolish a dignity or status, but merely removed certain legal disadvantages. The estate of magnates and nobles continued as before. Full political rights, in the form of permission to hold office as priors, did not follow until 1376[1]. The resolution of 1370 was approved unanimously and another list of magnates and nobles was drawn up[2]. This is the first hint of a widespread use of the anti-magnate legislation at Perugia for such evidently factional ends, but by then it had fulfilled its role of giving juridical expression to a fairly cohesive class[3]. It cannot be entirely fortuitous that inclusion in the Libro Rosso was regarded in later centuries as proof of nobility, and that for this reason, because it was a record of privilege, the original document perished at the close of the eighteenth century[4].

1. See below p. 358
2. ASP. Rif. CLXXXII ff. 44v-49v.
3. About this time there were council deliberations which seem to suggest that politically acquiescent nobles might become popolani, for example ASP. Rif. XXX ff. 153v-154r (7 Oct 1382). By then, however, use of such vocabulary has become inextricably caught up with political factions, as it was much earlier in towns such as Florence and Bologna, and the social function of the Perugian anti-magnate laws had been surpassed.
4. The original was burned in 1799, and for centuries before, local genealogists had taken inclusion in the register as proof of a family's nobility; often it was one of the earliest references that there was to members of the dynasty and families such as the Barzi who did not come in the Libro Rosso, seem to have taken pains to suggest that they did. (See, for example, Biblioteca Augusta MS. 1894 f. 10v.) The noble traditions surrounding the Libro Rosso became so strong that on occasions its origins as a punitive measure

Compared to certain other Italian cities, especially Bologna and Florence, 1333 is a relatively late date for a first list of magnates. It is fairly clear, however, that no such register preceded the Libro Rosso. There is no reference to anything of the sort in any of the extant sources of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and the wording of the anti-magnate legislation itself is silent upon such matters. In 1297, it seems that the possibility of requiring some more rigorous proof of magnate status was mooted. Suspicions had arisen that the publica fama demanded by a statute of 8 August 1286 was not enough, but after discussion no alteration was made and publica fama was still being used as a criterion in the 1310's[1]. The only refinement made then was to include explicitly in the magnate class the illegitimate sons of those of knightly descent.

Why was such a register compiled in 1333? The council minutes for this period are missing and the chronicles do

were disregarded altogether. The notes appended to Mariotti's copy of the register quotes Vincenzo Armanni, the seventeenth century antiquary and scholar from Gubbio, who portrayed the compilation of the Libro Rosso as a noble initiative, occasioned by the loss of documents in the fire in the palazzo comunale in 1315. (Biblioteca Augusta MS. 1375 ff. 4r-v.) His other suggestion, that it was called Libro Rosso because it was 'rosso dal sangue sparso de'Nobili' is rather more in line with its traditional connections;

1. ASP. Rif. XII. ff. 21v-22r (18 Feb.1297); f. 145v. (28 May 1298).

not even mention the Libro Rosso. Perhaps the only reason to suggest itself immediately is that of a reaction to the particularly bloody episcopal election of 1330 and its aftermath. The street fighting and the murders caused by the rivalries of different noble families may have inspired the commune to draw up a list of magnates in the belief that better control over them might thus ensue[1]. Politics aside, however, it is possible to suggest a deeper motive. If it is true, as will be argued below, that by the 1330's it was often necessary to return perhaps three generations or more to find an ancestor who had been knighted, then a need may have been felt to record those who were of knightly descent before such ancestral memories were properly lost. The impetus to make matricole was in any case a contemporary phenomenon. There were, of course, list of citizens, presumably for tax purposes. Nor is it in the least surprising to discover a certain Corradolus Perosci petitioning that he might be considered a merchant even though his name had somehow been omitted from the guild register[2]. It is a trifle less ordinary, however, to find that the Perugian clergy were treated in the same way. In discussions concerning a number of cases of clerical privilege, mention was made of a register of ecclesiastics drawn

1. See particularly UGOLINI L'abbazia di San Pietro' pp. 125-34.
2. ASP. Rif. XIV f. 39r.

up at the command of bishop Bulgarus of Montemelino. Thus, it appears that an attempt was made in the 1290's to regulate that other category of individuals in part exempt from communal life and jurisdiction. Henceforth, when the problem arose of ascertaining who precisely was entitled to benefit of clergy, the legal definition of a cleric included registration here, as well as a specific form of dress and behaviour[1].

Thus, the magnate lists were consistent and comprehensive, and the anti-magnate laws dealt with a social class

1. Various disputed cases of ecclesiastical privilege are recorded in the early fourteenth century. ASP. Rif. XII ff. 27r-v. (7 March 1297) the bishop excommunicated the captain of the people for having initiated proceedings against Cucius domini Iacobi domini Gualfredutii, accused of murdering Naldolus Iuliani. The bishop was to be asked to revoke his sentence and to investigate the grounds of clerical privilege claimed by Cucius. If they were in order, the commune would cancel its judicial proceedings against him. On 11 February 1309, the commune allowed another claim of clerical privilege. (ASP. Rif. XIII f. 149v), but on 21 August of that year Perugia protested that the subject of another case, Ceccolus Ugolinelli, accused of murder, had never, in fact, been properly ordained, pointing out that he had not obeyed the constitution of bishop Bulgarellus Montemelini which ordered all clerics to register in the matricola of Perugian clergy. Moreover, his way of life was that of a layman; he carried arms and frequented inns. (ASP. Rif. XIII ff. 217r, 218r.) Magister Berardus, whose fate came under discussion in February 1310, was similarly accused of wearing his hair long, donning a lay rather than a clerical habit and of being too greatly given to the tavern. Here reference is made to another of Bulgarellus's constitutions concerning seemly clerical dress and tonsure. (ASP. Rif. XIII. ff. 236v-237r.) Finally, Andreas Uguitionis, count of Plagario, who also went about in lay dress, was described as given to fabulating, gaming and womanising, behaviour which, it was firmly stated, rendered him unworthy of any benefit of clergy.

rather than with a political faction. It is worth noting that Bartolo of Sassoferrato, who knew Perugian conditions well. treats the phenomenon of anti-magnate legislation as if the group involved were equivalent to the nobility in a social sense. He justified these laws by arguing that higher penalties were in order because of the rank and prestige which attached to nobility; it was a greater crime for a noble to be unfaithful to his trust[1].

The definition of this noble/magnate class at Perugia is not based upon any random or haphazard choice of vocabulary. The marquises and the counts are predictable components, the only bearers of titles of rank in the Perugian area before c. 1200. At Perugia there is next to no information about a class of capitanei, although members of the family from Rosciano are described by use of this term in a late thirteenth-century source. The knights form the final part of a definition which seems to have been established with a due sense of hierarchy. And it is interesting to note how close this is to the classes of persons who, in 1139, needed special permission to visit the Polvese Island. Nor, indeed, is this merely a Perugian hierarchy, but one that appears elsewhere in the context of feudal vocabulary. Ducange ranks the catanei/capitanei at exactly the same

1. SHEEDY Bartolus on Social Conditions p. 124.

level as that found here in the anti-magnate laws[1]. Keller, in his study of the ordines in twelfth-century Lombardy, has shown that society here was divided into three: capitanei, valcassores and popolares. The capitanei appear as the chief fief-holders of the Milanese ecclesiastical institutions, possessors of the dominatio loci with vassals of their own, the equivalent of the valvassores maiores of earlier sources. The Lombard valvassores probably occupied much the same position as the milites in the Perugian anti-magnate definitions[2]. Except for the one instance from 1139, we find in twelfth-century Perugia no strict tripartite division of society such as was common in Lombardy, yet when, a century later at Perugia, a definition was sought for the noble class, recourse was had to elements from this type of feudal hierarchy.

However, we have seen how in the mid-thirteenth century, with the adoption of the title of dominus to signify a belted knight and the first recurrent use of miles as a personal title of honour, the knightly dignity received more explicit linguistic recognition. Later,

1. See DUCANGE Ch. du Fresne Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis. (1954 Graz) II. 135 on capitanei. Interesting is the case he quotes of an imperial privilege of 1370 by which Charles IV promoted the knight Amizino de Bozullis of Pavia to the rank of capitaneus. For this use of feudal hierarchy in 1139 at Perugia see above p.32.
2. KELLER Adelsherrschaft pp. 24-52, 71, 91, 194.

through the anti-magnate laws, the four gradations within the nobility were even more closely placed together to form a judicial class. Nor is this all. De prole militari came to act as a leitmotiv in the Perugian laws. Even for a marquis, more emphasis was placed on the fact that he was of knightly descent. Here again, even allowing for a certain caution in evaluating the significance of this, linguistic usage was militating towards the creation of a unified noble class. It has been noted above that, on some occasions, reference might be made to a man's being 'de prole marchionis', but in practice some general formula had to be found to cover all descendants. The blanket term 'de prole militari' would include the son of a margrave perhaps, but the reverse could not possibly be true. As a point of legal nicety, if taken seriously, this does presuppose that in the early thirteenth century margraves and counts too were taking knighthood.

A certain problem should be raised here. Was everyone of knightly descent assimilated to the magnates and excluded from the popolo? At Perugia the paucity of the evidence makes it impossible to give a comprehensive answer; we are limited to the episodic and the individually suggestive. In a letter dated 19 November 1288 and directed to the abbot of San Pietro, Nichola IV cited to Rome the commune of Perugia to pay the ten thousand pound fine still outstanding from the forty thousand imposed as a punishment for

Perugia's second burst of hostilities in that decade against Foligno. He referred to:

> nobiles viros Bernardinum quondam Raynerii de Marsiano et Iacobum ac Boncontem de Cocorano et Blasium quondam Iacobi milites, Telle de Bostiano, Petrum Blanci, Rigutium quondam Rigonis militis ... cives et mercatores perusinos.[1]

It is the last-mentioned name that is of considerable interest. The individual in question can be identified with the Rigo domini Rigonis of Perugian sources. He was among the leading popolani of the thirteenth century, even though the papal letter and the form of his name make it clear that he was of knightly descent[2]. The possibly ambiguous position of another leading popolano, Feolus Libriocti, will be considered below; that he might have been a member of the noble family of the Ranieri is not a hypothesis that can be rejected out of hand[3]. It would also be interesting to know what the father of Massolus domini Bonicomitis had done to merit his title[4]. It would

1. Les Registres de Nicholas IV. ed. M.E. Langlois (Paris 1892) II. 980. (no. 7212).
2. For instance ASP. Diplomatico V P3 c. 29 nos. 293-301 1281) show he was one of the agents of the commune to negotiate a loan from Arezzo. It is possible that he was related to the magnate entries of 1333: Cione and Ciccolus Ciocii domini Rigonis, Vannes Cioccii domini Rigonis, Mathiolus, Polione, Tellutius Lutii domini Rigonis (FABRETTI Documenti I. 105,106) and the 1285 libra entry Tilus domini Rigonis (ASP. Libra I. f. 100r) P.S.P. S. Biagio for 1,200 lib.
3. For Ranieri family history see pp.187-8.
4. For Massolus domini Bonicomitis as prior in 1308, March 1312, 1319 see BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp.117-21;

be unwise to do more than reflect upon a rather intriguing possibility: that some of the leading figures among the Perugian popolo might have been members (younger sons?) of knightly families who, in maintaining a direct political power in the government of the commune, accepted a derogation from their social status.

Further developments in the use of terminology illustrate the social changes outlined above. Especially important here is the later history of the title of miles. In the early fourteenth century it became very common to indicate an individual's knightly status in this way whenever he appeared in a notarial document. It is even possible to find such men as the count of Coccorano described as nobilis miles dominus Phylippus de Coccorano without any reference to the fact of comital descent[1]. The title of domicellus similarly gained in importance. Apart from the mention of the squires as part of the societas militum in 1260, we must await the fourteenth century before the word comes into more current usage in the local sources. Eventually, it was quite in order to refer to a man as nobilis domicellus as a synonymn for nobilis vir, if it were not possible to use the title miles. This is

also p. 66 n. 175 for his role in 1297 and 1316 in resisting the passage of certain anti-magnate provisions and in 1312 for the cancellation of some of his legislation.
1. ASP. Rif. XIII ff. 47r, 56v.

even more evident from papal letters, where adoption of the formula of address 'nobili domicello' is to be found[1]. Thus in a title of honour, it was more than acceptable to refer to the fact that an individual had not been knighted. Among official positions in the commune by the mid-fourteenth century, of the six capitanei partis Guelfe, one was specifically reserved for the domicelli, Of the remainder, three were popolani, one a judge and the other a knight[2]. The reservation of an office to the squires is a new departure; knights and judges had always been allotted a special role, but the unknighted noble had not been singled out in this way before.

These are complementary not contradictory developments. They reveal a modification in the concept and practice of knighthood, roughly contemporaneous with the process of creating a noble class based on the common characteristic of being, above all else, de prole militari. Thus, if by

1. See, for example, Codex Diplomaticus S. Sedis ed. A. Theiner (Rome 1862) II. 197-9, 277, 289 miles often used as a form of personal address; but domicellus does not appear until c. 1350 with Clement VI (e.g. pp. 206, 217); previously the form was 'nobili viro'.
2. ASP. Offici I. ff. 9r, 30r. The role of the parte Guelfa at Perugia is very obscure; see GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp. 171-2. Before the mid-fourteenth century it is very unusual to find references to it at all. It existed neither in the aristocratic and social sense that it did in thirteenth-century Florence nor as a description of local political division within Perugia cf. surrounding communes whence, for example, in 1266 Perugia received ambassadors of the pars Guelforum of Città di Castello (ASP. Rif.VI f. 24v.)

the mid-fourteenth century, we may talk of a noble class founded on knightly descent, it is the fact of descent that should be emphasized. By this time, as will be examined more closely, very few nobles were actually dubbed knights, and the sources never use the term milites to describe a social group as they did in the thirteenth century. This was replaced by nobiles or, more rarely, magnates.

Not in the least surprisingly, the sources give a picture which seems at times to reflect the division of lay society into three ordines: the nobiles, the iudices and the popolares[1]. This image of society does not appear at Perugia until the late thirteenth century, but its more general antecedents may perhaps be traced in the functional tripartite division of society postulated by twelfth and thirteenth-century churchmen. Developing ideas put forward by Adalbero of Laon, who divided society into bellatores, oratores and laborantes, commentators such as Alger of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas recounted schemata for secular society:

> Et quia nulla est civitas absque popolo disposuit in ea Conditor noster populum triplici gradus id est sapientes

1. For example, ASP. Rif. VII f. 45v (28 July 1273) iudices, milites and pedites; X. f. 55v. (1288) Sapientes de magnatibus popolo et iudicibus; XIV ff. 77r, 81r, 83r, division de nobilibus and de popolo.

ad consulendum, milites[1] ad propugnandum, artifices ad ministrandum.

It is, of course, difficult to know how far the Perugians would have been aware of these intellectual speculations upon the subject, but it should not be forgotten that they had been fairly common ecclesiastical coin for some time.

For practical purposes at Perugia, this division placed the judges in a somewhat ambiguous position. In the Ordinamenta Populi they, together with the notaries, were to be treated in the same way as the milites. 'Et intelligatur quilibet de populo esse ad penas et banna imposita popullaribus, exceptis militibus, eorum filiis, iudicibus et notariis'.[2] The later anti-magnate legislation is more detailed. Generally, only the judges and notaries who were themselves of knightly descent were to be excluded from the popolo, although the judicial guilds could not participate fully in the life of the guild republic, being excluded from representation on the priorate. Judges, like magnates, had to obtain special permission to enter the communal palaces[3]. The judicial

1. CONGAR Y. 'Les laics el l'ecclésiologie des ordines chez les théologiens des XIe et XIIe siècles' I Laici nella 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. (Atti della 3 settimana internazionale di studio Mendola 21-27 agosto 1965 Milan 1968) p. 90.
2. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. p. 164.
3. ASP. Statuti XII vii/rub.303 (1308 Oct.) - neither magnates nor judges were to act as guarantors. ASP. Rif.

ordo was a distinctly personal one, however; it regarded the individual who was himself a judge, without involving his family or descendants. Various of the prominent popolani could number at least one member of their families among the judiciary, and sons of judges might take their place quite happily in the Mercanzia or the Cambio[1]. The employment of this terminology of social order is fairly frequent and not particularly interesting in itself. The request that counsellors be elected de iudicibus, militibus et peditibus or de nobilibus et popolaribus was a common one. The first formula is more typical of the thirteenth century and the latter of the fourteenth. Such a view of things also found its natural expression in the ordering of communal ceremonies. In 1294, it was resolved all Perugian societies (i.e. guilds), the knights and squires and the judges and notaries should be obliged to participate in the forthcoming festivities for the feast of St. Ercolano; any society that failed to do so would have to pay a fifty pound fine, the accusor receiving half the penalty for himself[2]. Behind this order, which concerns

XVI f. 107r-v. (1316): a resolution forbidding entry to the priors' palace to both magnates and judges.

1. Archivio della Mercanzia Matricole. I. f. 52v (1333): Theus domini Peronis, a member of the Michelotti; f. 57v Petrus domini Gratie, presumably the son of d. Gratia Boni, a prominent member of the judiciary in the early fourteenth century.

2. ASP. Rif. X. f. 235r (2 Feb. 1294): 'omnes societates, artes et parochiae civitatis et burgorum Perusii quelibet per se et milites et domicelli per se et iudices et notarii per se teneantur et debeant lumen facere et honorem pro

the important matter of celebrating the town's patron saint, there lies the assumption that society was not complete without full representation of its various parts and that the nobility were, of course, an integral part of this society.

More interesting, however, is the vocabulary of personal distinction; the employment of terms such as nobilis, sapiens, magnificus, potens and so forth. This did not become widespread at Perugia until the early fourteenth century, volume XIII of the riformanze (1308-1310) being the first to make consistent use of descriptive titles of courtesy and of status[1]. Before this, Perugians seem to have been quite content to do without; from then onwards, however, a continous inflation in the employment of such terms can be witnessed. By the end of the fourteenth century adjectives of a moral quality had made their appearance; henceforward a man might be described as generosus miles rather than nobilis miles. But this development corresponds with a new phase of Perugian social history and will be considered later[2]. For the early part of the fourteenth century, the most striking thing about this vocabulary is its consistency; there was a rigid hierarchy

festo et ad festum cum luminibus profisci'.
1. See above p.45
2. See below pp.395

to be observed in such usage, and very rarely indeed would Perugian notaries break the rules. Nobilis vir, nobilis miles or nobilis domicellus were phrases employed of members of the magnate/noble calss; sapiens and iurisperitus were used of the judges, whilst for popolani, prudens or discretus might be said. Nobilis was never used at this time in the Perugian sources or in the hand of a Perugian notary of any individual to whom it could not be applied in the social, even the juridical sense. Occasionally, it appears in papal letters addressed to the priors or in letters from other communes; the Perugian documents never described the priors as nobiles because they were quite definitely nothing of the sort, and here magnificus would always be used instead[1]. Similarly, of the Perugians sent regularly to be podesta and captains of the people at Assisi after 1320, the Assisi scribes would sometimes use nobilis as a courtesy title for an individual who, within the context of Perugian society, could not legitimately be accorded this attribute[2].

A notion that is hard to come by in the Perugian

1. A letter of Benedict XII addressed 'dilectis filiis nobilibus viris prioribus artium civitatis Perusii'. (FOP Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa p. 113 1335).
2. Documentazione di vita assisiana 1300-1530.ed. Censi (Grottaferrata/Rome 1974) I. 73 'nobilis et potentis viri Michelutii de Micheloctis de Perusio honorabilis capitanei'; also in 1336 for a member of the Barzi.

sources is that of gentilezza. This may in part be because of the lack of the right sort of predominantly literary documentation, but it is possible that this is a concept which came to Perugia somewhat later than 1350. Probably, the first consistent use of related terms dates from the 1370's when gentiluomini was employed as a label for one of the contending factions in the turbulent political life of that period[1]. It is the faction which, in terms of membership, best continues the magnates/nobles of the early fourteenth century. The use of gentilis applied to individuals does not appear in any of the documents consulted for this study, even as late as 1430. Gentiluomo, however, as a personal name, is to be found for one of the members of the Archi-presbyteri in the early fifteenth century.

At Perugia, therefore, the concepts of knight, magnate and noble were very closely related during the period 1250-1350. As with the development of titles, however, this was not universally true of all areas of northern and central Italy. Bartolus of Sassoferrato understood Perugia well when he claimed that here a knight was noble; but he went on to state that at Florence this was not the case[2].

1. JONES 'Economia e società' p. 250 n. 87 who dates its entry in Latin into Italy to the late twelfth century. For Perugia see below.
2. SALVEMINI op. cit. p. 400.

Modern studies from other Italian towns such as Padua appear to support the Florentine tendency and provide us with references to knights of popular extraction[1].

From the close of the thirteenth century, however, Perugian knighthood itself underwent considerable change; these developments can be closely related to those which we have traced up to this point concerning the internal structure of the noble class. There can be very little doubt that knighthood became much rarer in the period 1250-1400. Among other indications of this is the progressive infrequency with which the dominus title appears in the sources. There is no evidence to suggest that the title changed its meaning during these years; yet, outside of the judicial circle, there are ever decreasing instances of its employment. For individual families, this can be seen in the family trees in the next chapter. Here, generally, the members who bear the title dominus are to be found clustered about the middle years of the thirteenth century. A glance at the Libro Rosso suggests the same tendency. Of the 498 individuals whose names are given in the register, only 40 bear the title. In some cases this is because they were judges, for example,

1. HYDE Padua p. 102 refers to Pietro Murfi from a description de Nono as 'a man of the people although decorated with knighthood'.

dominus Pellinus Andrutii iudex de Sancto Ianne or dominus Rainerius Andrutii de Monte Vibiano iudex, although it was by no means impossible for a man to be both a judge and a knight. A few of the names here are preceded by the title ser, thus denoting a notary. In the list of magnates from 1371, the dominus title is even rarer. At this date, even when three generations of the patronymnic were given, it was unusual to find a dominus in the third. Of the c. 275 persons individually named, only 28 had a title themselves. Noteworthy also is the fact that dominus was by no means evenly distributed throughout the magnate group. There is a fairly close coincidence between those Perugian families who were most prominent politically and the concentration of domini: for example, the Baglioni, the degli Oddi, Archipresbyteri, Armanni, della Corgna and Montemelini.

Of the reasons advanced to explain this decline in the number of belted knights, there are two rather obvious ones. It can be argued that the individuals concerned were not prepared to bear the expenses involved, or that they were deterred by the political disadvantages which accrued to knighthood through much of the anti-magnate legislation. Neither of these, however, seems wholly sufficient, but lack of evidence prevents even elementary attempts to gauge their real importance. In general, at Perugia, it does not seem that the noble class was undergoing particularly

serious economic crisis at the end of the thirteenth century[1]. A Sienese ceremony of 1326 shows how costly the procedure might be; festivities lasted for eight days and details of the banqueting are recounted in extravagant detail. But more then fifty years earlier, in 1267, when eight members of the Cerchi were knighted at Florence, festivities lasted for a month in the town and a further month at Rovezzano in the contado[2]. Without much greater knowledge about the ceremonial details, it is impossible to say if there was a tendency towards elaboration and expense[3]. Even if this were the case, however, this does not in itself constitute an adequate explanation for the initial tendency to decline knighthood. Indeed, it may be that the ceremonies surrounding knighthood were embellished as the ritual itself grew rarer, acquiring thus a greater prestige and significance. Moreover, as we shall see by the 1320's, an important noble, whether knighted or not, would play the military role to which his station entitled him. The costs seem probably to have varied little as

1. See GRUNDMAN J.P. 'La posizione economica della nobilta nel Trecento' Storia ed Arte in Umbria nel eta comunale pp. 803-35 passim and BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 especially pp. 44-7. The nobility c. 1320 remained by far the most wealthy section of society; Grundman's tables, based on the 1320 libra for P.S.P., show that no popular family could compare with the richest nobles.
2. Chronicon Sanese ed. L.A. Muratori RIISS. XV (Milan 1729) cols. 75-78 n. 42. SALVEMINI op. cit. pp. 474-5.
3. For France see CONTAMINE 'Points de vue' pp. 272-83.

between a knighted and an unknighted horseman. Thus, it would be difficult to sustain the argument that knighthood brought such additional costs in terms of military equipment that this in itself encouraged men to remain domicelli. The economic argument remains unproven.

The Perugian sources do reveal that there was a growing disinclination on the part of the commune to contribute to the knighting of its various citizens in the early fourteenth century. The council minutes of 1318 contain a resolution forbidding the priors to bestow any gifts on such occasions[1]. But by this time the taking of knighthood was already much more infrequent than heretofore, and there is certainly nothing to suggest that the frequency of the early thirteenth century was paid for out of public funds. Communes did pay, however, when they themselves determined the creation of a knight; instances from Orvieto to be discussed below show how generous they might be. Similarly, the emperor would contribute the expenses of those knighted at his command, and while chroniclers indicate that on certain occasions individuals tried to take advantage of this to get themselves knighted for very little cost, they also indicate that such behaviour was despised; the

1. ASP. Statuti XII v/rub.38; see also ASP. Rif. XVII f. 13v (17 Feb. 1318) which limits the gifts that the priors may give to a newly-dubbed knight.

association of knighthood and generosity remained very strong[1].

In the same way, the political disadvantages of knighthood came perhaps a little too late - from about 1280 onwards - to be seen as a primary cause of the rarity of knighthood; although they may have re-inforced a tendency already in existence. Since, until 1370, they touched all of knightly descent at Perugia, the damage would seem to have been done already if it was possible to trace a knightly ancestor, regardless of whether an individual was himself knighted or not. The most serious difficulty here is the historian's ignorance of when exactly in the latter part of the thirteenth century this refusal to take knighthood began. But before endeavouring to link it too closely with specific Italian events - political or otherwise, it should be borne in mind that this was a phenomenon discoverable in other parts of Europe.[2] Moreover, if it is correct to read the Perugian evidence of the mid-thirteenth century as illustrative of a growing aristocratic cohesion based on a certain bridging of the gap between its various strata

1. Istorie di Matteo Villani ed. L.A. Muratori RIIS. XIV (Milan 1729) col.313 tells of eight citizens at Florence who got themselves knighted cheaply in 1355 by Charles IV, but notes that because they gave no festivities, either individually or jointly, they would be judged by all who were not avaricious and calculating 'poco degn(i) del ricevuto honore'.
2. CONTAMINE 'Points de vue' pp. 257-63.

and the establishment of a clear line of demarcation between such men and the popolo, then it would seem to be a logical culmination of this development that an individual member of a known noble family would deem it to be of less importance than previously that he should actually be knighted himself.

Of those figures encountered in the early fourteenth century sources with the title of dominus, it is very unusual to be informed upon the exact occasion of their having been made knights. Perhaps, for some of the unrecorded, the ceremony was such as the Orvietan annalist described for 1310: 'Item dicto anno et 22 mensis aprilis facti sunt milites filii domini Ugolini, quibus cinsit empsem pater eorum'[1]. Writers on knighthood and chivalric culture tend to assume that any knight might create another man knight. Although this has been recently questioned for twelfth century France, there is nothing to disprove it out of hand as a norm for thirteenth century Umbria[2]. On several occasions, we are more closely informed. Certain nobles were knighted by the emperor. In 1347 the chronicle of Graziani records that Lewis of Bavaria, whilst at Foligno, made many knights 'fra i quali doi figlioli di messer

1. Annales Urbevetani ed. L.Fumi RIISS XV/5 (Città di Castello-Bologna 1903-20) p. 135.
2. HYDE Padua p. 96.

Francesco da Montemelini'[1].

The development which has caused most disquiet has been that of communal knightings. This was one of the main planks in the argument put forward by Salvemini for the 'democratisation' of knighthood in the fourteenth century. Towns were accused of having had little regard for the dignity and of bestowing it promiscuously upon all and sundry - to promote the town's military strength, as a reward for services of little value, as a means of making a minor official more readily obeyed[2]. First of all, at Perugia, it should be noted that the term 'miles pro comune' never appears in the sources, either to signify someone who, whilst not of noble birth or knightly status, fought on horseback in the commune's military campaigns, or to indicate a person who was actually knighted at the commune's command. Nonetheless, there were instances of Perugia creating knights. The first comes from 1284. In that year, according to the vernacular chronicle, the podestà then in office died. To take his place, Perugia summoned his son, who was made knight[3]. In 1289 Perugia received its second capitaneus guerre. The chronicle describes how Camerino was asked to furnish such an official and sent Bernardello

1. Diario del Graziano dal 1309 al 1491. ed. A. Fabretti ASI. XVI/i (1850) p. 146.
2. SALVEMINI op. cit. p. 369.
3. Annali e cronaca p. 157

de meser Gentile de Merano that is, a representative of the house of Varano[1]. A statutory rubric of 1290 is more forthcoming; it contains a reference to 'dominus Berardus de Camerino quem fecit militem comune Perusii'[2]. Similarly, for 1299, the chronicle tells us that 'in quisto millesimo di xxx de novembre, el comuno de Peroscia fece cavaliere quisto messer Palacino, el quale era podestà de Peroscia'[3]. All these men were unexceptionable choices, belonging as they did to noble families of considerable prestige.

From Orvieto comes an instance of the commune knighting a Perugian, one of the Baglioni, Bicellus domini Gualfredutii. Prior to his dubbing in 1330, there are several notices of his activity in Umbria. Most of these refer to 1328. the year in which he seems to have played a considerable role in Perugian military and diplomatic activity. In March he was sent to Orvieto with two hundred English and French soldiers under his command to restore order to the political situation there. Returning in May, he was despatched to Apulia in the service of the Pope, defeating a contingent of Lewis of Bavaria's soldiers at Narni whilst en route[4]. That year and the following one witnessed representations on his behalf by Perugia and other Umbrian

1. ibid. pp. 159-60.
2. ASP. Statuti XII i/rub.51.
3. Annali e cronaca p.165
4. ibid. pp. 216-9.

communes to Florence in an attempt to secure his remuneration as podestà, an office to which Bicellus claimed Florence had elected him during the regime of the duke of Calabria. Florence refused, asserting that the political circumstances surrounding the duke's fall absolved the town from any such payment. It was further argued that since Bicellus had not been knighted, he could not legitimately have been elected podestà in any case and hence had no claim upon the commune[1]. The incident at Orvieto which preceded his knighthood offers further evidence of his personal standing. In 1330, as captain of the people, he effected the considerable task of reconciling the counts of Montemarte and the Monaldeschi; this encouraged further peace agreements among the Orvietans.

Ex quibus causis d(ominus) Bicellus Capitaneus Popoli W(etani) factus fuit Miles die dominico 24 mense iunii. Cui d(ominus) Ugulinus Lupicini, ut Sindicus C(omunis) W(etani) cinxit ensem, et donati fuerunt per predictum C(omune) mille floreni auri in una manu, et centum florenos habuit in alia. Et magnos[2] ludos fecit et multe robbe sunt donati ab Wetanis.

1. DEGLI AZZI VITELLESCHI G. Le Relazioni tra la Repubblica di Firenze e l'Umbria nel secolo XIV. (Perugia 1904-9) I. 19-22. Cf. p.42 where notice of the election of d. Franciscus domini Oddonis of Montone as podestà of Florence makes special mention of his having attained the age of thirty-six and the knightly dignity.
2. FUMI L. Codice Diplomatico della città d'Orvieto. (Florence 1884) p. 453.

Here is an example of the conferring of knighthood by a commune on an individual worthy of the dignity, not only by reason of his birth but also because of the distinguished role he played in the affairs of his day. Even more interestingly, he had just discovered in his dealings with Florence one of the very cogent motives for the taking of knighthood in the fourteenth century - that of representing as podestã or captain the most important Italian towns.

A further example from Orvieto strengthens this impression of the continuing importance of noble background in helping to determine whom a commune should knight. In this instance the term miles populi was employed of the men thus honoured, but it had no overtones of 'democratisation' at all. The two knights were members of the most prominent Orvietan families and were honoured in this way in an attempt to win and secure their loyalty:

> Ad hoc ut nobiles viri Ugolinus d(ominus) Boncontis de Monaldensibus et Petrutius Petri Contis causam et materiam habeant augendi, defendendi et manutenendi bona, iura et iurisdictiones Wetani Populi et C(omune) et ipsos populum et C(omune) conservandi in grandi, bono et pacifico statu, et in tranquillitate et perfecta unione et pace et inveniendi vias et modod ex quibus pecunia habeatur et veniat in C(omune) et Camera C(omunis) W(etani) pro causis et negotiis in supradicta proposita declaratis, efficiantur in Dei nomine et ad honorem et exaltationem populi supradicti, milites et militari cingulo decorentur et vocentur et sint milites populi.[1]

1. ibid. pp. 498-9.

They took an oath to act for the benefit of the popolo and were given a thousand gold florins each by the commune in honour of the occasion. Thus use of communal knighthood as a means of forming ties of loyalty seems to have developed in the early fourteenth century. Salvemini could point to instances from Florence in which those dubbed at the command of the commune would bear the commune's coat-of-arms[1]. It is tempting to wonder whether at this time the ceremony of knighthood might not have taken on some of the functions of the earlier submissions or oaths of allegiance; these latter, with their clauses, often of a feudal nature, were similar means by which the communes had tried to guarantee the goodwill of their local nobility. It was understood that the newly-dubbed knight should never take up arms against him who had conferred the knighthood. As early as 1260 at Arezzo, Ildeprando Giratasca, having been knighted at the commune's expense,swore that he would henceforth be vassallus dominorum comunis civitatis Arretii; and Stephen Colonna in 1328 evidently felt that the knighthood which he had recently received from the commune of Rome might be held by the Pope to impose unwelcome and conflicting political obligations. John XXIII approved this step, however, hoping that Stephen would promote the welfare of Rome in return for the honour he had received[2].

1. SALVEMINI op. cit. pp. 450-1.
2. REDI F. Opere (Milan 1809) I. 235; Cod. Dipl. S. Sedis I. 553.

The example which follows of a communal knighting at Perugia might be taken, at a first glance, as confirmation of something which Salvemini thought he could detect at Florence: that is the knighting of socially quite unsuitable persons merely to confer on them greater authority in their subsequent holding of administrative positions and the like in the contado. It may be suspected, however, that he relied rather too uncritically for evidence upon a novella of Sacchetti[1]. The chronicle of Graziani relates under the year 1360 that Perugia made knights four inhabitants of Montepulciano 'alle spese del comuno ... con ogni fornimento da cavaliere', giving to each a warhorse and a palfry and then conceding to them for the duration of their lives the fortress of Valiana[2]. This was a political operation, following upon the close of the war with Cortona. If an examination is made of the names of the persons involved - 'uno fu el figliolo de meser Nicolo, l'altro el figliolo de meser Iacomo e doi loro nepote' - it will be seen that this again was an instance of a commune knighting men of eminently suitable social background. Further references to the custody of Valiana by these persons in the 1370's confirm their noble descent.

1. SALVEMINI op. cit. pp. 433-4.
2. Diario del Graziano p. 170.

The only case at Perugia of the knighting of a non-noble in our period is, indeed, rather singular. It relates to Leggerius Nicholutii Andreotti, and its social implications will be discussed more fully later. By the mid-fourteenth century his family, together with that of the Michelotti, occupied a position which seemed in some degree intermediate between noble and popular status; and thus the role of knighthood in the traditions of such a family is particularly important. For the moment it is sufficient to remark upon the nature of the ceremony, which was of a kind against which Sacchetti inveighed most vehemently. Leggerius was murdered in 1363 and, as a personal honour, his corpse was decorated with the belt of knighthood[1]. In fact this was a procedure which the Perugian statutes had made a half-hearted attempt to prohibit[2]. His son, Angelus, appears throughout all later communal records as Angelus domini Leggerii, the fact that his father was dead when knighted making no difference to the the acquisition of the dominus title as part of the patronymnic.

It will be well to touch briefly upon the commune's continued interest in all manner of ceremony and pageantry.

1. ibid. p.192.
2. ASP. Statuti I. f. 52/3r.

In 1339, the podestà was crowned[1]. In 1363, when the incumbent podestà, dominus Ambrogius of Siena, died in office, his son succeeded to him. Perugia not only knighted his son, but also buried Ambrogius before the high altar of Sant'Agostino, and had his picture painted together with his coat-of-arms 'tre rocche da giocare a scacche'[2]. Jousting is recorded on various occasions: for example, in 1285 for the election of Honorius IV and in 1339 for the arrival of the new bishop[3]. In 1326, when the prince of Morea visited Perugia, he received a goblet containing three hundred florins and his wife was given one with a hundred and fifty florins; twenty-five horsemen jousted in his honour[4]. For the visit of the cardinal Orsini in May of 1327 fifty horsemen jousted, for which they were paid four florins each. The cardinal received a silver goblet containing five hundred florins[5].Unspecified festivities greeted the advent of Philip of Taranto's sons in 1353, and in the following year forty giocatori celebrated the new bishop[6]. The peace with the Petramala

1. Diario del Graziano p. 120 'Al quale podesta (m. Giovanni de gli Panciateche) fu donata una corona d'oro dal comuno de Peroscia, con la quale fu coronato a di primo de giugno 1339 nel palazzo del podesta da gli signori Priori de Peroscia per meriti del suo buono officio che fece'.
2. ibid. p. 194.
3. GALETTI 'La societa comunale' p. 95 n.16., Diario del Graziano p. 120.
4. Annali e cronaca p. 203.
5. ibid. pp. 211-2
6. Diario del Graziano pp. 167-8, 174.

was an occasion for the utmost ceremony and hospitality[1], and the short-lived comet that was Cola di Rienzo's republic at Rome saw enthusiastic involvement by Perugia in its ceremonies[2]. A chronicle notice from Orvieto for 1296 is not only proof of the commune's part in honours and dignities, but also provides an indication that those who participated were expected to be of an elevated social status:

> Detto anno, de aprile, il signor Gophredo Guaitano de Anagne, nepote de papa Bonefatio, presi la contessa Margherita de Pitigliano per moglie; cosi, venendo verso lo stato, furo vestite XII nobile militi de syndone biancho con cavalli cuperti et andaro in Bolseno incontro al conti Lamphredo, et andaro a Sovana con triumpho et alegressa alle nozze de la contessa Margherita[3].

Finally, there are two aspects of communal life which seem to furnish evidence of an enhanced prestige being accorded to knighthood. The position of the podestà, to take the first, is emblematic of this development. It is common knowledge that, following the period in which it was still possible to have a local podestà, this official was always a foreigner, generally a noble and, in certain

1. ibid.p. 118 'Mangiarono tutti li sopradicti insieme nel palazzo del Capitanio del populo, con li signori Priori de l'arte, alla spese del comuno de Peroscia; fu vestito dicto meser Rodolfo de uno scarlatto con doi vaia, e gli figliuoli ciascuno con una veste partita con fodero france francesco, alle spese del dicto comuno'.
2. ibid. pp. 144-5.
3. Cronaca di Domenico Manente.ed.L.Fumi (RIISS XV/5) p.329 and Annales Urbevetani p. 169 for the Latin version.

communes, was required to be a knight. Perugia was among those towns that made the latter stipulation[1], but the greater interest attaches to the point in time at which it began to do so.

This process can be traced clearly in the three redactions of the Perugian statutes: those of 1279,'1315' and 1342. In the earliest version no mention was made of the requirement of knighthood; it was enough that the podestà with his familia should be of the Guelf persuasion[2]. However, within the space of a few years a series of developments occurred, connecting the office of podestà more directly with the belted knight. The knightings of the Perugian podestà have already been discussed; these are in fact, the first recorded instances of anyone being knighted at Perugia's command. Similarly, the set of instructions despatched to the newly elected captain of the people in 1308 included, among other things, the order that before his arrival he should get himself knighted ('se facere militem')[3]. The statutory redaction of 1315 is even more informative. The clause dealing with the qualities of the podestà reads as follows:

1. At Vicenza the requirement dates from 1276 (HYDE Padua p. 105)
2. The rubric is edited in BELELLI G. L'istituto del podesta in Perugia nel secolo XIII. (Bologna 1936) p. 97.
3. ASP. Rif. XIII f. 21r (10 Sep.1308).

Ille qui in podestatem vel capitaneum eligeretur sit et esse debeat miles (seu dominus vel doctor legum) et sit bonus et legalis et fidelis et ydoneus et amator comunis et populi Perusii et universitatum artium[1] et fidelis ecclesie Romane et de vera parte Guelfa.

The words in parenthesis were later deleted, and by the time that the same rubric appeared in 1342, it stated quite simply that the podestà 'sia a essere degga cavaliere', in addition to the customary Guelf stipulation[2]. It is possible to locate even more precisely the date between 1315 and 1342 when the requirement of knighthood came into effect. In 1322, Perugia elected as podestà Petrus de Monte Ulivi, but the council minutes record that the election was cancelled because he was not a knight, could not be made a knight and could not come at the right time[3]. Presumably then, by 1322 the choice of the podestà had been formally limited to the milites de corredu.

The changes in the podestà's title tell a similar story. In the early thirteenth century he was called dominus; by the mid-thirteenth century he tended to be referred to as nobilis vir dominus, but hesitantly in the

1. ASP. Statuti XII i/rub. 6.
2. Statuti di Perugia MCCCXLII. I. i/rubs 3,4.
3. ASP. Rif. XX f.213r (10 Nov.1322) 'Et ipse Petrus non sit miles ita quod eius electio de iure non procedit .... nec posset fieri miles nec venire tempore necessario'. It was definitely stated that according to Perugian laws the podestà must be a knight: 'Item proposuit cum in statuto contineatur quod ille qui eligitur in potestatem vel capitaneum civitatis Perusii sit et esse debeat miles'.

1280's, until the new usage finally triumphed and became standardised in the early fourteenth century, he appears in the sources as nobilis et potens miles dominus[1]. Again, special emphasis was being placed on the fact of knighthood. At Perugia, where it was obligatory for the podestà and the captain to be knights, this formula was regularly employed of them all. Elsewhere the title raises a further interest. It is evident that in those surrounding Umbrian and southern Tuscan towns where the demand for knighthood did not obtain, only when the podestà was a knight, did he receive the dominus title, thus developing further a trend already noted for lesser counsellors and guild officials[2].

1. For the mid-thirteenth century see ANSIDEI Reg. Rif. p. 17 (1256) 'vir nobilis d. Bonacosa de Riva cap. populi perusini'. Also ASP. Rif. VI f. 131r (1266) 'nobilis vir dominus Uguicio Doxelectus capitaneus populi et dominus Albertinus de Boscettis potestas'. For the 1290's see ASP. Rif. XII ff. 1r, 90v, 142v, 163r; XIII ff. 22r, 51r, 127r - f. 51r '.... tempore nobilium et potentium militum domini Berardi de Madiis de Brissia honorabilis potestatis et domini Bonifatii de Canossa honorabilis capitanei dictae civitatis Perusii'.
2. From Arezzo in 1327 'tempore potestarie et regiminis nobilis viri Corraducii de Roccacontrata potestatis prefate per sapientes viros dominos Albericum domini Landi de Albergottis porte Burgi et Iohannem Baroncini porte Fori iudices, et providos viros ser Guadagnum notarium domini Iuncte porte Crucifere et Chiarum domini Braccii mercatorem porte Sancti Andree cives Aretinos' Lo Statuto di Arezzo. 1327. ed. G.M. Camerani. (Florence 1946) p. 5. At Borgo San Sepolcro in 1340 - ASP. Diplomatico VI P5 c.33 no.29. Similar results come from Gubbio, see ASG Rif. I f. 1r 'tempore nobilis viri Neri domini Uberti de Orto potestate civitatis predicte' (1326); f. 107r 'tempore magnifici viri Malateste comitis de Petra Rubea potestate civitatis predicte'; f. 122r 'iuramentum nobilis militis domini Raynerii capitanei populi Eugubii'. A systematic study of this terminology in the first volumes of the riformanze at Gubbio shows that in such a commune in the early fourteenth

Much the same development can be seen in an aspect of military organisation. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Perugia started to employ mercenaries on a large scale, and the riformanze preserve copies of condotte from the 1310's to the 1330's. Mostly these are repetitive documents, containing in various combinations the types of clause which Daniel Waley has discussed in his studies of medieval mercenaries[1]. They were made between the commune and mainly Catalan, French or southern Italian mercenaries; the employment of local Umbrian feudatories was very rare, and it was not until the 1350's that Germans were used in any great numbers[2]. The most important division in these agreements is between those providing cavalry (milites) and the remainder dealing with infantry (pedites). It is quite clear that, when used here, milites denoted men who fought on horseback and had no overtones of social status. Occasionally, however, a notary preferred to employ the term equites to describe these men, but this is rarely encountered[3].

century, the unknighted podestà was by far the more common.
1. WALEY D.P. 'Condotte and Condottieri in the thirteenth century in PBA. LXI (1975) pp. 337-71 passim which gives examples mainly from Bologna. Perugian examples are edited in ANSIDEI V. BRIGANTI F. 'Bartolomeus de Gabriellibus de Regno Francie et Ugo de Belciampolo de Inghilterra, conestabili al servicio del Comune di Perugia nel 1321' BU. XXI (1915) pp. 221-50.
2. For German mercenaries see records of payment in ASP. Conservatori della Moneta III (1353) ff. 4r-v, 5r-v, 9r.
3. ASP. Rif. XIII f. 64r (1309); 'omnes et singuli milites seu equites et alii omnes equos habentes', used with reference to Perugians enrolled to fight against Foligno. For use in the condotte see ASP. Rif. XVIII ff.118v, 123v, 124r.

At a certain point in the 1320's, the condotte, previously silent upon this matter, start to make special provision for the milites de corredu. A clause makes its appearance, allowing the belted knight a somewhat higher stipend. In an agreement of 1323, after setting the stipend of the condottiere at forty florins a month and that of his milites at seven, the text continues in this way:

> Et si dictus conestabilis habebit in dicta sua comitiva aliquem militem de coredo quod ipse miles habeat et habere debeat a comuni Perusii .... pro sua paga et soldo cum uno equo armigeri supradicte extimationis et cum uno roncino x florenos de auro quolibet mense.

Whilst this provision has been found for mercenary cavalry, there is no evidence that it was ever applied to the horsemen sent out as part of the Perugian cavallata[2]. The distinction made with regard to ransom payments in the condotte, however, is not between milites de corredu and the rest, but rather between nobiles and populares. A noble captive taken from among Perugia's enemies would bring the mercenary twenty-five florins, a popolano only ten. The

1. ASP. Rif. I. ff. 266r-v (Oct.1323) For other examples of differentiation in salary levels see REYDELLET GUTTINGER C. L'administration pontificale dans le Duché de Spolète (1305-52). (Florence 1975) p. 120-6 8 florins for the average soldier, 10 florins for the milites de corredu.
2. For the remuneration of the cavallata see ASP. Rif. I f. 269r (1323) - 2 florins to each of the 20 named milites sent to guard Assisi; f. 270r - 3 florins for 8 days' service to each of 80 horsemen in the Perugian army at Spoleto.

lists of the members of these masnade registered in the riformanze show that the number of belted knights was extremely small[1].

A record of payments from 1332-33 contains a further intriguing point. Here the five condottieri were French[2]. Three of them had belted knights in their following. In all instances the number was small and fluctuated slightly from month to month. Iohannes de Chatisden, for example, had between two and five milites de corredu in a mercenary band of twenty-five; dominus Iacobus de la Foradella had two or three out of twenty five. The milites de corredu received ten (later reduced to nine and three quarter) florins a month, the others eight florins (later seven and three quarters). Moreover, these three condottieri were themselves knights (nobilis miles dominus), whilst the two without dubbed knights were themselves only domicelli (nobilis vir). Possibly, the belted knight would only serve under his equals. Certainly, these condottieri were French, but we cannot be certain that their mercenaries were, and the degree of interchange of knightly and noble traditions upon this plane remains a very shadowy topic.

1. For example, in the condotta of the count of Sarteano there were no belted knights (ASP. Rif. XVIII ff. 130v-131r.) In others there might be none of a group of thirty (Rif. XX f. 152r) or one of sixty (Rif. XVIII ff. 134r-135r)
2. The record of payment is ASP. Rif. I ff. 117r-122r.

The connection between the belted knight and military command appears elsewhere. In a letter of 20 April 1311, sent to Perugia by Robert, king of Jerusalem, he recommended dominus Theodinus of Aquila *miles familiaris*, who had previously served Perugia with the mercenary band of dominus Thomasius of Lentino 'ante quam ad militiae honorem ascenderet'. Now, however, he had been dubbed ('et nunc sit miles') and wished to serve Perugia with at least twenty of his own men and as captain of other troops placed under him. Firstly, it was suggested that there should be a *tallia* in the Duchy and that Theodinus be placed in command of the resulting hundred *milites*; but at length it was agreed to put him in charge of the exiles from Todi, then allied with Perugia. The *condotta* was drawn up on the 27 August and stipulated that he should provide twenty-five cavalry and a similar number of infantry for four months; these hired soldiers were to come from Apulia, Aragon or Catalonia. Besides this, he was to exercise command over the Todi exiles[1]. Here the link between knighthood and military command is particularly direct and explicit[2], but this was by no means always the case. Not all Perugian *capitanei guerre* recorded for these years were

1. *ASP.Rif.* XIV f. 68v (20 April 1311), f. 110v (27 Aug. 1311) - the agreement appointing him captain of the exiles of Todi with 25 *milites* and 25 *pedites* from Catalonia, Aragon or Apulia.
2. Cp. HYDE *Padua* p.104 - in 1312 Cangrande created knight Antonio da Cutiorolo, companion of Nicolo da Lozzo, before placing him in command of a force of Germans in the war against Padua.

dubbed knights and, for example, in the family of the counts of Alviano it is very rare to find a belted knight from the fourteenth century onwards, although members habitually appear with military command in Umbria.

These two latter cases illustrate very well how, by the fourteenth century, the position of the belted knight had become a special talking-point, the object of enhanced prestige and thus, if by this date, there was no knightly class in the form in which it had existed a century earlier, there was, nonetheless, at Perugia a carefully defined noble class. Among its members those who took knighthood were a small and élite group. The function of knighthood had indeed changed, but it did so within the context of developments which were closely associated with the very formation of the aristocracy.

CHAPTER II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOBLE CLASS.

According to the anti-magnate legislation, the Perugian noble class consisted of those descended from margraves, counts, *capitanei* and knights. To tell whether this will serve as a correct definition in the early fourteenth century, a close prosopographical study of the *Libro Rosso* is necessary. Some comparison can be made with other lists, such as that of *contado* nobles which was drawn up in 1260 for a grain assessment, and the register accompanying the magnate re-admission of 1370[1]. From this it is hoped to gain some idea of the origins and internal structure of noble families. We wish to know where they came from and upon what their position was based, if they were essentially of rural origin or whether it is possible to find a certain section of the nobility with predominantly urban associations and traditions. Also to be considered is the degree to which the terminological hierarchy suggested by the anti-

1. I have chosen to regard the *Libro Rosso* as a key text in the belief, discussed above, that it contains a comprehensive list of those thought to be magnates/nobles at Perugia in 1333, and that the terms are roughly synonymous. The 1371 compilation, however, probably reflects factional strife to a greater extent: it is interesting mainly for certain developments in terminology, but it does not contain nearly so many individual names as the *Libro Rosso*. A list of exiled nobles, drawn up in the aftermath of the 1361 conspiracy, is even more obviously a political document. (FOP *Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa* pp. 143-47). The 1260 register of *contado* nobles is in *ASP. Rif.* IV ff. 144r-175v. Half of it has been edited by Nicolini as part of the introduction to the *Reformationes Communis Perusii* pp. xxxi-ii.

magnate legislation corresponds to reality. The size and changing nature of individual families constitutes a further point of interest.

The names in the Libro Rosso are divided according to the five portae: there are 97 entries in Porta San Pietro, 91 in Porta Sole, 66 in Porta Sant'Angelo, 80 in Porta Santa Susanna and 68 in Porta Eburnea. On occasions, either by the use of a surname or by designation from a villa or castle, a group of half a dozen or so individuals are clearly shown to have been members of the same family. This accounts for somewhat over half of those mentioned. The remainder appear merely with first names and a string of genitive forms, indicating father, grandfather and, at times, great-grandfather. This, together with the lack of private documentation, makes identification particularly difficult. In her analysis of wealth distribution, Dr. Blanshei sought to establish links between the names of 1333 and their ancestors in the 1285 libra: she claimed to have identified 252 entries. A few of these are incorrect, but most seem reasonable enough[1]. The most serious criticism of this

1. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp. 99-104. For instance, no. 50 seems very doubtful. Merely on account of the forename Ranerius, common enough for it to be found in more than one family, the heres domini Ranerii Marescotti, elsewhere described as being from the castle of Preitino, and dominus Ranerius of Monte Iuliano are placed together as the 1285 ancestors of Hermannus domini Ranerii and of other persons who can be identified as members of the Archipresbyteri family.

method, however, from our point of view, is that it gives a superficial and rather static picture. By begging the question of family relationships altogether, it encourages us to see all figures who do not immediately fit into larger groupings as part of small, autonomous families. A more detailed examination of the evidence will show this to be mistaken.

The large number of entries which have neither topoymnic nor surname cause a considerable amount of difficulty. It will become evident that many family histories can only be reconstructed in a very tortuous manner, often only by tracing back at a presumed distance of generations. the genitives of the patronymnic. To complicate matters further, this has often to be done mainly from lists of subscribers to public documents. Where a surname was adopted at a later date, as for instance with the Ranieri, it is possible to work backwards from this, considering at the same time items such as contiguous land-ownership, joint action in private transactions. appointment as guardians or guarantors and the use of terms such as consortes and consanguinei. At a time when a family relationship has appeared possible but not conclusive, I have preferred to err on the side of over-cautiousness.

In this way, certain family groupings have been identified, the members of which have no obvious connection

with one another in the Libro Rosso, except for their being listed more or less together. This latter point, in itself, does not constitute definite proof of affinity. Although families are often grouped together, there are sufficient instances of names being scattered about at random and of family blocs being interrupted by the insertion of an extraneous body to inspire wariness here. At times, it has been possible to place within a previously-defined family group individuals who appear in the Libro Rosso in apparent isolation. The descendants of Contutius Abbati, for example, can be shown to have belonged to the Coppoli, despite the fact that this surname is not applied to them in the Libro Rosso[1]. In the end, somewhat over a hundred individual entries remain fairly obscure. Some of them were probably part of larger family groups, in much the same position as the sons of Contutius Abbati, whilst others may possibly have belonged to small, insignificant and otherwise unknown families.

Everything suggests that the families of the Libro Rosso

1. For the Coppoli, see the recent studies by Bartoli Langeli. Also further discussion in this chapter and the next of their possible origins and the significance of their political activities. Under P.S.A. in the Libro Rosso: 'Munaldutius Pelloli Contutii Abbatis et filii et fratres, filii Fatii Contutii Abbatis, filii Neruli Contutii Abbatis'. (FABRETTI Documenti I. 114) Various descendants are listed in the 1361 catasto under P.S.A. (ASP. Catasti XXIII ff.327r-51v). The 1371 magnate list connects them finally with the Coppoli by appending the surname de Coppolis to the entry filii Iohannis et filii Guidonis Fatii (ASP. Rif. CLXXXII f. 46r).

were exactly what the anti-magnate legislation claims - that they were of margraval, comital or knightly descent - and that they were also overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, rural. It is easy enough to trace the representatives of the margraval and comital families in the Libro Rosso. There were the sons of the marquis Guido of Colle Torti, the sons of the marquis of Valiana, and Dessolus, son of the late marquis Oddo. The comital families consist of a branch of the counts of Coldimedio, the counts of Compresseto, the family of Coccorano/Petroia and that of Marsciano/Migliano together with what appears to have been an offshoot of this latter house, the counts of Plagario. Geographically, these families were situated about the border of the Perugian contado, to the east and west for the counts and to the north for the margraves. None of these families occupied a position at the heart of Perugian urban life for any long period of time: the important role of count Philip of Coccorano lasted a fleeting decade only.

The difficulty of identifying capitanei has already been mentioned, but the abundance of domini recorded among the ancestors of the 1333 names suggests that most of the remainder were indeed of knightly descent. Of course, it is possible that families may have attained to a knightly tradition by 1333, whilst being originally of mercantile stock. Both Blanshei and Grundman have examined this problem. The former's assertion that two of the listed

names were sons of popolani rests quite simply on an erroneous translation of the ablative of comparison and must be rejected[1]. Grundman believed that he had found two artisans in the Libro Rosso. Under Porta San Pietro there is one Campagninus Orfus; Grundman thinks he may be identified with Campagninus Iohannuti, guarantor for a goldsmith, Silvester Rodulfi, in the 1320 libra and suggests that he was also a goldsmith himself[2]. There is, however, no further evidence for this individual. Grundman's second putative identification is almost certainly astray. It is most unlikely, despite the similarity of names, that the Agnolellus condam Blancoli sartor of the 1320 libra was the same man as the Agnolellus Blancoli of Marsciano in the Libro Rosso, whose entire family can be traced from 1285 to 1333 and accorded a knightly descent. They were never described as counts of Marsciano, and their names differ from those most common in the comital family; they may

1. BLANSHEI op. cit.p.51 no. 50. Two of the Libro Rosso names had marginal annotations: 'hic fuit magnus vir, minor tamen patre'. Contrary to Dr. Blanshei's translation, it was the son who was less than his father. Since one of the persons involved was the count of Coccorano, the notion of popular extraction is clearly untenable anyway. The note seems to refer merely to personal and political distinction, not to social status at all.
2. GRUNDMAN 'La posizione economica' p. 814 n.15. ASP. Libra II f. 10 - with a tax assessment of 70 lib.

have been vassals, but they were scarcely artisans[1].

Finally, the possession of a camera in Perugia, even when it was specifically associated with some kind of trading enterprise, proves nothing more than that urban property was leased to merchants, bankers and other guildsmen in much the same way as it was rented to the commune to house officials such as the podesta[2].

1. The family tree can be constructed as follows:

d. Orlandinus

Vivianus — Blancolus

Andrutius, Putius — Bectolus, Agnolellus, 'filii naturales'

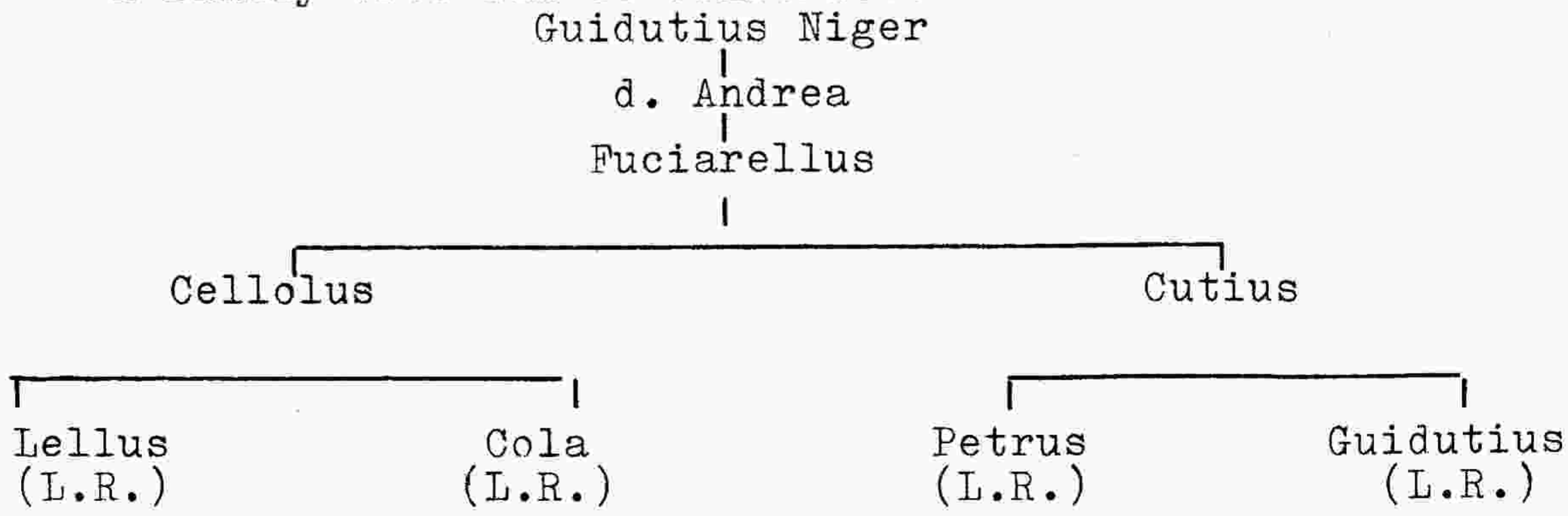
Blancolus and Vivianus appear in the 1285 libra with assessments of 2,000 and 800 lib. respectively. (ASP. Libra I ff. 102v,96v). In the cavalry assessment of 1287, Vivianus is included under the castle of Marsciano rather than under an urban parish. (ASP. Miscellanea X f. 14v); for the Libro Rosso entry see FABRETTI op.cit.pp. 105, 106, 121.

2. For reference to camera held by Perugian nobles see ASP. Corp. Relig. Supp. S. Maria della Misericordia Pergamene no. 24 (12 Nov.1277) - 'Actum in foro Perusii ante cameram domini Balionis'; Liber Contractuum (1331-32) dell'Abbazia Benedettina di San Pietro in Perugia. ed. C. Tabarelli (Perugia 1967) 118-9 - 'Actum fuit Perusii in domo Simonis domini Merlini scilicet in camera quam conduxerat ars Cambii de Perusio'. (6 Sep. 1331). For the leasing of other property in Perugia see, for example, ASP. Rif. XII f.45r (1296) which contains an agreement with d. Venzolus Uguicionelli to reimburse him for damages done to houses let by him to lodge the captain of the people and his familia. Pertinent to this is Dr. Waley's suggestion that the Monaldeschi of Orvieto were originally of merchant stock: 'certainly, they were merchants'. (WALEY Medieval Orvieto p. 155). This assertion seems to rest chiefly on the fact of their having possessed a fundicus in Orvieto, and can hardly be judged as sufficient proof in itself. If Dr.Waley were right, however, this would be an extremely interesting contrast to the situation at Perugia.

One obvious way of demonstrating a family's contado origins is through their use of the contado toponymnic[1], but many others, who did not describe themselves in this way, can also be connected with the countryside. The Ranieri illustrate this well. Two further examples are the families of the 'Fuciarelli' and 'domini Magistri', both of which have members appearing in the earliest communal documentation. Members of the 'Fuciarelli' are in the Libro Rosso under Porta Sant'Angelo. They are very clearly the descendants of dominus Andreas Guidutii Nigri who was registered with his son, Fuciarellus, in the 1285 libra. One generation farther back, Guidutius Niger witnessed the Camaldoli donation of 1214 and the alliance of 1230 between Perugia and Città di Castello[2].

1. The following localities in the Perugian contado are employed to designate family groups: Castiglione Ugolino, San Valentino, Agello, Monte Iuliano, Monte Nigro (P.S.P.); Pilonico, Montesporello, Podio, Columella, Coldarbore, Ghea, Pitignano (P.S.); Ramazzano, Caterano, Antignolla, Castro Novo, Colcello (P.S.S.); Preitino, Pregio, Ascagnano,Montone P.S.A.); Montemelino, Montevibiano, Ciboctula (P.E.). Under P.S.P. are also families from Bettona, Rosciano and Sasso-ferrato, but these areas were outside the Perugian contado, and their position will be discussed in greater detail below.
2. FABRETTI op.cit.p.115; ASP. Libra I f.36r; ASP. Somm. II f.1v (Somm.XCIV): PASQUI Documenti II 498 (no.510).

A family tree can be constructed as follows:



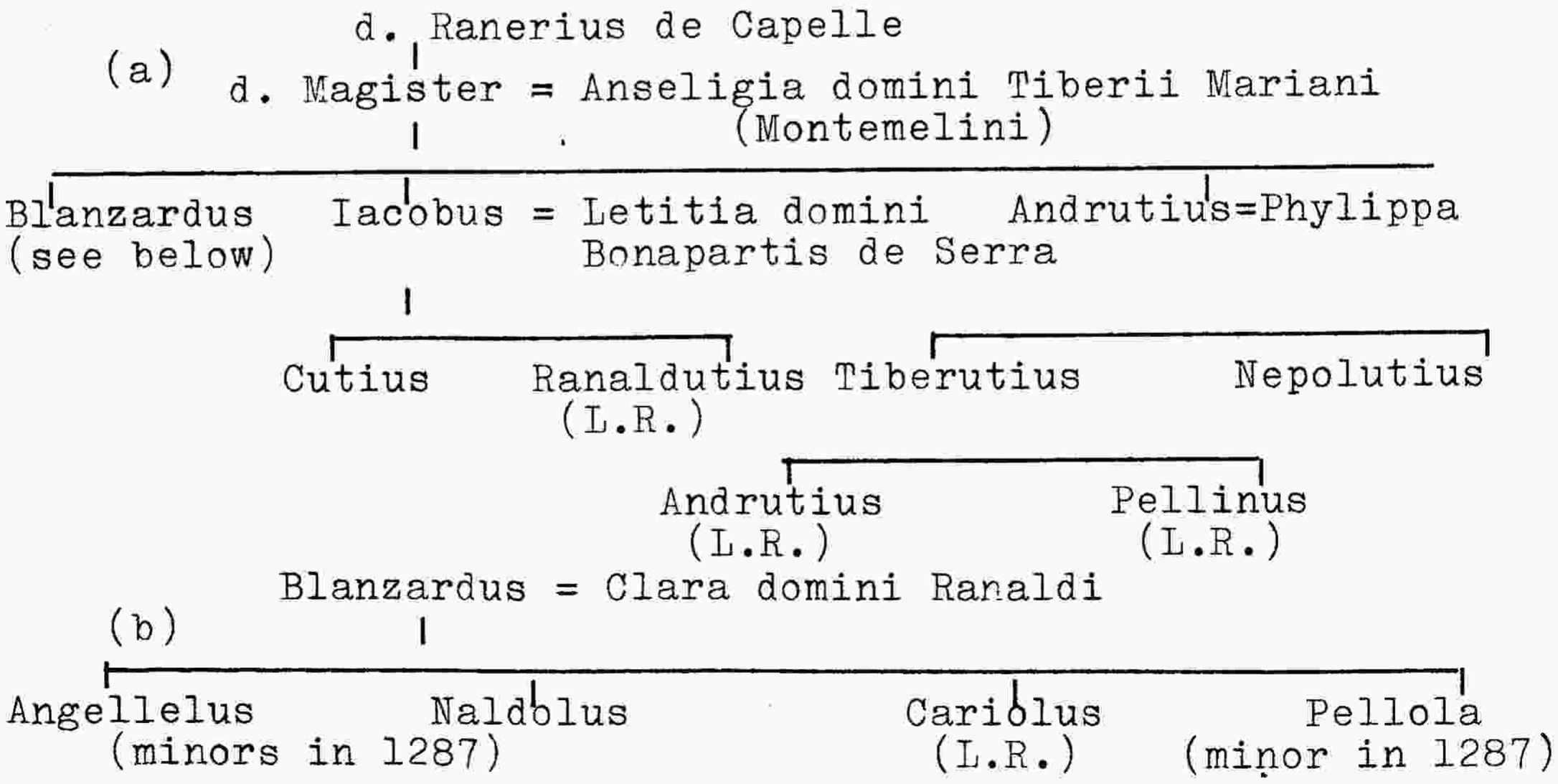
In 1288-9, dominus Andreas was forced by his debts to sell to Perugia his part of the castle of Montalera. The transaction shows that he possessed very considerable properties in the countryside together with other holdings in the town, and that he had jurisdictional rights in the castle. It seems that at least part of his financial troubles had been caused by an over-generous marriage settlement; he had given his wife, Bianca domini Iohannis de Coppolis, property in Porta Sant'Angelo worth 2,000 lib. for a dowry of 510 lib[1]. The final contract of sale, dated 20 September 1289, transferred to Perugia the half of Montalera which Andreas still possessed; the other half he had already given to his son. Also included was a third of Montiano and Nera, held pro indiviso with his sons and various of the Montemelini. A third part of the land outside Montalera was also held in common[2].

The first member of the 'domini Magistri' to figure in the Perugian sources was described by reference to a contado

1. As a preliminary to the sale of Montalera, Bianca, with the consent of her two brothers, Guidarellus and Ranucolus, received back 510 lib., representing her dowry, and restored the property in Porta Sant'Angelo. (ASP. Diplomatico V P.13 c.31. 555c.)
2. There was considerable debate as to how the castle should be paid for. The price was set at 9,250 lib., 2000 of which were to be paid directly to the creditors of d. Andreas. For the remainder, he insisted on cash rather than the original suggestion of a grant of communal lands in Colle, Bagnaria and Monteuzo. He gave as guarantors dominus Balione domini Guidonis de Sancto Ianne and dominus Iacobus domini Seracini, a member of the Montemelini. (ASP. Miscellanea XI ff.1r, 10v-11r).

toponymnic. He was Ranerius de Capelle, consul in 1188 and 1200, witness to various documents between 1189 and 1210 and the father of that dominus Magister Ranerii de Capelle who was among those who signed the 1237 agreement between Perugia and Gubbio[1]. Two of the latter's sons were fairly actively involved in Perugian affairs in the mid-thirteenth century[2]. More detailed information about family relationships can be obtained from a document of 1287 in which Perugia bought from them a casamentum in the town. Consent was given by three lines of descent from dominus Magister; wives and children were mentioned by name. This has allowed us to construct much of the family tree below[3]. The property,

1. ASP. Somm. I f.114r (Somm.III); II f. 14v (Somm.LXXI); ff. 28r-v (Somm.LXIV), f.33v (Somm.LXXV); ff. 30r-32r (Somm. XC); I f. 105r (Somm.IX); II f. 67v (Somm.CXIV).
2. ANSIDEI Reg. Rif. p.352 for references to the activities of Blanzardus in 1256-60. FUMI Cod.Dipl.pp.213-4 (no.CCCXXXIX) witness to the peace between Orvieto and Todi. ANSIDEI op.cit. p.365 for Iacobus domini Magistri; ASP.Rif.VII f.87r (1273) for his podestàship of Spello.
3. ASP. Libra I f.139r-v (P.E. S.Angelo); FABRETTI op.cit. p.120; ASP.Rif.I ff.34r-36r (1287). The family tree comes from these three sources:



which was situated in the parish of Sant'Anastasio in Porta San Pietro, was sold for 6,500 lib. Appended to the contract of sale are two documents of 1280. The first concerns the guardians instituted by the late dominus Blanzardus in his will: his wife and his brother, Iacobus. The second is an inventory of property which passed to his heirs. Besides the third part of houses within Perugia itself, there were various lands in the Perugian contado, in or near villa Capelle, exactly the place where the toponymnic attached to the name of Ranerius suggests that the family originated.

The della Corgna family displays a similar pattern several generations later, and here the toponymnic seems to have stuck and been transformed into something resembling a surname. The first identifiable member, dominus Guido de Corgna legum doctor, appears in the second part of the thirteenth century. He was, for example, witness to the 1288 alliance with Camerino and to the sale of Montalera in 1289. He is in the 1285 libra, and his sons and grandsons are to be found in the Libro Rosso under Porta Santa Susanna. Of these, Phylippus domini Guidonis was especially active as counsellor, ambassador and official in the early fourteenth century. In 1304 he received permission from the priors to become podestà at Sassoferrato; in 1306 and 1323 he was given the authority to attempt a reconciliation of factions at Città di Castello. Among other important tasks was his involvement with the Perugian troops sent under

Venciolus Novellus to serve the duke of Calabria in Tuscany. About this time it was usual to find a member of the family in most lists of *sapientes*[1]. And it is clear from the 1330 *catasti* that most of the family's lands were in the *villa* Corgna or surrounding area[2].

It is possible to be more precise than this in describing rural origins. Many of these families can be particularly linked with land that had once belonged to the margraves. The *villa* Corgna, although there is nothing to connect it with the early history of the margraves, lies in precisely this region, in the north-west of the *contado* towards Città di Castello. For other localities a process of transfer from the *marchiones* is fairly well documented. The appendix dealing with the Montemelini shows how they acquired Montegualandro and a third part of Valiana from the margraves in the first part of the thirteenth century. It was around this date that other families made similar gains at the margraves' expense.

Vernazzano had in 1098, together with Lisciano and Pierle, formed part of the inheritance which passed from

1. *ASP. Diplomatico* V.P.12 c.31 no.541 (1288), no.555C (1289); *ASP Libra* I. f. 4v (P.S.S. San Giovanni Rotondo); FABRETTI *op.cit.* p.116 'dominus Filippus domini Guidonis, dominus Berardus domini Guidonis, filii domini Lei domini Guidonis'. *Liber Contractuum* p.55 n.2 for the activities of the former.
2. *ASP. Catasti* IX ff. 355v-58v; IV ff. 173r-v,200r.

Henry, son of Ugo, margrave of Colle, to the 'filii Uguitionis', and in 1202 the monastery of Santa Maria at Petrorio, itself intimately bound up with the history of the margraves, included Vernazzano and the abbey of Pierle among the possessions which it submitted to Perugia[1]. There is no detailed record of the transfer of jurisdictional powers such as is available for the Montemelini and, indeed, such a thing may not have taken place at Venazzano. But certainly, by the early fourteenth century, when there is the first evidence upon the subject, at least one branch of the Vencioli family can be found with almost all its lands here[2]. The family's origins are unclear, but one member had married a daughter of the margraves in the early thirteenth century, and by 1276 the family seems to have been related in some way to the Montemelini. A transaction of this year, involving the sale of a house in the parish of San Giovanni del Mercato to the commune for 900 lib., mentions Venciarellus Uguitionelli Vencioli who consented to the terms of the sale for himself, his heirs and his grandmother Blanca filia nobilis viri Ranerii marchionis. His consanguinei, Marianus domini Andree and Pellolus domini

1. PASQUI Documenti I. 395-7; ASP. Somm. II f.19v (Somm. LXXVII). The continuing connexion of the abbey of Petrorio to the marquises is illustrated in the agreement that they made between themselves in 1364; this states 'Item volemo che la Badia Petrorio et Badia de Marzano et Sancto Andrea de Celle et Sancto Vito et la chiesa de Lugnano et Sancto Victorino siano communi de tutti noi'.
2. ASP. Catasti II ff. 8v-10r.

Saraceni, also gave their agreement. Of these at least the first is a Montemelini[1].

The 1285 libra contains an entry for dominus Venciolus Uguitionelli, and he appears also as captain of the people at Todi in 1293. The 1320 libra gives the name of his wife, Amata domini Bonifatii, almost certainly a member of the Gratiani. The assessment of two of his sons shows that they had land in the contadi of Perugia, Città di Castello, Cortona and Foligno[2]. This generation has a considerable record of involvement in Umbrian politics. Dominus Perus domini Vencioli was podestà of Città di Castello in 1323, and in 1327 attempted to gain control of Antignolla. His brother, Venciolus was, in 1322, captain of the Perugian troops sent against Assisi and then podestà there. In 1326 he was sent by Perugia with three hundred horsemen in service of the duke of Calabria, was podestà of Spoleto in 1324, a party to the conflicts regarding the Perugian bishopric in 1330 and was listed in the Libro Rosso together with his brother Tilus. The latter was podestà of Città della Pieve in 1325[3]. The sons of Venciolus Novellus were similarly active in Umbria in the following decades, and Ludovicus Vencioli received a dispensation from John XXII

1. ASP. Somm. I ff. 126v-127r (Somm. LVI)
2. ASP. Libra I f. 93v; II f. 1v.
3. Annali e cronaca pp. 57-8; Diario del Graziani p.90; ASP. Diplomatico VI P5 c.33 no.14:

to marry Filippa Francesca, the daughter of count Bernardinus Ugolini of Marsciano, which shows that he was already related to this family by a third degree of kinship[1]. Thus the Vencioli appear as one of the more important Perugian noble families by the 1330's with fairly extensive ties of marriage and alliance.

The story of the degli Oddi acquisition of Pierle from the marquises in the first part of the thirteenth century demonstrates the complexity of these transfers of property. Indeed, the very history of the degli Oddi is bedevilled by the attempts of later members of the family to identify their ancestors with the marquises of Valiana. At some point before the seventeenth century, a hand had made marginal annotations to the medieval Perugian council minutes, writing 'degli Oddi' besides every reference to Valiana, even if it dealt with nothing more than the repair of a bridge. Recently, Sforza degli Oddi still reported the connection. In his manuscript history of the marquises, compiled several centuries ago, Bandini suggested that the original error may have arisen from a confusion with Laviano, the fief held by the degli Oddi from the fifteenth century. Bandini also declared that the degli Oddi claims to Pierle were without foundation, but in this, however, he

was mistaken[1].

Pierle was certainly among the margraves' possessions in the latter part of the eleventh century, and their submission to Perugia in 1202 included it[2]. By 1225 it had been transferred to Inghizellus Iacobus and Oddo Palmerii Oddonis and was the subject of a pact drawn up between Cortona and the three brothers[3]. This claims that the castle should be held from Cortona 'per concessionem aliquam per traditionem seu promissionem olim factam comuni Cortone de dicto castro a domino Ugolino marchione et filiis scilicet Rigone, Currado et Federico'. The three degli Oddi brothers, described here as dicti nobiles de Pierle, were accused of denying Cortonese rights. The final agreement envisaged an annual census payment of a candle at Michaelmas. Cortona was to fortify Pierle, which would support the town in war and peace. Every five years, all

1. ASP. Archivio Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello II pp.41-3. The identification with the marquises of Valiana was not the only attempt which the degli Oddi made to provide themselves with spurious ancestors. In the codex of the 'Brevi Annali', dating from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries,consulted by Fabretti for the edition made in ASI XVI/i and presumed to have once belonged to the degli Oddi, an annotation had been made by the name of the so-called camerlengo for 1202 - Buono d'Oddo di Buono: 'E della casa de'nostri'. The whole of this entry is inaccurate and garbled. The individual in question is clearly Bobo Oddonis Bobonis, podesta in 1214, not a member of the degli Oddi, but of a leading Roman family.
2. PASQUI Documenti I 395-7; see also ASP. Somm. I f.19v.
3. ASP. Archivio Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello vol. III pp. 185-90.

male inhabitants of Pierle, aged fifteen and over, were to swear allegiance. Hostilities had preceded the making of this pact, since it contains a clause waiving all claims to recent damages. The degli Oddi brothers seem to have had some connection with Perugia, for various Perugians were among the witnesses to this decision.

The degli Oddi hold on Pierle remained unsure. It figured among the terms of an alliance of 1230 between Perugia and Cortona, when four boni homines were appointed to ensure that the filii Palmerii Octonis handed it over to the commune of Cortona[1]. In 1236 there was again open dispute between the parties. In that year the podestà of Cortona, whilst admitting that Pierle was a possession of the marquis Guido, claimed and received it from him. Perugia seems to have been called upon to intervene once more[2]. Iacobus Palmerii Oddi renounced any claims against Perugia for an unspecified condemnation 'tempore domini Ramundini olim Perusii potestatis'[3], and in 1237,according to an admittedly rather unreliable source, ambassadors were despatched to Cortona with the request that Pierle be restored to the degli Oddi[4]. The matter was still in the

1. ALTICOZZI F.A. Risposta Apologetica all libro dell'antico Dominio del vescovo d'Arezzo sopra Cortona.(Livorno 1763) pp. 126-8.
2. ALTICOZZI op.cit. pp. 187-191.
3. ALTICOZZI op.cit. pp. 195-6; ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.12.
4. MANCINI G. Cortona nel Medio Evo. (Rome 1969) p.36.

balance in 1256 and does not seem to have been finally resolved until 1260. In that year, in the wake of the Cortonese/Perugian war, the rights of Gualfredutius domini Iacobi were admitted, the resolution to this effect being included in the 1279 statute. Cortona was not to exact tolls from the men of Pierle, nor to receive any of about a hundred named homines within the town. An annual census was to be paid to Cortona and exiles from the town were not to be given refuge within Pierle[1].

The fragmentary catasti of the 1330's show that Pierle continued in the hands of the degli Oddi and was regarded in some measure as an autonomous area. Petrutius domini Alardi and his brother, Oddo, agreed to register their properties in Pierle in the Perugian catasti, but denied that this gave to the commune any claim in the family's jurisdictional rights here[2]. The catasto entries also show

1. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. p.6 - a petition from the Cortonese 'qui petunt ius in castro Perlis filiorum domini Iacobi de Palmeris'. Perugia resolved that the Cortonese were to be allowed to hold any possessions they had there without suffering molestation; op.cit. pp. 262-3 (Sep. 14 1260) .
An agreement was reached between the two parties subsequent to the war of 1258. 'Item quod Cortonenses non recipere teneantur aliquos habitatores Perli in Cortonio vel districtu, hiis exceptis qui in curia Perli ad habitandum venerint post destructionem Cortonii nec recipiant aliquos offendentes aut guerram facere molientes domino Gualfredutio vel hominibus castri aut curie Pierli'. See also ALTICOZZI op.cit.pp.208-13 which gives more detailed terms. ASP. Statuti I f.60/59r.
2. ASP. Catasti IX f. 334v. Oddo domini Alardi records the possession of a tenimentum in Pierle, one of the boundaries of which is'flumen quod est inter districtum comunis Perusii et districtum castri Perlis'. Oddo also registered the jurisdiction he had here 'dicens et prestans quod per

that the degli Oddi were considerable landowners in other areas which had once formed part of the marquises' sphere of influence. Oddo held land 'in plano castri Lisciani' and a large number of petiae in the villa of Tisciano. He also held a lease of land from the abbot of Petrorio. Petrutius had a house in Preggio, where he carried out a flourishing activity as money-lender to the local inhabitants. He was also owed 300 gold florins by the commune and men of Lisciano. The lease books of San Pietro record a compromise of 1341 between the marquises of Monte Santa Maria and the Casali of Cortona concerning lands in Lisciano once held by Oddo degli Oddi[1].

Two further localities merit discussion here. Castro Novo seems to have been transferred from the marquises, who in 1202 included it among their possessions in the submission to Perugia[2]. In 1230 attempts were made to clarify its position in the agreement between Perugia and Cortona, and in 1252 it formed the subject of a dispute between its nobles and Cortona, which was eventually settled with Perugian mediation[3]. By this date it had passed into the hands

predictam assignationem non intendit quod aliqa juisdictio acquiratur alicui sed dictam assignationem fecit ut evadet penam quam impositam per comunem Perusii'. See also ASP. Catasti IV ff. 328-9.

1. ASP. Catasti IV ff. 190-91r; IX f.334r. Also Liber Contractuum p.4 n.1.
2. ASP. Somm. I f. 19v.
3. ALTICOZZI op.cit. pp.187-91, 199-201.

of Uguicio domini Peponis Tebaldi and Guido domini Curradi Peponis. They are, presumably, the 'nobiles de Castro Novo' mentioned in the Perugian grain assessment of 1260 as contado nobles[1]. Sometime before the redaction of the 1279 statute, Castro Novo, its domini and its homines, had been the subject of an order compelling residence there[2]. From the Libro Rosso entry a rather fragmentary family tree can be constructed,as below[3]. It was, above all, in the early fourteenth century, with the political troubles at Città di Castello, that the nobles of Castro Novo begin to appear more regularly in Perugian military activity[4]. In 1333,

1. ASP. Rif. IV f. 162r.
2. ASP. Statuti I f.33/2v 'Qualiter domini de Castro Novo habitent cum eorum famulis et heredibus in dicto Castro Novo'.
3. FABRETTI op.cit. p.118

(a) For P.E.

Bindus
|
Guidarellus
|
'Filii naturales' (L.R.)

(b) For P.S.S.

Guidarellus
|
Gualterius
|
Lupus (L.R.)

Cinus
|
d. Thelbaldus — Gualterius
|
Cionellus (L.R.)

The sales of land in the Chiugi made in 1323-30 to Perugia reveal a certain degree of separation between the lands of d. Thebaldus Cini and those of Guidarellus Bindi and Gualterius Guidarelli.

4. For example, ASP. Rif. XIV f. 83v - Baldutius of Castro Novo in the Perugian army; Rif. XXI ff. 12r, 17v - d. Thebaldus to lead the Perugian troops sent to Ancona in 1325, f. 16v - Gualterius to advise about the tallia; f. 77v d. Thebaldus as podestà of the Guelf exiles of Città di Castello.

besides this group, a second family appears to have been particularly linked with Castro Novo; they are represented by Landus and Cionus Pepi de Sancte Agate districtus Castri Novi and Ninus and Chinus Pauli Panzi of the same area, but nothing further is known about them[1].

At Preggio it is likely that the marquises maintained their control as late as the 1250's and no clear indication has been found in the sources of any transfer of lordship or jurisdictional rights. Nonetheless, this castle was associated with families registered in the 1260 grain list and in the Libro Rosso. In the former are the filii domini Henrighetti de Pregio under Porta Sant'Angelo. It is not known, however, what relation they bore to the heirs of Bonus Anestasii of Preggio who come in the 1285 libra or to Ciccolus Magalocti de castro Pregii of the Libro Rosso[2].

Thus, it can be seen, and it is especially evident on the accompanying map[3], that the borderland between Perugia and Città di Castello was an important and prolific

1. FABRETTI op.cit. p.118.
2. ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. pp. 71-2 (13 Nov.1256) 'Super quodam lictera ibi lecta a d. Papa in qua continetur quod d. Episcopus perussinus debeat mittere in possessionem d. Guidonem marchionem et suum fratrem de rebus et iurisdictionibus hominum de Pregio, ut in sententia lata contra eos continetur'. For the entry of 1285 see ASP. Libra I f. 35v (P.S.A. S.Donato - 500 lib.); for 1333 FABRETTI op.cit. p. 114. The monastery of S. Maria Valdiponte also possessed land here.
3. See p.352-4.

furnisher of the Perugian noble class. This was because of the disintegration of the marquises' patrimony and the establishment of 'new' families at some of the old centres of their power. Large ecclesiastical institutions played a similar role. A good example is the monastery of Campoleone and the Libro Rosso name of Panzus Ugolini of Valiano, whose ancestors may well have been vassals of the abbot. The Libro Rosso entry is almost certainly a misreading for Laviano since among the nobiles de Clusio compelled to sell their lands to Perugia in 1320 were Pantius Ugolinus eius filius de Laviano, and the actual land transfer of 1330 speaks of Panzus Ugolini cataneus de Laviano.[1]

The name Panzus is fairly unusual in the Perugian sources. Its alternation with Ugolinus, together with the geographical location of these persons, connects them with the protagonists of various agreements with Perugia in the 1190's. In the submission of Castiglione del Lago (Castiglione Clusino), made to the commune in 1184 by the abbot of Campoleone, the sons of Ugolinus Panzi were included among those who gave their consent[2]. This, however, seems merely

1. FABRETTI op.cit. p.118; ASP. Miscellanea XXIII f. 2v; XXV f. 6v - a confusion between Laviano and Valiana similar to that existing with the degli Oddi.
2. ASP. Somm.II ff. 20r-21r (Somm.LXII). The full list of those who gave their consent to the abbot's submission is as follows: 'Filii Ugolini de Panzo, Griffolus de Bicto cum suis filiis, Bulgarellus et omnes consortes de predicto Castellione'.

to have been the start of some considerable trouble. In 1193. after a series of hostilities, Panzus and Cacciaguerra, sons of Ugolinus Panzi, for themselves and for various other Cortonese nobles, submitted their lands to Perugia on the usual terms. And it is hardly surprising to find Uguitio marchio among the witnesses[1]. This did not resolve the matter finally, since the alliance between Perugia and Arezzo of May 1198 refers to the possibility of either commune making a separate agreement with Panzus[2]. Another member of the family was probably the dominus Iohannes Panzi who, in 1211, sold land 'in plebatu plebis de Rucavo' to the monastery of Camaldoli; the transaction was drawn up in Castiglione Aretino, but his wife's subsequent consent was recorded in Castiglione del Lago[3]. His son,dominus Bertoldus domini Iohannis Panzi, received a concession of land from Perugia in 1233; included were properties in Chiugi,Colcello and Petrignano[4].

1. ASP. Somm.II ff. 17r-v (Somm.LXV). The agreement followed upon a dispute between Perugia and some Cortonese nobles. Among other things, Panzus and his fellows promised not to re-build Cortona, described as a castrum. The lands which they possessed lay south of Cortona towards Lake Trasimeno. Rights of guida, passagium and datium against the Perugians were renounced.
2. PASQUI Documenti II 52-3 - 'Cum Panzo finem et menamentum vel concordiam faciemus sine consensu rectoris Aritii et Perusii'.
3. Regesto di Camaldoli ed. E. Lasinio. Reg.Chart It. XIII (Rome 1914) III 58-9 (no.1490.) The land was situated near Monteclo; all rights in it were conceded for a price of 8 lib. the staio. Iohannes was also witness to a sale of land in March 1211 by the sons of Bartolus of Monteclo (op.cit. 59-60 no.1492).
4. ASP. Somm.II f.63r. A further grant was made in 1252 to Rainerius Bulgarelli, Rainerius and Ugolinus Panzi of two befolcarie of land in Laviano in return for other land their

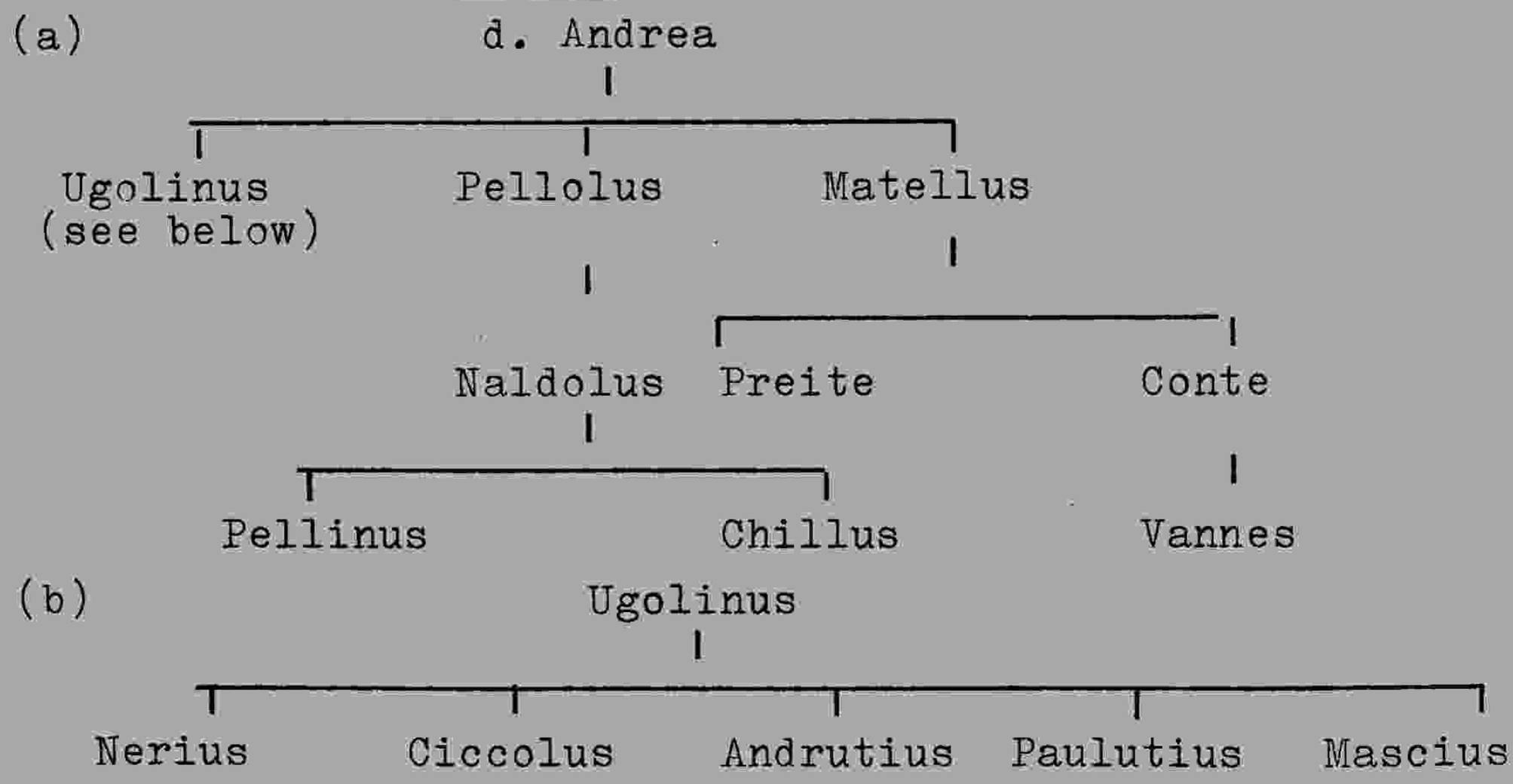
Other ecclesiastical institutions in Perugia and its contado played a comparable role, but one that is often rather poorly documented. Since it has often proved impossible to follow the vicissitudes of rural property over any considerable period of time or to differentiate clearly between the mere possession of lands and the holding of jurisdictional rights, all that can be said with safety in certain cases is that a family mentioned in 1333 takes its name from a contado area which was particularly associated with the land-holding of a religious establishment. The two main bodies under discussion here are the cathedral chapter of San Lorenzo and the abbey of Santa Maria Valdiponte about twelve miles to the north of the town.

The lease books of San Lorenzo, dating from the mid-thirteenth century, provide certain points of reference. According to these, the chapter held considerable quantities of land at Ciboctula and also homines and manentes, a sign of more than a perfunctory control. The Libro Rosso gives the name of Chatanellus Chatanelli domini Boncatanii from Ciboctula and this area had figured earlier among the Montemelini lands confiscated in 1247[1]. Another example is that of Columnella, which had passed to the cathedral before ancestors had held near Trasimeno. (ASP. Diplomatico IV P.7 c.25 no.29).

1. FABRETTI op.cit. p.121.

1097, almost certainly in its totality and including jurisdictional rights. Here, too, the chapter held homines and manentes and a fair amount of land[1]. Certain rights in the district seem also to have been acquired by Santa Maria Valdiponte[2]. Under Porta Sole in the list of contado magnates for 1260 is dominus Andreas de Columella, whose subsequent generations can be traced with little difficulty through to the Libro Rosso, as below[3]. Neither of these families, however is particularly prominent in Perugian affairs at any point in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, but two other more important families may be mentioned in connection with San Lorenzo. Firstly, for the

1. For the Columella donation see DE DONATO. Le più antiche carte no.29. Viva, the daughter of Odo, excludes from the possessions of her husband which she intended to give to Valdiponte the 'castrum et curtem de la Columela quam dedit ad eclesiam Sancti Larenti'. For the thirteenth century see Arch. Capit San Lorenzo. Sect. C. II f. 62r.
2. RICCI E. 'Santa Maria Valdiponte' BU XXXIII (1935) pp. 320-1.
3. ASP. Rif. IV f. 157v; ASP. Libra I f. 35v (P.S.A. S.Donato) FABRETTI op.cit. pp. 110-12.



Ranieri, as for the cathedral chapter, Mantignana was a significant landed centre[1]. Secondly, it is perhaps a plausible hypothesis to associate the Coppoli with San Lorenzo, since of all the Perugian nobles, their names occur most frequently in the canonry's thirteenth century lease books, and the copy of an earlier contract from 1185 shows that it was Coppolus de Oderisio, the first identifiable member of the family, who made the investiture on behalf of the chapter[2].

Two eleventh-century donations to Santa Maria Valdiponte appear later as contado toponymnics for families in the Libro Rosso. Both Ramazzano and Col d'Arbore were given to the abbey in 1098[3]. By the fourteenth century there was a large clan named after Ramazzano, of which a possible ancestor may be the Iacobus of Ramazzano who was podestà of Foligno in 1206. It is fairly certain that the dominus Talascius, dominus Census, dominus Guido and dominus Venzolus of the 1260 contado magnate list belonged to this family, and other members were among the witnesses to the

1. See appendix II to this chapter.
2. Arch Capit San Lorenza Sect. C. I ff.30r-31v. The copy was made c. 1270.
3. DE DONATO Le più antiche carte no.29 'Viva Odo una cum Alberto filio meo transfero omnes terras quas Guido vir meus iudicavit predicto monasterio in comitatu Perusino et Eugubino, idest castrum et curtem de Colle de Arbore cum sua pertinentia et castrum et curtem de Romatiano cum sua pertinentia'.

sale of the castle of Portule in 1279. In general, however, the family was little represented in Perugian life[1]. By the mid-thirteenth century, there is evidence for a certain Ugo Ranaldi of Col d'Arbore among the _contado_ nobles of Porta Sole[2]. Part of the castle had been leased _ad libellum_ in 1230 to a number of individuals; one of these was Albertinus Ugolini, count of Coccorano, who accepted a quarter of the castle in his brother's name[3]. Among the witnesses was one Andreas Ranaldi. His brother, Ugo, was among the _contado_ nobles of 1260, and he recorded in his tax assessment that he now held _pro medietate_ with Branca Faveronis the possessions formerly held here by Corraducius domini Alberti of Coccorano[4]. While it is not clear what relation Ugo Ranaldi bore to the entries made in the 1285 _libra_[5] and the _Libro Rosso_ with the _contado_ toponymnic of Col d'Arbore, the continuing use of this term as the

1. For the podestàship of Foligno _Fragmenta Fulginatis Historiae_ ed. M.Faloci-Pulignani (Bologna 1933) p.7. ASP._Rif._ IV f. 157v (P.S.) for the 1260 list; the sale of Portule in _AS_ Gubbio I B.14 f. 17v. Present were d. Ugo domini Bonicomitis, Venzolus and Conte domini Talasci. For 1333 FABRETTI _op.cit._ pp. 116-7.
2. FABRETTI _op.cit._ p.111 - Maffutius domini Uguicionis de Colle Arboris.
3. ASP. _Corp. Relig. Sopp._ S. Maria Valdiponte _Pergamene cass._ V 412 (10 Feb. 1230).
4. ASP. _Rif._ IV f. 157v. Ugo Ranaldi was also among the witnesses to the peace treaty between Perugia and Gubbio in 1259 (ASP. _Somm._ I f. 12v). ASP. _Catasti_ I f. 137v (1260). The lands in Col d'Arbore were worth 254 _lib._ and constituted one of the largest blocs of Ugo's possessions. He also held land in Montelabbate (f. 136v-137r).
5. ASP. _Libra_ I f. 68v - Maffutius Thomassutii and Munaldus domini Ugolini.

designation of a noble family is thus clearly attested.

Fiblino, which lies in the contado of Gubbio, and its noble family appear very little in the Perugian sources, except for the additions to the 1285 libra and in the Libro Rosso, where Cossa and Puciaptus Suppolini of Fiblino are registered under Porta Sole with their brothers[1]. This, too, was an area under the control of Valdiponte, and a document of 1236 records the confirmation ad libellum by the abbot to Riale Pascalis and Hugo Ranaldi of the sixth part of the castle of Fiblino with its curia, previously held by Gualterius Alberti. The church was excluded, but houses, casalina and homines were all included. An annual census of four Lucchese pence was to be paid and the price of the confirmation was 15 lib.[2]. Later that same year the curia of Fiblino was included by Peregrinettus Pelegrini Girardini among the possessions which he gave back to the monastery[3]. The other places involved were Colcello, Santa Cristina and Castiglione Actonis, and a record of the original donation of casalina in Colcello to an ancestor, Girardinus Pelegrini, in 1188, has among the witnesses Gualterius de Febino,doubtless identical with the individual mentioned in 1236[4]. In 1238, another of the abbey's charters

1. FABRETTI op.cit. p.112.
2. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S. Maria Valdiponte Pergamene cass. V 491.
3. Valdiponte Pergamene cass. V 495.
4. Valdiponte Pergamene cass. III 140.

refers to dominus Ugolinus de Fiblino, to whom Ugolinus Leti sold for 20 lib. all that he possessed in the contado of Gubbio and in the castle of Galgate, another of the Valdiponte holdings[1].

In many of these instances we have proof of little more than the continuity of names and sometimes of families in areas associated with religious institutions. Fortunately, the relationships of the Vibi to San Pietro and of the Armanni/Archipresbyteri to Santa Maria Valdiponte are less cloudy. In both cases, the association can be dated to the twelfth century (1130 and the 1160's respectively), but the two instances are somewhat different. In the first it seems that lands were surrendered to be received back as a fief of the monastery, whilst the Armanni made an outright acquisition of a castle, which there is no evidence that they held before. Both transactions involved jurisdictional rights and formed part of a continuing involvement with the monastery in question.

A document of 1130 from San Pietro provides what seems to be the first reference to the Vibi family. In it Rainuccius de Tebaldo, Bernardinus and Ubertinus de Alberico de Rodulfo, Vibianus de Gillerio, Tomasius and Guiducius, Bernardus de Frugerio and Rolandinus de Roberto gave all

1. Valdiponte Pergamene cass. V 549.

that they possessed to the monastery in perpetuity for the price of 10 lib. They received back these lands as a fief of the monastery, except for the church of San Salvatore and the castle of Montevergano, in which the abbot proposed to make a casa dominicata and to settle men. The donors promised to defend the abbot's possession of it[1].

Various things make it possible that this transaction refers to the Vibi. Firstly, there is the name Vibianus among those who submitted their lands. Further, in the thirteenth century, a representative of the Vibi definitely held land and jurisdictional rights in Montevergano. In 1294, Andrutius domini Ranerii of Montevibiano gave to his emancipated son, Ranucolus, certain lands within Montevibiano itself and then also 'totam et integram partem sibi contingentem castri Montis Vergani et iurisdictionem ipsius castri et tria petiarum terrarum positarum in pertinentiis dicti castri Montis Vergani'[2]. The third circumstantial detail is the geographical proximity of the two castles, which are about five miles distant from each other in the

1. LECCISOTTI T./TABARELLI C. Le carte dell'archivio di S. Pietro in Perugia. (Milan 1956) pp. 68-70 (no.xv). The possessions transferred were described thus: 'totam eastellaturam et penditias de Monte Vergano, quod videlicet castellum est in comitatu Perusino, et ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris que in iamdicto castello sita est, cum omnibus suis dotibus, mobilibus et immobilibus'.
2. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S. Maria della Misericordia Pergamene 53 (17 Oct. 1294).

south-western part of the Perugian contado and finally the continued record of involvement by the Vibi with the abbey of San Pietro. Orlandinus was abbot from 1291 to 1302, and Ugolinus was elected abbot in 1331. Members of the family became monks here; such, for example, was Oddo who in 1325 was appointed abbot of Santa Maria of Farneto by John XXII, and Coppolus who was abbot of Sant'Archangelo del Lago, a dependency of San Pietro, succeeded to the abbacy of the mother house in 1362, but died in the following year. Unfortunately, all these references are from a fairly advanced date, but it is impossible to identify the heads of houses before[1]. The document of 1294 discussed above suggests that at some time before then the castle returned to the family from the abbot's holding. Even if the identification of the donors of 1130 with the Vibi should prove erroneous, therefore, there can be no doubt that they were finally conceded jurisdiction here.

Of the Armanni we have the first notice in 1165/66 when Rainaldus Armanni gave a tract of woodland to the cathedral chapter of Gubbio[2]. There is a reference to his

1. Liber Contractuum p. 260 n.1; p.4 n.1. The identification of these individuals of 1130 with the Vibi was touched upon in RICCIERI A. Memorie storiche del comune di Marsciano. (Assisi 1914) p. 304. Of the castle of Montevergano itself now only ruins remain.
2. CENCI 'Codice Diplomatico' nos. 285, 289.

sons in 1167: Andreas and Stephanus Armanni filii quondam Rainaldi, their respective wives, Panfila and domina Gasdia, and the sons of Andreas; Manente and Armannus[1]. Whilst their father was still alive, they seem to have ceded certain rights to Santa Maria Valdiponte, for in 1167 Andreas and Stephanus Armanni, with their brother, Guido, pawned for 40 sol. 'usaria quam habemus in Monte Abbatis', which the monastery, in fact, already held in pawn for 100 sol.[2]. In 1169, Andreas and Stephanus received a three-generation emphyteusis of all that the monastery possessed in the castle of Penna and its curtis, except for a fief which had already been granted out, and except for a casalinum in which the abbot planned to construct a church. As payment, he accepted 40 sol. and the remission 'de omnibus usariis que habebatis in Sorfagniano in proprietatibus monasterii ex hac parte rivi de Grigniano, praeter usaria de curte marchionis'. An annual census of twenty tench was to be paid, and the brothers were to see that the homines of the abbey rendered tithe and mortuary payments[3].

The connections between this family, Valdiponte, Solfagnano and the marquises appear in a series of further documents from these years. In 1176 Andreas de Armanno

1. ibid. no. 298. Note that these women are among the very few to whom the twelfth century documents accord the title domina, see above p.31
2. DE DONATO Le più antiche carte no. 79.
3. ibid. no. 98.

pawned to Charbinus de Guilielmo his rights to the church of San Sylvestro in Solfagnano and ceded to Valdiponte his possessions in Castiglione and Montelabbate[1]. In 1181 Ranerius *marchio* with his wife and sons, confirmed to the abbot the castle of Rance with its *curia*, which Paganellus de Cocceto and Andreas de Armanno had held in pawn for him[2]. In 1184 Stephanus de Armanno, Manente de Andrea and his brothers, Armanno and Rusticus, gave to the abbot their land and *usuaria* in Solfagnano except for rights held by an unspecified member of the margraval family, which consisted of renders in kind and the profits of justice. The abbot promised not to alienate, pawn or give these lands in fief to any other *nobilis* or *potens*[3].

The sources do not allow us to trace a straight line of descent from these figures to those who, by the mid-fourteenth century, bore the Armanni surname. We have to skip at least a generation or so to reach the undisputed ancestor of the fourteenth century Armanni: dominus Hermannus Suppolini, who was an important figure in Perugian life about 1250, and possibly the son of the Suppolinus

1. ASP. *Corp. Relig. Sopp.* S. Maria Valdiponte *Pergamene cass.* III 108.
2. Valdiponte *Pergamene cass.* III 125.
3. Valdiponte *Pergamene cass.* III 131. The proceeds from criminal jurisdiction included fines of 6 *soldi* for adultery, homicide, perjury;3 *soldi* for injury without bloodshed; 2/3 *soldi* for theft.

Ugolini Presbyteri of the early thirteenth century documents[1]. Besides engaging in a considerable activity as counsellor and witness, Hermannus was captain of the people at Rome in 1255/56, podestà of Cortona in 1259 and of Città della Pieve in 1260. In 1274, he was podestà of Foligno, an office which his son, Henricus, held in the following year[2]. The 1285 libra lists him under the parish of San Fortunato in Porta Sant'Angelo with a taxable wealth of 8,000 lib., and his descendants, dominus Felicinus domini Hermanni and dominus Niccolaus Ciecolli domini Hermanni are in the Libro Rosso[3]. The belief that, despite the years of silence, we have to deal with the same family rests upon the constant recurrence of the name Armannus/ Hermannus and the fact that their land in the mid-fourteenth century was almost all to be found in the area of Solfagnano as well as Lupatione and Civitella Bonizone, both of which latter were major holdings of Valdiponte[4].

1. ASP. Somm. I ff. 119v, 9v, 108r - witness to the submission of Gualdo (1208), to the settlement with Gubbio (1217) and the submission of Cagli (1218).
2. For summary outlines of his career see ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. p. 348, Reformationes Comunis Perusii p. 29 n.1. Also Frag. Fulg. Hist. p.15; ASP. Somm. I ff. 110v-111r for his role as witness to the submission of Cagli in 1259.
3. ASP. Libra I f. 36r. FABRETTI op.cit. p. 113. D. Nicola was podestà of Assisi in 1335 and his son, Armannus, married into the Prefetti di Vico (ASP. Catasti VI f. 20v). The magnate resubmission of 1371 displays the more extensive family grouping. (ASP. Rif. CLXXXII f. 46r).
4. ASP. Catasti XXIV ff. 12r-15v, 28r-v, 31r-32v, 49v-50r. Beside the areas particularly associated with Valdiponte, they had land in other villae along the Tiber valley to the north of Perugia: ff. 55r-v Cecchus domini Henrici had a valuable tenimentum in San Martino del Campo, one of the centres connected with the cathedral chapter.

It is a very tempting hypothesis that the Archipresbyteri and the Armanni were originally of one and the same clan. Both families took a surname almost contemporaneously and their lands lay mostly in the same area, that is north from Perugia along the line of the Tiber. They are registered together in the Libro Rosso and the personal names of the two families are in many cases identical. It is impossible, however, to establish the genealogy of either in sufficient detail to come to a definite conclusion. The Archipresbyteri nucleus first comes to light in the mid-thirteenth century with dominus Iohannes Archipresbyter and his son, Ranerius[1]. They held land from San Lorenzo and other of their properties were at Pitignano, Petramelina and especially at Colle Romano and Pieve Pagliacti, both areas where San Lorenzo held considerable amounts of land. They also had possessions in Civitella Bonizone and Ramazzano, which we have already connected with Valdiponte. In 1326 their mills here gave rise to a dispute with the monastery[2].

These investigations have brought us to the point where it becomes almost impossible to identify families that were not essentially rural in origin. Moreover, a large number of these families were connected with the marquises or with

1. ASP. Somm.II f. 80v (Somm.CXXXI) involved in war with Foligno. Reformationes Comunis Perusii p. 28 n.1 - 1243 Rector of Duchy of Spoleto.
2. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S. Maria Valdiponte Miscellanea LVII f. 119v.

the major Perugian ecclesiastical institutions, and for certain of these a definite transfer of land and other rights took place in the period 1180-1250. It is important to inquire whether such concessions carried with them the dominatio loci to their new owners. For Pierle, Montegualandro and Valiana, an affirmative answer can be given with some certainty[1]. Probably, the same may be said of Castro Novo as appears from the various references above and a dispute of 1296 between the nobiles et domini de Castro Novo and their homines and manentes, concerning a tract of woodland[2]. Penna and Monteverzano also allowed the Armanni and the Vibi lordship and jurisdictional rights.

The question of fief-holders is entirely different. It should be noted first of all that feudal vocabulary appears rarely in any Umbrian documents. A charter of 1140 from Valdiponte refers to a lease made to Suppolinus and Baruncius Ugolini of a large number of lands including two donicati, to be held in perpetuity. The terms are outlined as follows:-

> Quam autem tota predicta res sicut conventata est, ego suprascripto abbas concedo constituo medietatem per libellum et medietatem per feo sicut conventatum est ad supradicto Suppolino et Baruncio et duo homini[3] Martinotio et Sinopolo cum eorum tenimenta per feo.

1. See above p.129; appendix II to this chapter.
2. ASP Rif.XII ff. 68r, 100r.
3. DE DONATO Le più antiche carte no.55.

In two other documents of the same period - 1148 and 1152 - there are details of lands granted by the abbot on emphyteutic leases. The first of these, however, had been held previously by others *per libellum et per feudum* and the second *ad feudum*[1]. The new concessions make no reference to tenure by fief, and further instances of fief-holding are hard to find.

The Monteverzano re-concession of 1130 by the abbot of San Pietro is the only document to suggest that an entire castle and its rights might be conceded *ad feudum*. Indeed, for the most part, the documents distinguish very clearly between the concession of the *dominatio loci* and that of a fief within a castle. This can be noted for Penna and also for Valiana; when the *dominatio loci* was transferred, explicit reservations were made to safeguard the rights of individuals who already held fiefs there[2]. The precise status of vassals, both lay and ecclesiastical, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is very difficult to gauge. It is clear, however, that the average fief-holder was deemed to be considerably inferior to the more ancient families. The appreciation of such gradations is nicely demonstrated in the dispute of 1211 between the bishop-elect of Orvieto and

1. *ibid*. nos. 67, 71.
2. *ibid*. no. 98 - the concession of the castle of Penna. Here a fief which already existed within the boundaries was exempted from the general grant: 'preter feudum de filio Ranutii de Guidoto'.

Bulgarellus, count of Marsciano, regarding the castle of Parrano. This was held by the counts in fief from the church and there was some disagreement about the nature of the obligations which they owed to the bishop. Among other things, in the course of the process, the bishop-elect said to Bulgarellus:

> Tu dicis te debere esse vassallum ecclesie istius: volo quod tu recognoscas et confitearis, coram istis fratribus meis et paribus huius curie, non dico paribus genere vel potentia, sed quia beneficati sunt ab Ecclesia, quod ab ista Ecclesia teneas et quare debeas ei vassalladiam facere.[1]

It is extremely difficult to tell whether fief-holders would have been included in any numbers among the names in the Libro Rosso. Some light is cast upon this by details of certain laymen's vassals. In the mid-thirteenth century, Manno domini Ugolini Petri held a fief from the marquises in Valiana. There was probably a knightly tradition in the family, as demonstrated by the use of dominus with the patronymnic. Involvement in Perugian affairs can be traced through the Petrus de Manno de Sutro - doubtless an ancestor - who in 1205 witnessed the peace agreements with Assisi[2]. Unfortunately, Manno's line appears to have died out in mid-century and while it can be presumed that his descendants - had they existed - should have been listed in

1. FUMI Cod. Dipl. pp. 59-60 (no. LXXXIV).
2. For the fief held by Manno in Valiana appendix 1 to this chapter. See also ASP. Somm.II ff. 77v-78v (Somm.XXI) which is a re-concession following a dispute with the margrave Guido. For the Assisi agreements ASP. Somm. II ff. 39r,19r. (Somm. LXXXII-III).

the Libro Rosso, there is nothing that can prove this one way or the other. It has been suggested above that the family 'domini Orlandi' may have been vassals of the counts of Marsciano[1]; if this were true, then vassals with knightly traditions did come in the Libro Rosso. Two examples, from 1247 and 1257, relating to the Montemelini show that members of their retinue seem to have had a knightly tradition, but nothing more is known about these persons[2]. It is possible that knightly vassals of families such as the Montemelini may never quite have made it into the ranks of the nobles recorded in the Libro Rosso. They may have been among the unidentified names of the register, but equally well, they may not appear at all, falling into a twilight region between nobility and popolo, and perhaps being assimilated eventually to the latter. Whatever may be the truth about knightly vassals, we should certainly not try to include among the lesser nobility the scutiferi, a few of whom are mentioned in the Perugian sources of mid-thirteenth century[3]. Recent discussion of the same phenomenon at Brescia in the twelfth century has seen them as peasant vassals[4] and this

1. See above p.118.
2. See pp.199-200 for the 1247 condemnation. Also ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria della Misericordia Pergamene II (14 Oct. 1257) 'Coram domino Saraceno Bucarelli, domino Andree Tiberii, domino Iohanne eorum milite'.
3. ASP. Giudiziario Liber Petri Parenti (1243-62) f.383r- 'Franciscus scutifer domini Pauli Acerbi'. Arch. Capit. San Lorenzo Sect. C I f.192v (1265) - Tancredus scutifer domini Oddonis.
4. MENANT F. 'Les ecuyers (scutiferi), vassaux paysans du comte de Brescia', paper delivered at the Colloque de Rome 11-13 October 1978 Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen.

would seem to be borne out by the rubric in the 1279 Perugian statute which outlines the services due to their lord from serviens, famulus and scutifer[1]. The term does not appear to have constituted an equivalent to domicellus in thirteenth century Perugia, as it did in other parts of Europe then, and in papal letters to Perugians a century later[2].

Much of the Perugian evidence discussed so far points to a hierarchy within the local nobility and to the continuity and pre-eminence of the more ancient families. This will be demonstrated in detail for the counts of Coccorano, and despite the dismembering of the marquises' patrimony and recurrent references to their debts in the late thirteenth century, they too retained considerable importance[3]. Nonetheless, we have already seen that the dispersal of their possessions was instrumental in the rise of new families, much of the land transferred in this way becoming the centre of reference for a nascent dynasty. In view of the relatively late date at which some of these transfers took place, it is perhaps not surprising that the more specifically 'dynastic' elements in local families seem to have emerged rather late at Perugia. Probably,

1. ASP. Statuti I f. 72r.
2. ASP. Miscellanea XXXVIII f. 27r (1380) - 'dilecto filio nobili viro Andree Bucatorio domicello ... scutifero meo'.
3. See below 209.

about the year 1200, various of the older families were subject to a process of fragmentation. Sometimes, as in the case of Ugolinus maior of Coccorano, the more radical consequences of this may have been stemmed by a changed family consciousness and a re-organisation of the patrimony, but for other comital lines on the borders between Perugia and Orvieto, there is convincing proof of the way in which, on occasions, this process might redound to the benefit of other less well-established families.

The counts of Montemarte played but an extremely marginal role in the history of Perugia. They were more particularly involved in a three-cornered struggle for control of their lands, in which they, the communes of Todi and Orvieto were protagonists. They figure most in the Perugian sources when the commune, in 1290, acted as intermediary in the sale of the castle of Montemarte to Todi[1]. Nevertheless, because they are just across the Perugian border, they may appear as legitimate examples here. Dating from the fifteenth century, there is a chronicle written by Francesco, count of Montemarte. It is mainly concerned with Orvietan politics from the early fourteenth century onwards, but in the introduction, count Francesco recounts something

1. FUMI Cod. Dipl. p. 848. The 1290 sale in which Perugia was middleman is in ASP. Diplomatico V P.13 c.31 nos.557-9. Closely involved as definitors of boundaries and as guarantors were members of the comital family of Marsciano and of the Montemelini.

of the family's internal history. The following passage is very important, for it reveals how the dynasty itself had divided into two branches, and how, at a distance of two hundred years, this was remembered, if only dimly and a little imprecisely.

> Et e communemente a Orvieto, Peruscia, Todi e tutto il paese d'intorno quelli de casa nostra sono stati chiamati conti di Montemarte, et sono, et loro fu, et e sempre il castello di Montemarte, et ho udito dire dahuomini antichi d'Orvieto e Todi che loro hanno sentito dire a vecchi, che noi e quelli de'Bovacciano conti di Orzala e Bovarino furo una medesima casa, a questo anco sentii dire da mio avo, che lui senti da suoi antichi e padre, avo e proavo dire; ma come poi fussero sceveriti non lo sapevano; et il simile diceva misser Bianciolo e misser Martino conti d'Orzala e Bovarino, che essi venivano dal conte Matteo e noi dal conte Gruamonte,che furo fratelli[1].

Martino and Gruamonte can be dated to 1170 from a submission they made to Orvieto promising to give the commune military aid at their own expense, if Orvieto would protect the comital possessions[2].

Other documents, to which count Francesco alludes, and which he claims were to be found in the family's archive, cast further light upon this subsequent dual development. In 1201, Orvieto warned the Prefetti di Vico not to lay hands on the Rocca Sberna and contested the claim that the Prefetti had any rights in the castle at all, or had acquired

1. Cronaca inedita degli Avvenimenti di Orvieto 1333-1400. by Francesco Montemarte. ed. F.A. Gualterio (Turin 1846) I pp. 3-4.
2. op.cit II 237-8 (1171).

any, either by sale or by a dowry concession, from Matteus Bovazini or from Bovazinus. On the contrary, the commune maintained that it and dominus Farulfus of Montemarte alone held rights in the castle. Presumably, the Bovazini branch had made some transaction with the Prefetti which was prejudicial to the Montemarte line represented by Farulfus, and Orvieto was acting as intermediary between the two. In 1208, therefore, the Prefetti and count Matteus cancelled any agreement made previously between them[1].

In 1211 Bovazinus sold to his cousin, Landus Gruamonte, half of the Rocca Sberna 'eccettuato Semugnano e certi patronati de chiese dove sono obbligati messer Monaldo di Pietro di Cittadino nipote di madonna Metalonta et Iaco et Altevanno figli di Sigiberto et Alidoso figlio di Malatesta'[2]. Monaldo di Pietro was an early member of the Monaldeschi, and this family's interest in the area escalated in the following years, so that by 1248 various Monaldeschi were in

1. ibid. pp. 239-40 (Oct. 1201) - 'Ne accipiatis arcem de Berule et eius districtum vel tenutam in dotem vel dono, vel ex emptione, vel aliquo modo, vel ingenio, vel occasione vel arte a Masseo Bovazini et a Bovazano, vel aliqua alia persona quia predictam arcem cum sua tenuta dicimus esse predicte civitatis et domini Farulfi de Corvari. Hoc vobis prohibemus et denuntiamus ut ius civitatis et Farulfi perpetuo sit salvum et nullum eis eo quod feceritis cum domino Masseo vel Bovazano vel aliqua persona, preiudicium generetur'. Francesco refers to the 1208 agreement in the introduction to his chronicle (op.cit. I 4). At this point a copy was kept in the Montemarte family archive, but I have been unable to trace an extant edition of the original.
2. op.cit. II 4.

a position to hold the castle in custody for Orvieto. Count Francesco informs us that Metalonta was a member of the comital family of Montemarte. If this is so, Montemarte history reveals both a process of fragmentation around 1200 and also the emergence of 'new' families under the wing of these more ancient and established dynasties,for they seem indeed to have contributed to the growth of such a typical family, the Monaldeschi[1].

A transaction of 1199 between the counts of Coldimedio and the abbey of San Pietro at Perugia raises the possibility of some crisis within this family. Bonifatius, Guido, Capitaneus and Ugolinus comites filii quondam Bonicomitis de Tudino Bonifatii submitted their lands in the contadi of Perugia, Assisi and Todi, receiving them back again from the abbot. This latter concession is not in the form of a

1. WALEY Medieval Orvieto - appendix III, dealing with the origins of the Monaldeschi. Here he recounts the version given by Luca Manente, which derives Monaldeschi/Filippeschi enmity from a conflict over the dowry of a member of the Prefetti di Vico ca.1200. In support of this he adduces several pieces of evidence from the early thirteenth century. FUMI Cod. Dipl. LXXII (misquoted in Waley as LXII), which is the document of 1202 discussed above, does not say that the Prefetti were deprived of their tenure of Rocca Sberna because of the murder of Petrus Parenzi (WALEY op.cit.p.152) merely that it had never belonged to them anyway. Nor is it strictly true that by 1211 the Monaldeschi had acquired possession of the Rocca Sberna (ibid. p. 152); they had only gained certain rights in this area. Whatever may be the truth of Luca Manente's legend, more importance should certainly be attached to the Montemarte connection than Waley's reading allows. Indeed, the report of the disputed dowry agreement with the Prefetti looks suspiciously similar to the picture revealed by the Montemarte documents of the early thirteenth century for that family.

three-generation emphyteusis or a feudal holding. It allows the counts the usufruct of monastic lands apparently indefinitely, promising them protection and support should they be threatened in any way. Provision was also made for the possibility of the counts becoming too poor to provide dowries for their daughters; then the monastery would give enough either for a suitable marriage or for entering a convent. The only reference to obligations was a vague allusion to past and future services[1]. The transaction was intended to have long-term effects and it was still in force in 1342 when Grigia, daughter of Putius, count of Coldimedio and wife of Ursus Gluctoli domini Sensi, paid the census due for her part of the lands conceded by Guido and his brothers to the monastery[2]. The document itself has been preserved in a copy of 1477. Fortini thought that in the course of the thirteenth century, the family divided into branches connected with the three different towns around which their lands were situated[3]. Before this interpretation can be accepted, a more detailed study of the family's history will have to be undertaken, but the fact that only one representative of the family is named in the Perugian Libro Rosso

1. LECCISOTTI/TABARELLI Le carte di San Pietro pp.123-32 (nos.XXVI, XXVII). The property transferred is described as follows: 'castella, villas castrum Collis de Medio, ecclesias, oratoria, patronatum, casas, casalinas, terras, vineas, silvas, aquas, aquemolos, pascua, rivos, fontes, homines, familias, usurias, servitia, cultum, incultum'.
2. Arch. San Pietro Libri Contractuum III f. 97r.
3. FORTINI A. Nuova Vita II 406-10.

suggests that there might be an element of truth in the suggestion[1].

For the comital dynasty from Marsciano, developments can be traced over a longer period of time. Various things suggest that the counts of Plagario were originally of this family. A document of 1139, which is a restitution made to the monastery of Pietro d'Acqua by count Bernardinus Bulgarelli was enacted in the castle of Plagario, and the document is usually associated with the Marsciano line[2]. Certainly, the castle lay within the orbit of the Marsciano lands, as is shown by the imperial privilege of 1328 accorded by Lewis of Bavaria; this confirms to one of the branches of the counts of Marsciano its possessions,various of which are recorded as lying next to the castrum Plagarii[3]. However, by 1256, at the latest, there is evidence for the use of the term de Plagario to designate what appears to have been a separate comital family. In that year, the council minutes refer quite definitely to the comites de Plagario who had certain interests in Città della Pieve[4]. This latter area, too, had formed part of the Marsciano patrimony, although by the thirteenth century, it was treated as a

1. FABRETTI op.cit.p. 106 (P.S.P.)
2. FUMI Cod. Dipl. p. 18 (no.XXVIII)
3. Acta Imperii Inedita Saeculi XIII et XIV ed. E.Winckelmann (Innsbruck 1885) II 310-12 (no. 497).
4. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. p. 13 For Città della Pieve and the counts of Marsciano see below pp.280-1.

rural commune directly subject to Perugia. Other sources hint at the closeness of the two comital lines. The 1285 *libra* contains an entry for Andreas and Uguito *comites de Plagario* under the parish of San Bartolomeo in Porta Sole; which is the same parish as that given for the counts of Marsciano. The name of their father, Ranerius, was a common one in the Marsciano branch, too. In the *Libro Rosso* the counts of Plagario are listed in Porta Sole immediately after Nerius Nardi, count of Migliano and a member of the Marsciano clan[1]. It would be strange indeed to find two comital dynasties so very close to each other and yet, originally, quite autonomous. It is probable, therefore, that at some point after 1139 and before the mid-thirteenth century, the Plagario branch divided off, henceforward to appear quite separately.

It is also likely that the counts of Sarteano/ Chianciano represent a further branch of the Marsciano family. Again, the similarity of personal names is very striking and the privilege of Lewis of Bavaria included Sarteano among the lands confirmed to the counts of Marsciano. Sarteano may have emerged as a different line by the early twelfth century when some documents refer to Pepo and his son, Manente, as counts of Sarteano[2].

1. ASP. *Libra* I ff. 140r-v. They are assessed in P.E. S.Bartolomeo for 2,000 *lib*.each. FABRETTI *op*.*cit*. p.121-2.
2. BANDINI D. 'Regesto feudale di Sarteano' *BSSP*. LXXII (1965) pp. 173-4.

Certainly, by the early thirteenth century, count Tancred of Sarteano was making a separate submission to Perugia[1]. It is also possible that some of the lands of this branch acted as points of growth for other, newer families. Both Pacciano and Panicale, for instance, appear in 1244 among the Sarteano possessions; the former became the centre of reference in the contado for the Ranieri family and in 1351 a number of magnates were particularly associated with Panicale. Also, through a marriage-alliance in the early fourteenth century, the Monaldeschi of Orvieto seem to have been created heirs of Borgarutius Rimbotti, count of Chianciano[2].

A further process of fragmentation took place later. By the early fourteenth century the line of Migliano had appeared as distinct from the branch of the family which remained centred on Marsciano alone, and to whom the imperial privilege of 1328 was addressed[3]. Both lines seem to have been descended from the late thirteenth century count Bernardinus domini Ranerii. Migliano was not included among the lands listed in the imperial privilege, possibly because, by then, it belonged to a different branch of the family[4]. This process of division, however, differs very

1. ASP. Somm. II ff. 26v-27r (Somm. XCIII)
2. BANDINI 'Regesto feudale' pp. 177, 189-90.
3. ASP. Rif. XIV f. 78v - reference to Nardus comes de Migliano.
4. Acta Imperii Inedita pp.310-12. The castles confirmed to the Marsciano branch included the following:Montanea Carriole,Curgiolo,Città della Pieve,Sarteano,S.Cassiano,Celle.

markedly from that which has tentatively been reconstructed above for Plagario, and that which has been clearly demonstrated for the counts of Montemarte. In these latter two cases, as we have seen, the connection between the newly-divided comital branches seems to have become very tenuous. But when, a century later, the distinction began to be made between Marsciano and Migliano, the cohesion of the whole clan was preserved by the adoption of the term de comitibus de Marsciano which was applied to both branches and might often appear following phrases such as comes de Migliano[1]. Thus, there seems to have developed a sense of an extensive family grouping within which different lines might be particularly attached to one locality without causing the clan as a whole to splinter.

The counts of Marsciano were not the only ones to adopt this form of terminology. For the marquises, at about the same period, we find the usage: de marchionibus de Monte Sanctae Mariae, to refer to the lineage as a whole. For lesser families, especially those with a contado toponymnic, there was increasing use of the term de nobilibus de. This tendency to regard families in more cohesive dynastic forms is clearly revealed in the 1371 magnate list. Besides the

1. UGHELLI F. Albero e Istoria della Famiglia dei Conti di Marsciano. (Rome 1677) p. 193 - the will, dated 1363, of 'nobilis vir Bandinus quondam magnifici viri Neri Nardi de comitibus de Marsciano'.

increased employment of the surname, are entries of a type quite absent from the 1333 register, such as the following: 'dominus Rodulfus de Camerino et eius consortes, omnes nobiles de Pitignano, omnes nobiles de villa Sancti Blasii, omnes nobiles de Sancte Agathe' and even more especially 'monte domini Phylippi Bigazzini'[1]. The 1371 entry for Columella is interesting in this regard: 'Tancius Neri et ceteri nobiles de Columella'. In the Libro Rosso there are several entries for the family. One of them is that of Nerius alone; the others refer to his brothers and to the second line of the family. Since Nerius was mentioned first and in an entry by himself, with his brothers as a second group, it would seem a reasonable assumption that he was the eldest[2]. Thus, in 1371, when the use of the name of Nerius's son was used alone as the point of reference for an accepted noble dynasty, the agnatic structure of the family and the importance of primogeniture had been carried a stage further.

Among indications of the way in which a more precise dynastic consciousness was expressed should be included the adoption of a surname. The chronology of this practice can be traced at Perugia with a fair degree of accuracy and can be pinpointed to a relatively late date. In Bologna, for

1. ASP. Rif. CLXXXII ff. 45r-v.
2. FABRETTI op.cit.pp. 110-1; ASP. Rif. CLXXXII f. 45v.

example, Gaudenzi sees the early thirteenth century as the period when the adoption of a surname became widely established. Toubert has argued that the milites of the towns of Lazio began to take surnames in the second half of the twelfth century and members of the Roman aristocracy antedated this. In contrast to the situation which Duby has outlined for the Mâconnais, all Italian developments are late. Perugia is even more backward, however[1].

The Coppoli were probably the first in the field, having a surname by 1259[2]. De Oddis, the abbreviated form of de Oddonibus, was used by 1277[3], and de Iacanis for the Gratiani in 1281[4]. The 1285 libra refers to Putius, Oddutii and Bartolus Guilelmi de Galchis; the cavalry list of 1287 contains a reference to the 'heredes domini Bartholomei de Galchis' and the surname is repeated in the 1320

1. GAUDENZI A. 'Sulla Storia del cognome a Bologna nel sec. XIII' in BISI XIX (1989) p.47. He refers to the statutes of the mid-thirteenth century which stipulate that an individual cannot be received into the popular societies unless his surname first be read out in the council of the people. There is nothing similar at Perugia, even in the fourteenth century. TOUBERT P. Les structures du Latium medieval (Rome 1973) I 700-3 - for a recent summary of the main literature on the subject. 702 n.1 for Lazio itself and the milites of Veroli, Rieti etc. He admits that the domini castri retained their preference for nomina paterna followed by the name of their castle well into the thirteenth century. It is unfortunate that no detailed study of the emergence of individual surnames in particular localities has been undertaken.
2. ASP. Somm.II f. 155v 'presente Uderisio de Coppolis'. It appears with regularity from then onwards and is to be found in the Libro Rosso,although not, as has been demonstrated p. n. , for all members of the family.
3. ASP. Rif.VI f. 135v (1266); VII f. 39v (1273).
4. ASP. Miscellanea X f. 11v.

libra[1]. It is probably derived from the contado topo-nymnic, the so-called castrum de Galchis[2]. De Balionibus makes its appearance in the council minutes of the early fourteenth century[3]. Besides these, the Libro Rosso contains de Acerbis, de Mastinellis, de Ghelfonibus, de Aczis, de Magiolis and de Benedictolis. By 1335 there is reference to the Armanni family name[4]. That of the Archi-presbyteri became accepted usage about the same time, and certainly before the 1370's[5]. Towards the close of this latter decade the Ranieri surname is to be found.

Among the popolani the development is very similar, if a trifle slower. The Barzi had a surname by 1285[6], and the Michelotti, Tebaldi and Guidalotti by the mid-fourteenth century[7]. The Pelacani took theirs around 1350[8], and at some point before the 1370's the following begin to appear: de Ferrazolis, de Caccilibus, de Boccolis, de Mazzis[9]. It is

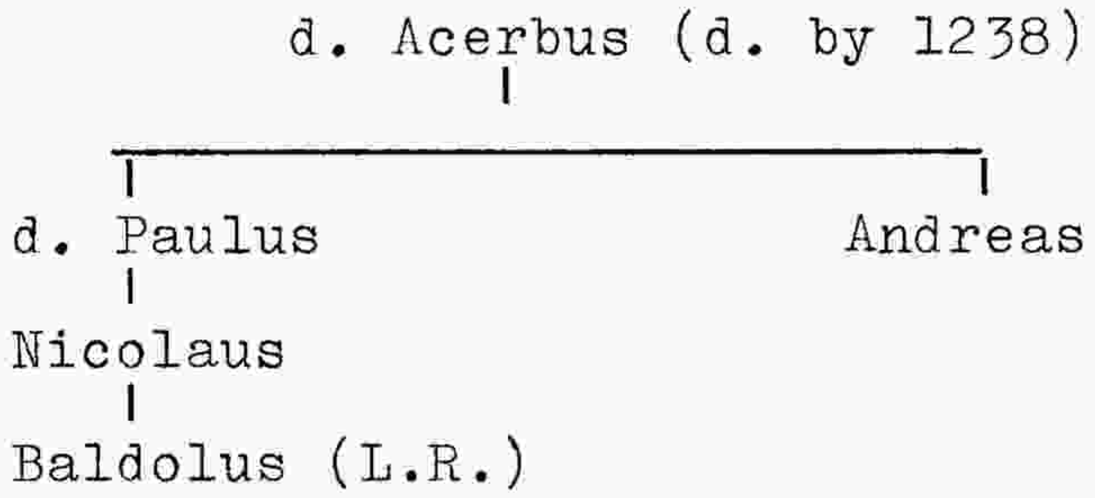
1. ASP. Libra I f. 75r, II f. 5v.
2. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p. 79.
3. ASP. Rif. XIII f. 154v (1309); XX f. 181r.
4. Documentazione di vita assisana 1300-1530 I 72.
5. ASP. Rif. CLXXXII f. 46r.
6. ASP. Libra I f. 67r, 68r - for example, Mancinus de Barzis. The surname seems to be derived from an ancestor several generations back - see ASP.Somm.II f. 67v witness to the agreement concerning Valmarcola in 1237 - Ugolinus Rusticelli de Barzo, connected with the 1285 names through the 1260 catasto (ASP. Catasti I f. 95v).
7. DEGLI AZZI VITELLESCHI Le Relazioni II 76 (1344).
8. UGHELLI F. Italia Sacra (Venice 1719) IV col.224.
9. Archivio della Mercanzia.Matricolae II ff. 54r,55r,56v, 62v. 'De Boccolis' can be found before in 1359, see FOP Perugia e la Chiesa p. 141-2 - Restorus Cole de Bocholis.

quite understandable that a family of the people should need to find for itself some means of reference and should adopt, as in the majority of instances cited above, the name of the first of its members to have been particularly conspicuous in communal life. This seems to have happened with some of the nobility too - for example, with the Baglioni, Vencioli, degli Oddi. But for them, it was also possible for a contado toponymnic to be adapted, as occurred with the della Corgna, and in the fifteenth century for the Montesporelli and the Vibi, who transform Montesporello and Montevibiano respectively.

What does the taking of a surname mean? Firstly, it seems that various of those families who have a surname in the Libro Rosso were relatively unobtrusive. Members of the Acerbi, for example, although attested with a certain regularity from the late 1230's as witnesses, counsellors and, in 1256/7, as podestà of Foligno, are not especially prominent[1]. Much the same can be said of the Mastinelli,

1. ASP. Somm. I f. 74v (Somm. XVIII) Nov. 1238 witness to the sale of a third of Valiana to the Montemelini;ANGELINI S. La Diplomazia Comunale a Perugia nei secoli XIII e XIV. (Florence 1965) p. 43 - embassy to the Montemelini; Frag. Fulg. Hist. p.14 Paulus Acerbi as podestà of Foligno. In 1260 he was capitaneus domicellorum (ASP. Statuti I f. 40/39r). ASP. Libra I f. 93r Andreas domini Acerbi and d. Paulus Acerbi for 1,500 and 1,800 lib. respectively (P.S.P. S.Maria del Mercato). FABRETTI op.cit.p. 104. A fragmentary family tree looks as follows:

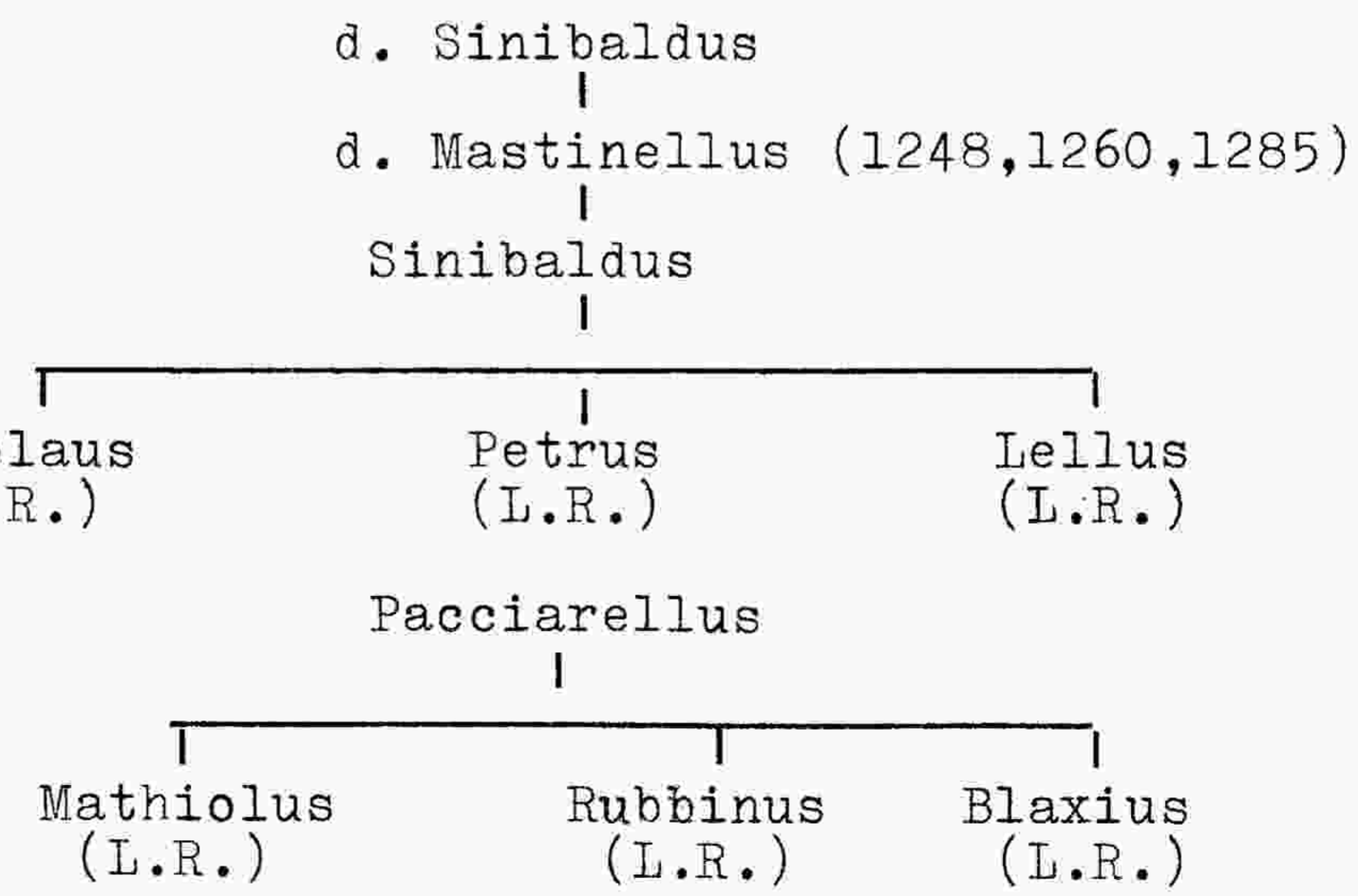
whose contribution to communal life in general refers to little more than the occasional activity as counsellors or as members of the Perugian cavalry[1]. Neither family is to be particularly associated with any contado area, although the presence of Paulus domini Acerbi as witness to the Valiana sale of 1238 raises the possibility that there may have been a connection, perhaps of vassaldom, with the marquises.



Also in the L.R. - Thomas Ciccoli

1. Witness to the inheritance disagreement of 1248 concerning Poggio Manente was Mastinellus domini Sinibaldi (ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.21). He was counsellor in 1260 (ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. p.82) and he still seems to have been alive in the 1280's when the name appears among the cavalry sent to the Romagna in aid of the pope (ASP.Diplomatico V P.2 c.29 no. 265) Libra I f.31r; FABRETTI op.cit. p.112,115.

(a) P.S.



(b) P.S.A.

However, in certain cases, the surname has a very particular relation to family structure and to its change. This is admirably illustrated by the early history of the Baglioni, which has been far from adequately studied, despite the family's subsequent importance. In so far as their origins have aroused any interest at all, reliance continues to be placed on Pellini's account that a certain Ludovicus, imperial vicar and cousin of Frederick Barbarossa, was their founding member. Pellini claimed to have seen the imperial privilege, but it is no longer extant and his summary of its contents reads like a later forgery[1]. Even if it had been genuine there would still have been nothing to connect this Ludovicus with the first identifiable Baglioni, who does not appear in Perugian sources until a century later. He is recorded among the Perugians who witnessed the 1257 peace between Orvieto and Todi, and he

1. PELLINI Historia di Perugia I 193. He claims to have seen an imperial diploma of the eighth year of Frederick's reign, drawn up in Cagli, in which the emperor, on the point of departing for Lombardy 'lasciò Ludovico Baglione Duca di Svevia suo parente vicario dell'Impero nella città di Perugia, e tutto il suo territorio in perpetuo, con tutti quelli honori che le convenivano per quel grado'. It is accepted as genuine by the most recent historian of the family - BALEONUS ASTUR I Baglioni (Florence 1964) pp.19-20 - but everything stamps it as a forgery. There is equally little reason to place any belief in a genealogist like Raffaello Volterrano who traced the family back to Godfrey of Bouillon, mainly on account of the similarity of names and coats-of-arms; it would not be too far-fetched, however, to suggest that the Baglioni might have imitated the Bouillon arms at a later date. DE BAGLIONE L. Perouse et les Baglioni (Paris 1909) p. 193 discusses the matter at greater length, but admits these antecedents may be legendary.

figures in the Liber Exbannitorum of 1260: dominus Baglione domini Guidonis Oddonis. He is doubtless to be identified with the dominus Baglione who witnessed an agreement of 1261 between Perugia and the monks of St. Basil, Rome. Reference to his activities in the succeeding decades are found below and have been gathered by various local historians; these included the podestàship of Gubbio in 1281[1].

It is not possible to identify him by tracing the patronymnic back through earlier communal documents; his father is absent from lists of subscribers and presumed, therefore, to have been little involved with the town. However, certain later documents offer assistance. He was called dominus Baglione de Sancto Ianne de Perusio in an embassy of 1288, sent on his behalf to Bettona and also when he acted as guarantor in the Monalera sale of 1289[2]. There is in the Libro Rosso a family specifically called de Sancto Ianne, and Baglione can be linked with them through the 1285 and 1320 tax registers. In 1285 listed under the parish of San Donato in Porta San Pietro and at the head of the register are three persons:dominus Baglione

1. FUMI Cod.Dipl. pp. 212-3; ASP. Somm. II f. 153r; ANSIDEI V. Alcuni Appunti per la storia delle Famiglie Perugine Baglione e degli Oddi. (Perugia 1901) p.10; GALETTI 'La società comunale' p.94 n.11; PELLINI op.cit. I 277, 283, 285.
2. ASP. Rif. X f.53v (27 May 1288) If Bettona persisted in taxing Baglione, Perugia would lay a similar tax on the possessions of the Bettonese at Perugia. As guarantor for the Montalera sale see ASP. Diplomatico V P.13 c.31 no.555C (1289).

domini Guidonis, Oddutius domini Boniohannis and Guidarellus domini Benvenuti. The 1320 libra has the descendants of these persons similarly placed one after the other, and in the Libro Rosso the descendants of dominus Baglione domini Guidonis bear the surname Baglioni, whilst those of the latter two are called de Sancto Ianne[1]. The 1361 catasti show the intermingling of the possessions of these two groups and demonstrate that the main Baglioni holdings were to be found in the villa of San Giovanni[2].

It is in this light that the use of the surname is especially interesting. It would seem that the most vigorous branch of an established contado family chose to distinguish itself from its less active country cousins by abandoning the direct employment of the contado toponymnic and by calling itself after the first of its number to be really active in urban Perugia. Dominus Baglione appears with some frequency in the late thirteenth century sources, as has been seen, but other members of this clan do not follow in

1. ASP. Libra I f.97r. Their assessments were 9,000, 2,500 and 2,000 lib. respectively. The total of 13,500 lib.for the whole family group makes them among the richest in Perugia. II f. 3r. FABRETTI op.cit. p. 104.
2. ASP. Catasti XI ff. 167r-186v, 209r-211r. In 1361 d. Percevallus domini Guidonis possessed a tenimentum near the 'villa Sanctae Crucis de Sancto Ianne' worth 1,200 lib. His total assessment was 1,290 lib. He also held a series of petiae terrae here. Ludovicus Guidarelli domini Gualfredutii similarly owned a considerable quantity of land here. Needless to say, the branch of the family denominated de Sancto Ianne had many of its lands in the villa. The two branches still held in common certain mills in the Tiber.

his wake until about a generation later. Contrary to what might be expected, Baglione almost certainly represented the main line of the family, not a junior branch; he was listed first in the 1285 libra and his assessment was worth twice as much as those of his two relations put together.

The division of families into 'urban' and 'rural' branches has been noted for other towns, and it is possible that a similar process took place among the degli Oddi. In Porta Santa Susanna in the Libro Rosso there are two entries; Nicholaus Lelli Pelloli domini Iacobi and the filii domini Iacobi de Pierle, who both look a little as if they might have been related to the degli Oddi[1]. Pierle, as we have seen, was degli Oddi territory and, while Iacobus was a common enough name, it was also quite marked among the degli Oddi themselves. Moreover, the use in the early thirteenth century of de Marianis to distinguish one member of the Montemelini is,perhaps, a tentative surname[2]. The Bigazzini surname, taken by the counts of Coccorano and Petroia in the late fourteenth century, is indicative of this family's peculiar history. The surname was not adopted until that point in time when the two separate comital lines were re-united in what had previously been the Petroia branch. Bigazzinus was the first member of this line to

1. FABRETTI op.cit. p.118
2. ASP. Somm. II f. 64r.

hold the two titles, and the surname seems to have been used to signify a new epoch in the family's history, even though the key position of the early thirteenth century Ugolinus maior was not forgotten[1].

It is important to bear in mind that Perugian notarial practice was by no means consistent in the recording of a surname. There were no legal provisions of any kind to encourage notaries to be less whimsical. Up to 1400 and beyond, members of the Baglioni and other families appear in administrative lists and later in private transactions bearing only their own name and that of their father. Individuals may have thought of themselves as possessing a family name without the fact being recorded in the surviving archival documents. A very suggestive pointer in this direction comes from a vernacular poem edited by Salvatorelli. In it the poet bemoans the unjustified exclusion of the nobility from full participation in Perugian life, describing how it would be, should this state of affairs be remedied:

> Gl'odde terreber piu alta le fronte
> ei fucciarei si terien monte alere;
> quei da vallialla sireber piu pronte.
> Franche serieno i nepote i ranere
> con tucte i nobei de la teverina
> certo i baglione serien piu manere.
> Non temerien gli armanne l'altrui mina
> quei da monte sperello e lor consorte[2]
> non vedereber lor potentia enclina.

1. See below p.229
2. SALVATORELLI L. 'La politica interna di Perugia in un

Families are described here either by the use of a contado designation or by surnames of a sort. Two of the latter are of considerable interest: the Fuciarelli and the Ranieri. If Salvatorelli's dating of the codex containing the poem to the 1340's is correct[1] - and there is every reason to believe that it is - then these families bore something that looks very much like a family name at a time when there is no corroborating evidence at all in the archival records.

The poem also helps to answer the question - from whom did the Ranieri derive their surname? It will be seen in the appropriate appendix that no member of the family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had the forename Ranerius before that Ranerius domini Simonis domini Merlini who was extremely influential in Perugian politics in the last decades of the fourteenth century. He was a doctor of the law and was knighted by Gregory XI in 1371. It would not have been inappropriate for the family to have taken its name from him, although it might have been a trifle

poemetto volgare della metà del Trecento' BU.L (1953) p.20.
1. ibid. pp. 5-9 for a discussion of the dating. His remarks about the dating of the Perugian anti-magnate legislation are subject to revision in the light of work in hand by Grundman and Abbonsanza on vol. XII of the Statuti, but this does not invalidate the evidence from the codex itself and information about the poets who are represented in it. Identifiable poets such as Nerio Muscoli and Bosone of Gubbio can be dated to the early fourteenth century; both appear in the Libro Rosso. Salvatorelli's argument that the codex in its completed form was taken from Perugia to Bologna by Ghinus Guidinelli, the notary of d. Franciscus de Cataniis who was podestà of Perugia in 1346, seems eminently reasonable. The anonymous poem quoted here must, therefore, have been composed some time before this.

unusual. However, if they were thought of as 'i ranere' by the 1340's, then this possibility must be excluded. We are led to presume that a capostipite with that name had lived at some time prior to existing documents relating to the family, that his memory had been preserved and his name adopted as a surname at a much later date. A certain similarity may be noted in the Armanni family, where the original Armannus was probably a very remote ancestor by the fourteenth century, although 'Armannus' continued to be used regularly as a personal name through the succeeding generations. The history of the Ranieri surname, however, reflects a means of binding together individuals where previously all manner of devious readings and the benefit of hindsight had been required to recognise their being related at all. It also suggests that only when a family was quite sure of its stability, would the use of the surname become established enough to filter through into official documents.

Although this is a very difficult matter to study at Perugia in the thirteenth century and for much of the fourteenth, there are hints that ways of regarding the family and its inheritance were similarly stabilised and regulated during this period. The Perugian anti-magnate legislation, for instance, makes it clear that illegitimate children were considered as part of the noble family. This was also the

case at Gubbio[1]. However, the specific inclusion of bastards at Perugia was a marginal annotation - 'legitime vel non legitime natus' - of 1314 to rubrics which bear an earlier date - 1298 and 1301[2]. The Libro Rosso contains references to the filii naturales from various families: the degli Oddi, Gratiani, that of Monte Nigro and of dominus Venciolus de Turre. Lack of evidence prevents our telling how they were treated in matters of inheritance. The Coccorano pact, which is all that we have on the subject, suggests that they may have been reasonably well regarded, at least in theory[3]. In 1308, the commune passed a law, which appears in exact translation in the vernacular statute of 1342, regulating the devolution of property to illegitimate children[4]. Fathers were permitted to leave up to the sixth part of their possessions to their bastards, both male and female, if they also had legitimate offspring. Otherwise, it is to be presumed that there was no such limitation. It is difficult to know whether this law was aimed at any particular section of society and impossible to tell whether it was observed. The rubric, however, together with the specific addition of illegitimate children to the magnate class, suggests that it was not until the fourteenth century that Perugia began to be concerned about, and to legislate

1. AS Gubbio Statuti I f. 21r-v.
2. Text of these rubrics edited in BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p. 50 n. 39-41.
3. See below p.218.
4. Statuti di Perugia MCCCXLII I ii/rub. 87.

upon, this matter.

Perugia also furnishes examples of the commune legitimising bastards; not surprisingly, those who are recorded as benefitting from this were of relatively undistinguished social extraction[1]. Again, the Coccorano pact illustrates how important it was for a major noble family to preserve for itself the final decision about legitimisation. A similar consideration, although possibly for somewhat different reasons, emerges from the mid-fourteenth century privileges, mainly of countship palatinate, issued by the emperor Charles IV to various Perugian families. These included the right to legitimise even those born into the canonically most dreadful categories of bastardy. An exception was made, however, for the 'filii illustrium, spectabilium et procerum' in the privilege accorded to Bartolo of Sassoferrato, and in that given to Leggerius Nicolutii Andreotti are to be found the words 'illustribus, principibus, ducibus, comitibus et baronibus exceptis'[2].

1. ASP. Rif. VII f. 90r (11 Nov. 1273) - magister Deotesalve of P.S.S. petitioned for his son, Iohanellus. VIII f. 56r (24 April 1276).

2. FICKER J. Forschungen zur Reichs-und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens. (Aalen 1961) IV 538 (no.523) for the privilege accorded to Bartolo; for that to Leggerius Nicholutii Il Notariato a Perugia.pp. 47-51. Not all the privileges of countship palainate issued by Charles IV and edited by Ficker contain this limiting clause. In general on this subject for Italy see TAMASSIA N. La Famiglia italiana nei secoli XV e XVI (Milan 1910) pp. 238-44.

Marriage arrangements also indicate a considerable coherence in the local nobility; they intermarried and renewed alliances at a distance of generations[1]. Almost every notice of a marriage which we find speaks of a union with another Umbrian family or with a consorteria on the Umbrian borders. The degli Oddi, for example, naturally married into Cortonese families; the Baglioni and the counts of Coccorano into the family of the lords of Varano from Camerino and the Armanni into the Prefetti di Vico, from whom, in the early fourteenth century, they were still owed a very considerable dowry payment, a thousand florins 'pro quibus habuit sub pignore de mediate unius castri scilicet Ramiani[2]. Prior to the mid-fourteenth century it was relatively rare to find members of the nobility marrying into families which appear to be non-noble. Of those few for which there is evidence, most seem to concern marriages with members of notarial families or representatives of the

1. It is this particular fact of intermarriage that makes one so wary of working out family developments from hind-sight. The situation of property might be due to transfer through marriage settlements - for example the Camerino holdings in the villa de Sancto Ianne. The use of the term consanguineus in 1275 to refer to members of the Montemelini and degli Oddi might refer to the splitting of a larger family group in the manner of the Baglioni (see above p.168-9) It is more likely, however, merely to signify cousinage by marriage. For consanguineus and other such vocabulary in twelfth-century Lazio see TOUBERT Les structures I 709 n.1. He sees it as part of the vocabulary of the extended family; parentes was used far more frequently, and consanguinei together with propinqui but rarely.
2. See below p. 205, 221-2. Also ASP Catasti VI f.20v.

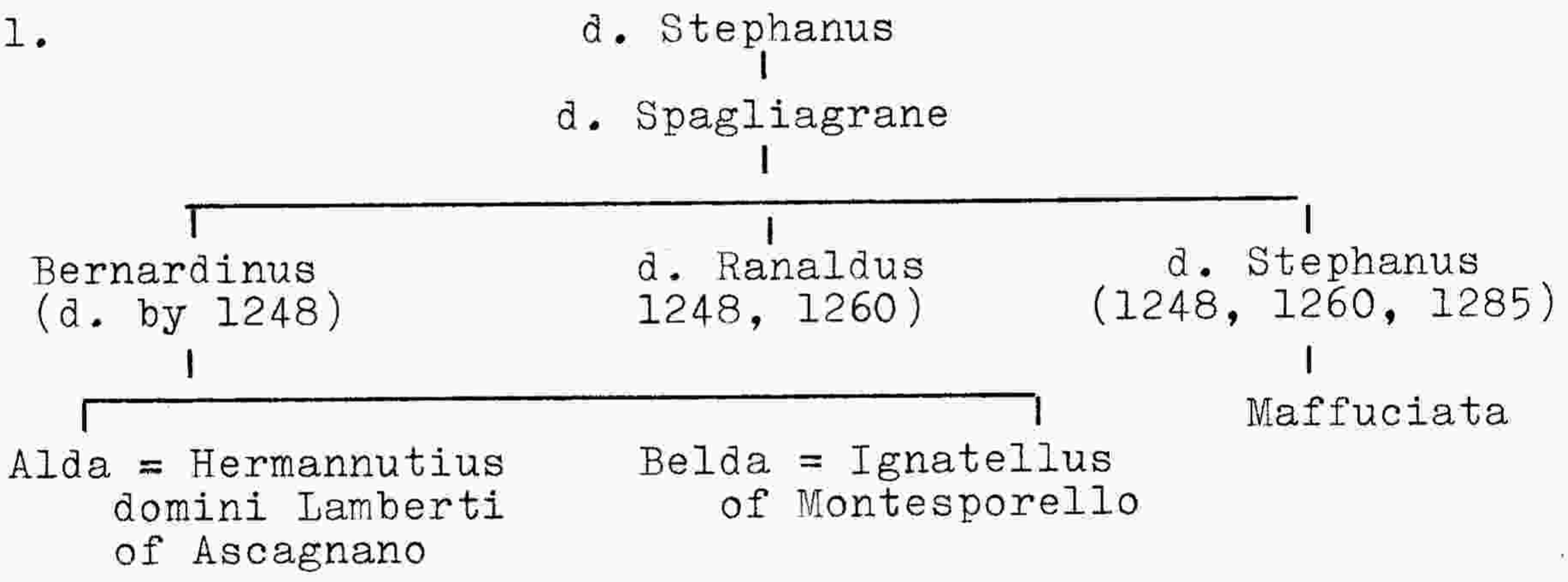
non-noble rural population, rather than the main mercantile families within the town[1]. Marriage with the latter is a development which seems to take place from about 1350 and will be discussed later. The anti-magnate legislation emphasized that only those of knightly descent ex paterna linea were to be included in the magnate class, and the provisions for the sale of land in the Chiugi by nobles specifically excludes any land held by the daughter of a magnate/noble who had married into the popolo[2].

In studying inheritance customs, all recent work has remarked strongly upon the tendency from the eleventh century to limit the daughter's share to her dowry or an equivalent sum of money, excluding her from any more general claims in the patrimony[3]. A tendency towards a vertical male inheritance structure has been noted. Documentary silence at Perugia prevents our charting this process at all, but it must be admitted that the only thirteenth

1. For example ASP. Diplomatico VI P6 c.33 no.55 'domina Phylippa filia olim domini Oddonis domini Ungari uxor Bartolomi ser Cardi Nicholutii'. See also discussion of the Coccorano marriages pp.221-2
2. ASP. Statuti XII iv/rub.85; ASP. Miscellanea XXIII f.2v.
3. See most recently C. VIOLANTE C. 'Quelques caracteristiques des structures familiares en Lombardie, Emilie et Toscane aux XIe et XIIe siècles' in Famille et Parenté pp. 87-147; CAMMAROSANO P. 'Aspetti delle strutture familari nelle città dell'Italia comunale (secoli XII-XIV)' SM.3 ser XVI/i. (1975) pp. 417-35. and HUGHES D. 'Struttura familiare e sistemi di successione ereditaria nei testamenti dell' Europa medievale' in Quaderni Storici XXXIII 929-52.

century noble marriage about which we are informed in any detail suggests that at this date there was still some doubt and fluidity about the share that a daughter might expect. The case in question comes from 1248 and refers to the family from Poggio Manente. From this document the family tree below has been constructed.[1] It reveals a series of marriages between three noble families from the contado - those of Poggio Manente, Montesporello and Ascagnano; and to resolve the dispute a representative of a fourth family, that of Antignolla, was chosen as arbiter. Conflict had

1.



D. Ranaldus and d. Stephanus are recorded in the 1260 grain assessment. The 1285 libra includes Spallia domini Ranaldi and d. Stephanus Spagliagrani with assessments of 5,500 and 5,000 respectively, and possessions in the town and contado of Perugia, Poggio Manente and Montone. (ASP. Libra I f.48r - P.S.A. S.Fortunato). Their descendants, Paulus domini Stephani, Nutius, Ninus and Rigutius Pelloli are registered in the L.R. (FABRETTI op.cit. p.114). The 1248 document is in ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.21. Generally, the family appears little in Perugian sources. Poggio Manente lay outside the Perugian contado, in that of Gubbio; Ranaldus and his brother were among the Eugubine nobles who allied with Perugia in 1258 (ASP. Somm. I ff. 95r-v). Otherwise, the only reference I have been able to find comes from 1312 when Paulutius Stephani was appointed podestà of Città della Pieve (ASP. Rif. XV f.38r).

arisen because the husbands of Bernardinus's daughters laid claim to part of the inheritance of Spagliagranus, their wives' grandfather. Contesting this were the two surviving sons of Spagliagranus: Stephanus and Ranaldus. The final decision in the matter is not reported, but the document appointing the arbiter speaks of an intended 'division'. If the daughters had received their dead father's share in full, this would presumably have brought about the loss of a third of the family's property in the space of one generation.

In the light of this, the general tendency to buy off daughters with a dowry or legacy is quite understandable, and it is perhaps not entirely coincidental that no other document of this kind survives from the succeeding years. Instead, there are the numerous clauses from the Coccorano pact which rigidly circumscribe the claims of the female members of the family[1]; there are rubrics in the statutes limiting the daughter's share and all information from the early fourteenth century which shows daughters of noble families receiving a limited sum only. The provisions of the will of dominus Leo Guidonis della Corgna were typical. He specified that a legacy only was to be paid to his daughters; his son, Franciscus, was to be heir general and should the latter die without male issue, Leo's two brothers

1. See below pp.212-3, 215.

were to succeed instead[1].

It is not known at what period the use of such clauses of entail or substitution developed at Perugia. The Coccorano documents of the 1280's and 1290's show that they were well-established usage both for the jurisdiction and for the landed possessions of a large comital family. Almost all the noble wills which are described in the early fourteenth century catasti mention substitutions and all the beneficiaries, as might be expected, were male. Dominus Venciolus domini Elimosine, for example, entailed his property upon all his sons, each inheriting the portion of another if any of them died without male heirs. Andrutius of Antignolla did likewise. In the 1363 will of Bandinus Neri Nardi, count of Migliano, his brothers profited in the same way[2]. This was not a practice limited to the upper classes of this date; the notarial volume of Pietro di Lippolo contains a large number of wills made by much humbler persons, and at least half of these contain clauses of substitution[3].

1. ASP. Catasti IV f. 176v.
2. ASP. Catasti XXVII ff. 3r,136v. UGHELLI Albero e Istoria pp. 193-4. For the subject generally see PETITJEAN M. Essai sur l'histoire des substitutions du IXe au XVe siècle dans la pratique et la doctrine specialment en France méridionale. (Dijon 1975).
3. RICCI P.R. 'Il notario perugino Pietro di Lippolo e le sue imbreviature del 1348' in Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Università degli Studi Perugia VII (Perugia 1971) 347-500.

If a dowry was all that a daughter received, nonetheless, it probably increased in value. This is again a difficult matter to judge adequately from lack of sufficient evidence before the 1330's. However, the Coppoli/Fuciarelli marriage which had taken place some time before 1288 involved a dowry of 510 lib. An agreement reached between Bernardinus Filippi of Montevibiano for his son, who was to marry Corradina, daughter of Bonconte domini Albertini, count of Petroia, speaks of a dowry worth 600 lib.[1]. By the 1330's the most noticeable thing about dowries is their variety. A thousand pounds seems perhaps a standard payment, but they might be anything up to four times as much. This is all very much more than the two figures given from an earlier period.

Thus, it was not the definition of noble status alone

1. See above p.120; for the Montevibiano dowry ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria della Misericordia Pergamene XIII sec.40
2. The following come mainly from the fragmentary catasti of the 1330's. The Armanni were owed 1,000 florins from the Prefetti di Vico, but only 500 florins from the Ranieri at a time when the florin was valued at about 78 Perugian soldi (ASP. Catasti VI f.20v, 21r, 29r; for exchange rates see BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp. 27-8 n.108). A Vencioli daughter received a dowry of 1,000 florins for her marriage to Giagnarellus Lelli, an individual whom it is hard to identify among the magnate class. (ASP. Catasti II f.10r). In his will, Ciutius Vegnatoli of Monte Nigro left 1,000 lib. each as dowries for two of his daughters (ASP. Catasti IV f. 196v). In 1359 Alexande Pelloli Vencioli estimated a dowry of 1,200 lib. to be fitting for a marriage between a Gabrielli of Gubbio and a daughter of the nobles of Rosciano. A certain caution is necessary in dealing with dowry figures; some are self-confessedly partial, but others may represent a part only, paid by one member of a consorzeria, or merely the remaining sum still outstanding.

that was in flux during the communal era; the internal structure of the nobility as a class and that of individual noble families were similarly fluid. The fragmentation of older families and the establishment of newer ones, often on land that had once formed part of the more ancient ecclesiastical and lay patrimonies, helped to create a more coherent family structure and gradually gave rise to the more clearly identifiable 'dynasties' of later medieval Perugia. In this period, extending into the early fourteenth century when it emerged as a hereditary class, the Perugian nobility was, and remained overwhelmingly landed and rural; the assimilation of other elements came later.

APPENDIX I THE RANIERI

To talk about the Ranieri before the late fourteenth century is, to a certain extent, wholly anachronistic; no such family is to be found by name in the Perugian archival sources until the 1370's. However, by following a trail backwards from the first appearance of this surname, some idea of the family's development can be gained. When Agostini dealt with the Ranieri in his Famiglie Perugine, he conflated two separate lineages: that of the marquises of Monte Santa Maria and the family which we find adopting this surname in the fourteenth century[1]. This error has tended to persist, and is, in part, very understandable. Ranerius or Ranieri were common enough names among the marquises in the early Middle Ages and beyond; furthermore, since the various branches of Bourbon of Monte Sorbello re-united in the nineteenth century they have called themselves Ranieri. But as far as can be seen, the group which emerged bearing the name de Raneriis in the late Middle Ages was not linked with the marquises in any direct way.

1. Archivio di San Pietro. CM 215 ff. 54-56, 63r-65v. Agostini traces the origins of the family back to a Germanic ancestor who settled in Umbria at the time of Otto III. He makes many genealogical connections to ca.1400. To determine how many of these were valid would be a labour of some months at least.

A certain Gluctus Munaldi appears at various times in the earliest communal documents. In 1203 he witnessed the submission to Perugia of Marescoltus Bernardi Dodici[1]; in 1207 he may well have been podestà[2]. In 1208 he was among those who witnessed the pact with Todi, and he was a witness to the Camaldoli donation and the submission of Montone in 1216[3]. Two years later he gave to Cardinal Ugolinus, bishop of Ostia and papal legate, a piece of land in Monteluce, destined for the foundation of the first convent of Clarissees at Perugia[4]. This is the last time that he is mentioned. Presumably, however, the Sensus Glucti of the Camaldolese witness list, whose name appears alongside that of Gluctus Munaldi, belonged to the same family.

The founder's descendants continued their involvement with Monteluce. This is shown in three documents now unfortunately lost, but summarised by Belforti in the last

1. ASP. Somm.II f.22v (Somm.LXXVIII). Another witness to this document was Buderrochus Albericii Tiberii who, as we shall see below, was a member of the Ranieri.
2. Annali e Cronaca p.145: el Ghiotto de Munalldo.
3. ASP. Somm.II ff.42r, 1v; I f.107r (Somm.LXXXV, XCIV, X for 1208, 1214 and 1216 respectively).
4. ASP. Corp.Relig.Sopp.S.Maria di Monteluce Pergamene I.19: '... per longum quadraginta passus et per amplum trigina passus de mea terra quam habeo in pertinentiis perusine civitatis in asio Montis Lucis cui a capite est via, a pede teneo ego, Bonuscomes Ebbli et consortes, ab uno lato ego et ab alio Buderocchius'. A cathedraticum of one pound of wax was to be paid annually to the bishop. Bonuscomes Ebbli also figures in the early communal documents; he was, for example, consul in 1214 (ASP. Somm.II f.26v - Somm.XCIII).

century. In 1228, Taddeus Glucti sold to Ambrogius, who accepted on behalf of the papacy, two pieces of land near the church of Monteluce and half of another piece which he held pro indiviso with his uncle Buderrocchus. The latter also held land next to that of the original donation. In 1230 Bionda, daughter of the late Rubbeus Petri and widow of Tancredus Sensi, gave to the Clarissees all that she possessed near Lupaccione and Montelegualtieri for the souls of her husband and father. Finally, in 1260 Ugolina,daughter of Glottus Munaldi, sold a piece of woodland near Columella to Monteluce for 50 lib. to pay the legacies she had established.[1]

From the mid-thirteenth century it is possible to establish three branches of the family with some clarity. In 1259, dominus Sensus domini Tancredi Glucti miles witnessed the creation of an ambassador to negotiate peace terms with Gubbio[2]. He is doubtless to be identified with the dominus Sensus de Glutto who was listed among the contado magnates of 1260 (P.S.S.)[3]and who, in the same year, was condemned for having risen to speak in council before

1. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria di Monteluce Miscellanea XXI - Belforti G. Indice dell'Archivio del Monastero di Monteluce. pp. 6-7, 22. Budrocchus and his son, Filipuccius, appear in the 1260 catasto with land in Mantignana,Madrellis and Fontanella, which were typical areas of Ranieri influence. (ASP. Catasti I f.11v)
2. ASP. Somm. I f.10v (Somm. XXXVIII).
3. ASP. Rif. IV f.162r.

all the resolutions had been read. A further condemnation of 1266, this time for violence, gave rise to one of the few recorded instances of appeal from Perugia to the pope[1]. In August 1267, Clement IV wrote to the commune on behalf of nobilis vir Sensus Tancredi de Glucto concivis vester. Since the Perugian statutes declared confiscate the property of all who appealed outside the Perugian courts, he feared for his lands ('castra, turres, domos, edificia vineas quosque ac arbores'). The pope requested he be allowed to proceed in peace with his appeal against a 1,000 lib. fine[2].

In the fragmentary catasto of 1260 he is entered under Porta Sole in the parish of Sant'Andrea with a considerable amount of land in Mantignana and Pacciano. Nineteen homines and their families are enumerated in his assessment[3]. The only other person to declare the possession of homines was dominus Tancredus Giptii, a representative of another branch of the family. He stated that he had four homines, but two subsequently fled. The land which

1. ibid. ff.412r, 425r.
2. For the text of the papal bull ASP. Diplomatico. Bolle, Brevi Diplome I P3 c.2 no.43. The incident is discussed in SEGOLONI D. 'Bartolus de Sassoferrato e la civitas perusina' Bartolo da Sassoferrato. Studi e documenti per il VI centenario.(Milan 1962) II 593 n.42 Sensus Glucti is referred to as nobilis throughout. See also ASP. Rif. VI f.102v (8 Oct. 1268) - condemnation and absolution of Sensus Glucti.
3. ASP. Catasti I ff.27r-29v (P.S. S.Andrea)

Tancredus held was also in Mantignana as well as in Castiglione filii Fuschii and in Mandrallis. He had two pieces of land in common with dominus Sensus Tancredi, and he further assigned 'partem suam silvae Mantignane quam habet cum domino Senso et domino Iacobo et aliis consortibus'[1].

Another entry in the 1260 catasto almost certainly refers to a third branch of the family. This is the individual named dominus Iacobus domini Simonis Bonensigne who is to be identified with dominus Merlinus of the 1285 libra[2]. He was the grandson of another leading early thirteenth century figure: Bonensigna Abbatis who had in 1174 witnessed the submission of the Isola Minore, had been consul twice and in 1199 was podestà of Arezzo.[3] Dominus Merlinus is also described as dell'Abbate and one of his sons is similarly named[4].

1. ibid. ff.3v-5v (P.S. S.Andrea). He also held a vineyard near Monteluce.
2. ibid. f.30v.
3. For the Isola Minore submission ASP. Somm. II f.37r (Somm.LXI). He was consul in 1188 (I f.114r Somm.III) and in 1201 (II f.29r - Somm.LXXIV). He also witnessed a document of 1181 in which the marquis Guido handed over Rance to the abbey of Valdiponte (ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria Valdiponte Pergamene cass. III no.22). As podestà of Arezzo Annales Aret. p.3.
4. I am grateful to Prof. U. Nicolini for the reference to Simon domini Iacobi alias domini Merlini dell'Abbate. For Abbate domini Merlini see ASP. Rif. I f.84r (1300).

In 1292 further light is shed upon the descendants of Sensus and their land at Pacciano. In that year Perugia carried out a survey of the communanze in the Chiugi because Glutulus and Tancredolus, sons of the late Sensus Glucti, had tried to take over this major area of Perugian grain production in order to graze their cattle on part of it. The lands in question were near Pacciano, and the following resolution suggests very strongly that this was where the brothers habitually resided:

> Dictus dominus capitaneus precepit predictis Glutulo et Tancredo quo, pene et banno CC librarum debeant se separare ab eo et incontinenti ire ad castrum Pacciani et de illo se non debeant separare nisi velent Perusium redire sub pena predicta.[1]

Here they give the impression of being contado nobles based upon Pacciano.

In 1300, when Perugia bought a considerable number of houses in the so-called insula plateae, something of the family's urban properties can be glimpsed. They were considerable and very central[2]. Moreover, among the commune's acquisitions was a casamentum with a tower sold by Feolus Libriocti, Bacolus and Boccolus Angeli Libriocti and their brother Ventura; owners of the neighbouring property were the sons of Sensus Glucti and Tancredus Giptii. Feolus also

1. ASP. Miscellanea XII ff.5r-6v.
2. ASP. Rif. I ff.89r, 84r-v.

sold a *camera* which he held in common with the latter - 'cum predicto domino Tancredo et cum Glutulo et Tancredo domini Sensi et cum Symone suo fratre'. Feolus was the owner of a fourth part *pro indiviso*. Dominus Ranaldus domini Tancredi Giptii represented other members of the family in the sale of a number of possessions, several of which were held *pro indiviso* with Feolus Libriocti. The latter was one of the leading figures in the *popolo*[1]. Although it is impossible to tell whether he was in actuality a member of the Ranieri family, that he should have been holding a quarter part of the so-called *camera de cantone* with three other persons who certainly were, is highly suggestive, as is the general proximity of his urban property to theirs. This was not the only time that the two names were linked. In the 1361 *catasto* entries, the guarantor for Iacobus Cheli domini Iacobi of the Ranieri was Bartutius Feoli Libriocti[2]. Thus, even if there were no blood relationship, there were certainly close associations between one of the main Perugian noble families and a leading representative of the *popolo*.

1. For Feolus Libriocti see BLANSHEI *Perugia 1260-1340*. - pp. 115-16 as consul in 1287, April 1292 and May 1297; pp. 117-18 as prior in July 1305, Nov. 1313; p.63 n.138 - his role in 1311 in supporting a less rigorous policy regarding the bearing of weapons and emblems and similarly in 1283 favouring the knightly *ludi*. ASP. *Libra* I f.59r (P.S. S.Andrea) - the *filii Libriocti* assessed for 2,000 *lib*.
2. ASP. *Catasti* XX f. 59r.

The 1334 catasto contains the record of a dowry payment still owing to Felcinus domini Hermanni for his wife, Margherita. The contributors to this payment were a group of ten persons, liable together for the outstanding 500 florins. They were: Sabursus and Sensolus Gluctoli, Chele domini Iacobi, Alexander and Octavianus Tancredi, Cionolus domini Iohannis, Simon domini Merlini, Mascius domini Iohannis, Vannolus Buse and Cione Neri domini Iohannis[1].

Many of these individuals have already been linked through the thirteenth-century catasti and sales of property, and a similar juxtaposition of names appears in the 1285 libra which lists in near succession the following names under Porta Sole: 'dominus Iohannes domini Uguitionis et nepotes, dominus Merlinus, filii domini Sensi et nepotes, dominus Tancredus Giptii'[2]. With the emergence of the surname almost all the figures named in the 1334 dowry payment can be shown to have belonged to the Ranieri clan. A peace agreement of 1384 was made by various of the Baglioni 'cum infrascriptis domini Raniero et Constatio et eorum consortibus'[3]. The two men in question here are identified more closely as dominus

1. ASP. Catasti VI f.20v.
2. ASP. Libra I f.59r (P.S. S.Andrea) - assessed at 800, 5,000, 8,000 and 3,000 lib. respectively.
3. ASP. Rif. XXXII ff. 257r-259r.

Ranierus Simonis de Raneriis and Constantinus Rogerii Tancredoli. The latter is a descendant of Sensus Tancredi Glucti, and his catasto entry of 1361 demonstrates that about three-quarters of his land was at Mantignana, an area we have already connected with the family in the thirteenth century[1]. By 1439, the catasto entry which deals with the descendants of Costantius accords them the surname de Raneriis[2].

Among the names in the matricola of the Mercanzia for 1377 were dominus Ranerius Simonis and Ludovicus Mascii domini Iohannis, both accorded the surname de Raneriis[3]. The latter can be linked with the branch of the family which goes back to dominus Iohannis domini Uguitionis of the 1285 libra, and whose sons and grandsons appear in the Libro Rosso: Mascius and Duraczus domini Iohannis domini Uguitionis, Cione and Cinus Neri domini Iohannis domini Uguitionis. The first named of these was the father of the Ludovicus who bore the Ranieri surname in 1377[4].

These genealogical investigations provide some picture of the Ranieri family branches before the latter part of the fourteenth century. Certainly, it has only been by such

1. ASP. Catasti XX ff.226r-v (P.S. S.Severo).
2. ibid. f.227r.
3. Archivio della Mercanzia, Matricole II f.57r.
4. FABRETTI Documenti I 109. For the whole Ranieri clan 107, 109-110.

convoluted and rather abstruse connections that it has been possible to make a family grouping of these individuals at all. That this should be the case for one of the more important of Perugian noble families is in itself eloquent of a peculiar backwardness in Umbria in establishing formal structure and vocabulary to demonstrate kinship in official records.

Four branches of the Ranieri to mid-fourteenth century.

(a)

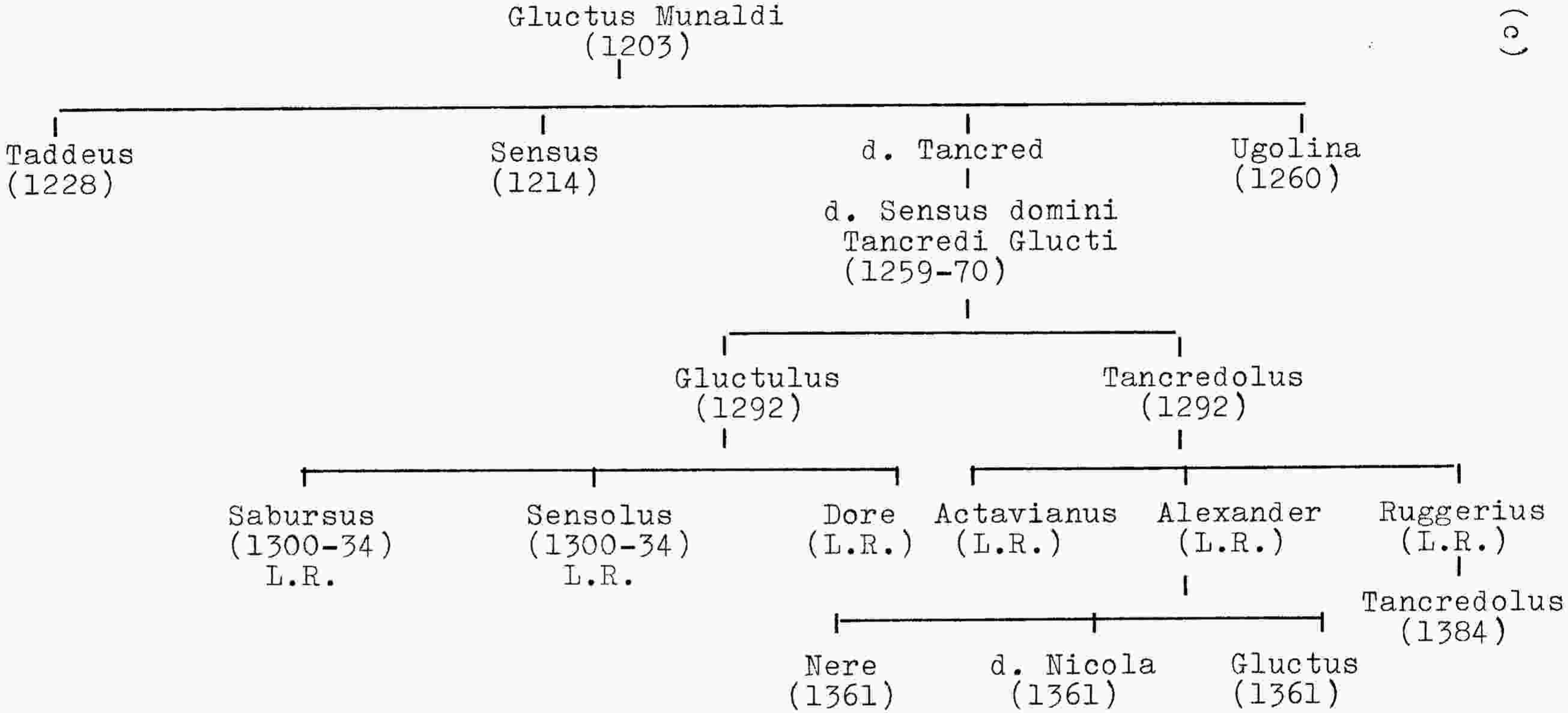
Bonensigna Abbatis
(1174-1199)
|
d. Simon Bonensigne
|
d. Iacobus domini Simonis
(1260-85)
|
|
Chele (L.R.) — Simon (L.R.)
|
Iacobus (1361) — Ranerius (1384)

(b)

d. Tancredus
(1260)
|
d. Ranaldus
(1300)
|
Pellolus
|
Nere
(L.R.)

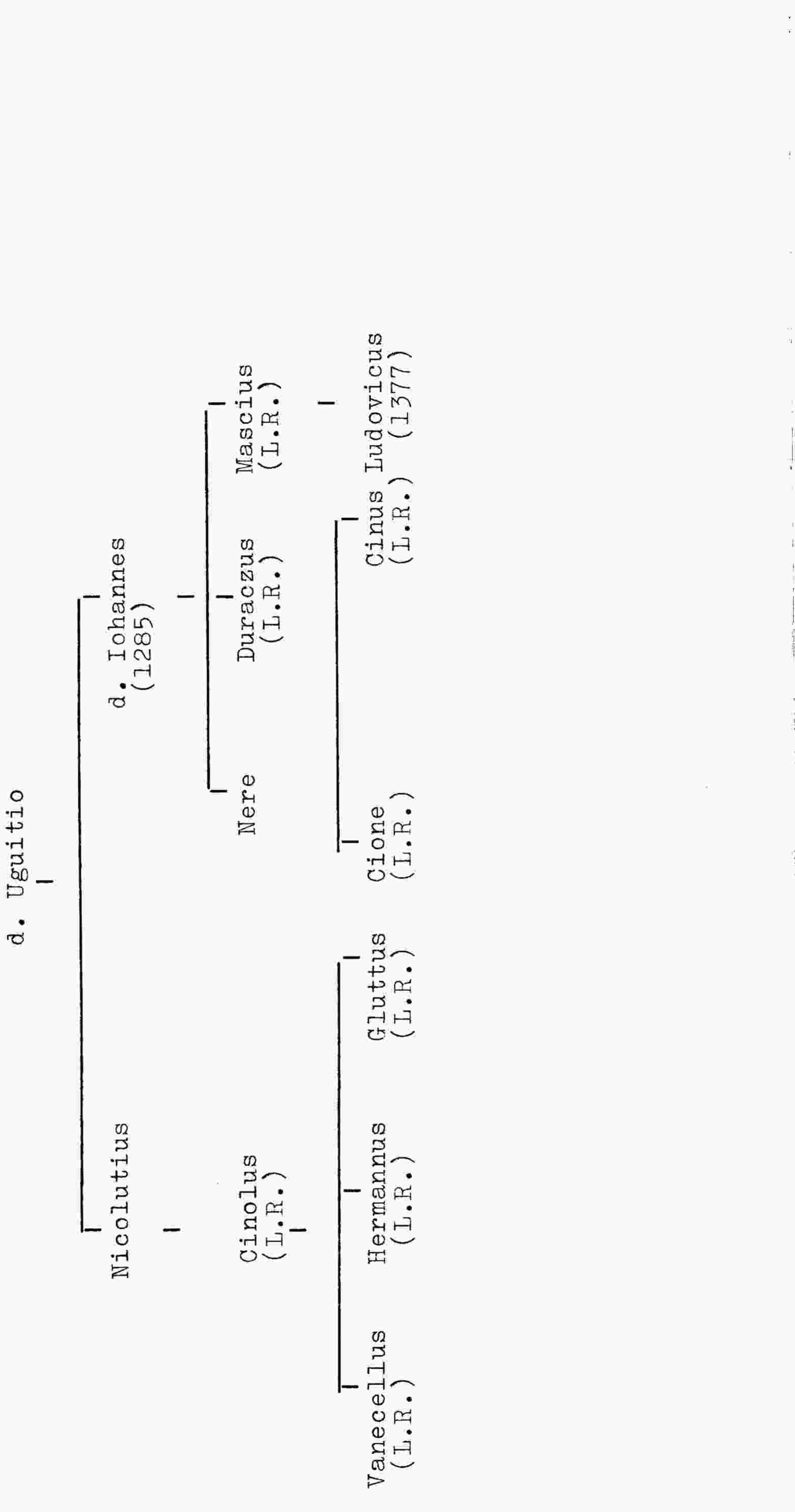
Dates refer to periods during which individuals appear in the sources. L.R. denotes an entry in the Libro Rosso.

(c)


Gluctus Munaldi
(1203)
Taddeus
(1228)
Sensus
(1214)
d. Tancred
d. Sensus domini
Tancredi Glucti
(1259-70)
Ugolina
(1260)
Gluctulus
(1292)
Tancredolus
(1292)
Saburs us
(1300-34)
L.R.
Sensolus
(1300-34)
L.R.
Dore
(L.R.)
Actavianus
(L.R.)
Alexander
(L.R.)
Ruggerius
(L.R.)
Tancredolus
(1384)
Nere
(1361)
d. Nicola
(1361)
Gluctus
(1361)

193

(d)


Uguitio
d. Iohannes (1285)
Nere
Duraczus (L.R.)
Masci (L.R.
Cione (L.R.)
Cinus Ludov (L.R.) (13
Nicolutius
Cinolus (L.R.)
Hermannus (L.R.)
Gluttus (L.R.)
Vanecellus (L.R.)

APPENDIX II. THE MONTEMELINI

The Montemelini are probably the best-documented family in the early history of Perugia. They possessed no surname; nor were they usually described by reference to their contado toponymnic. Nonetheless, a mosaic of overlapping fragments of evidence and the recurrence of certain forenames allows us to piece together the story of their development. Here we shall be concerned only with the period to the mid-thirteenth century.

The first documented representative of one of the branches of the family was Iacobus Francisci, who in 1208 witnessed the sale of Fossato[1]. He was the father of Andreas Iacobi, podestà of Perugia in 1218 and witness to the alliance of the Perugian milites with Città di Castello in 1225[2]. Either he or Andreas Tiberii (see below) is likely to have been the messer Andreas perugino whom Villani recorded as podestà of Florence in 1228[3]. In 1237-9 he was podestà of Todi and in 1241-2 of Perugia[4].

1. ASP Somm. II. f.70v (Somm. LXXXVII)
2. ASP Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria di Monteluce Pergamene I. 19. This confirms the notices given by Mariotti and the vernacular annals by listing Andreas Iacobi potestas as witness to a donation. For the 1225 alliance FORTINI Nuova Vita III 612.
3. VILLANI Cronica IV/4.
4. CECI G. 'Podestà, Capitanei e Giudici di Todi'. BU III (1897) p.312 Annali e cronaca p. 148.

A second branch of the family consisted of the descendants of Rainaldus Mariani. His son, Saracinus, was among the witnesses to the second imperial privilege for Perugia, dated 1195[1]. Further sons, Tiberius and Rusticus, were involved in a dispute with the commune in 1200-2 concerning certain of their lands[2]. Their sphere of influence in the contado is very clearly defined in this case. The boundaries of their lands stretched in one direction 'a via de molo usque ad pontem marmorei secundum quod vadit Mons Milinus ad Montem Sperellum usque ad lacum' and in the other direction 'a via de molo usque ad Sanctum Rufinum et usque ad lacum et a rivo Macerone versus Montem Sperelli et usque ad Anguilariam et usque ad puteum Valiani et usque ad lacum'. Also in question were possessions in Monte Malbe, Marzolo and Migiana. These rights were all eventually upheld against Perugia; the commune merely received rights of legnaticum in the woods of Montemelino.

Tiberius was consul in 1212 and witnessed the Camaldoli donation in 1214[3]. According to the vernacular chronicle, Rusticus was podestà of Perugia in 1212, but there is no independent documentary proof of this. He may also have been the Rusticus de Perusio, podestà of Arezzo in 1214 according to the Aretine annals, and he witnessed the peace

1. ASP Somm.II f.36v (Somm.LXVII)
2. ASP Somm.II ff.33r-34v (Somm.LXII, LXXV)
3. ASP Somm.II f.6v, 1v (Somm. XCI, XCIV)

treaty of 1217 which ended hostilities with Gubbio[1].
A further son of Rainaldus Mariani, Bucarellus, was among the witnesses to the submission of Cagli in 1219 and to the sale of land to the commune in 1234[2]. He had died before 1238 when he was referred to as quondam in a papal letter to his son, Saracinus, concerning Mejano. The latter was included among the contado nobles of 1260[3].

Andreas Tiberii, grandson of Rainaldus Mariani, also witnessed the sale of Fossato in 1208. He is said to have been podestà of Perugia in 1220, but as in the case of his uncle Rusticus, documentary evidence is lacking. He was, however, podestà of Arezzo in 1223, and his name appears among the milites of the 1220's. In 1230 he witnessed the Perugian alliance with Città di Castello, and he was podestà of Foligno in 1236[4]. He appears to have been dead two years later when his son, Andreas, was involved in a threat on Mejano. A second Andreas Tiberii is recorded about 1260; he was listed among the contado nobles, was councillor and witness and, in 1261, was elected podestà

1. Ann.Aret. Maior. p.4; ASP Somm. I f.8r (Somm.XI)
2. ASP Somm.I f.109v (Somm. XVI); II ff.63v-64r (Somm.CIV)
3. ASP Rif.IV f.162r.
4. Annali e cronaca p.146; Ann. Aret. Maior. p.4; PASQUI Documenti II 198; Frag. Fulg. Hist. p.10.

of Città di Castello[1].

During the first half of the thirteenth century the family made several acquisitions at the expense of the marquises. In 1202 the latter still held Montegualandro, which they submitted to Perugia; by 1238, however, it had passed to Andreas Iacobi. In that year the Montemelini also acquired the third part of Valiana[2]. In return they promised not to press for payment of the 6,500 sextarii of corn which the marquises Guidi and Uguitio owed for an unspecified purchase made by their father, Uguitio. Further debts, including a sum of six hundred pounds, were to be remitted. Except for the sale of Montegualandro, all previous contracts between the Montemelini and the marquises were to be annulled. The Valiana transaction is dated 24 November, 1238. In a papal letter of 13 January that same year Gregory IX requested Saracinus Bucarelli and Andreas olim Andree Tiberii not to usurp margraval rights in the castrum of Mejano which they held titulo pignoris[3].

1. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. p.346 for references. It is not easy to place him exactly within the Montemelini family tree. Possibly, he was the Andreas domini Andree Tiberii of 1238, but it is unusual for the Perugian sources to skip a generation in the use of the patronymnic in this way. More probably, he should be placed among the descendants of Rusticus or Bucarellus.
2. ASP Somm. I. ff.116r, 73r-74v (Somm.V XVIII)
3. Registres de Gregoire IX. ed. L.Auvray (Paris 1896-1908). II 871 (no.4048). Andreas Iacobi, the beneficiary of the Valiana sale, belonged to a different branch of the family from the protagonists of Gregory's letter. Possibly, the Mejano episode was entirely separate; but there is no available evidence to suggest that the Montemelini gained permanent control of it.

The sale of part of Valiana was probably a response to this threat. Excluded from this third part were certain lands within it which were then held as a fief from the margraves by one Manno Ugolini. The Montemelini gained control of these, too, in 1265 when Andreuccius domini Iacobi purchased them from Manno's daughter - 'quod est proprium iure proprio in perpetuum et per allodium et quod est feudum iure feudi'. The price of 681 pence was admitted to be much less than the real value of these lands, and the difference was to be regarded as a donation. It is likely, therefore, that Manno had also incurred obligations to the Montemelini[1].

In the 1240's the family fell foul of Perugia because of its support for Frederick II. Following the Guelf defeats at Spello in 1246 and at Orvieto in 1247 domini Ranerius, Andreas and Alvutronus domini Andree chose to surrender Montegualandro to the emperor. Their condemnation by Perugia was still preserved in the 1315 edition of the statutes. This provided for the confiscation of their lands

1. Manno's continued rights in Valiana after 1238 are revealed in a document of 1244 (ASP Somm.I ff.76r-77r, 77v-78r ,Somm.XX, XXI) in which the marquises gave him allodial rights in half of the podere that he held from them here; he continued to hold the other half as a fief. For the sale to the Montemelini ASP Somm.I ff.79r-v, 65r-66v (Somm.LI, LII). The first document,of 11 November 1264 and drawn up in Montepulciano, records the creation of a procurator. The actual sale took place in Perugia on 25 October 1265 and concerned lands which had passed to Iacoba domini Manni on the death of her brother, Bernardus, who had himself inherited from Manno.

in Montegualàndro, Ciboctula, Compignano, the sixth part of Montalera and part of the castle of Preggio. The homines they possessed in these areas were to be set free. Two vassals, dominus Bucarellus domini Farulfi and dominus Benvenutus de Lurto milites, suffered a similar fate[1]. The condemnation was confirmed by the pope, and in 1251 Montegualandro was destroyed, the grave of Andreas Iacobi being spectacularly desecrated[2].

From council minutes in 1256, it seems that Valiana also passed to the commune. By that date, however, moves were already afoot to restore their patrimony to the sons of Iacobus Andree Iacobi[3]. The pope took up the Montemelini cause,excommunicating the commune in 1262 and appointing delegates to give judgment[4]. They awarded to Andrutius and Iacopellus the third part of their grandfather's possessions and the castle of Compigano which had been given on his emancipation to Iacobus Andree Iacobi. Perugia was to pay 333 lib. for each year of its occupation of the Montemelini lands. A compromise was reached in April/May of the same

1. ASP Statuti XII 4/rub.32,33.
2. Annali e cronaca p.149. 'El corpo suo fo scanato e puoi traginato per tutta la citade de Peroscia'.
3. ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. p.23 'Si volunt quod raciones quas habet C.P. in Montegualandro et in Montalerio et in Valiano que fuerunt d. Raynerii Andree Iacobi vendantur cum Cluxio vel separatim'. ibid. p.43 'Quid faciendum est de hominibus Montis Gualandri qui dicunt se esse liberi de condictionibus quibusdam, quas tenebantur facere d. Raynerio Andree'. No decision is recorded.
4. ibid. pp.95, 149.

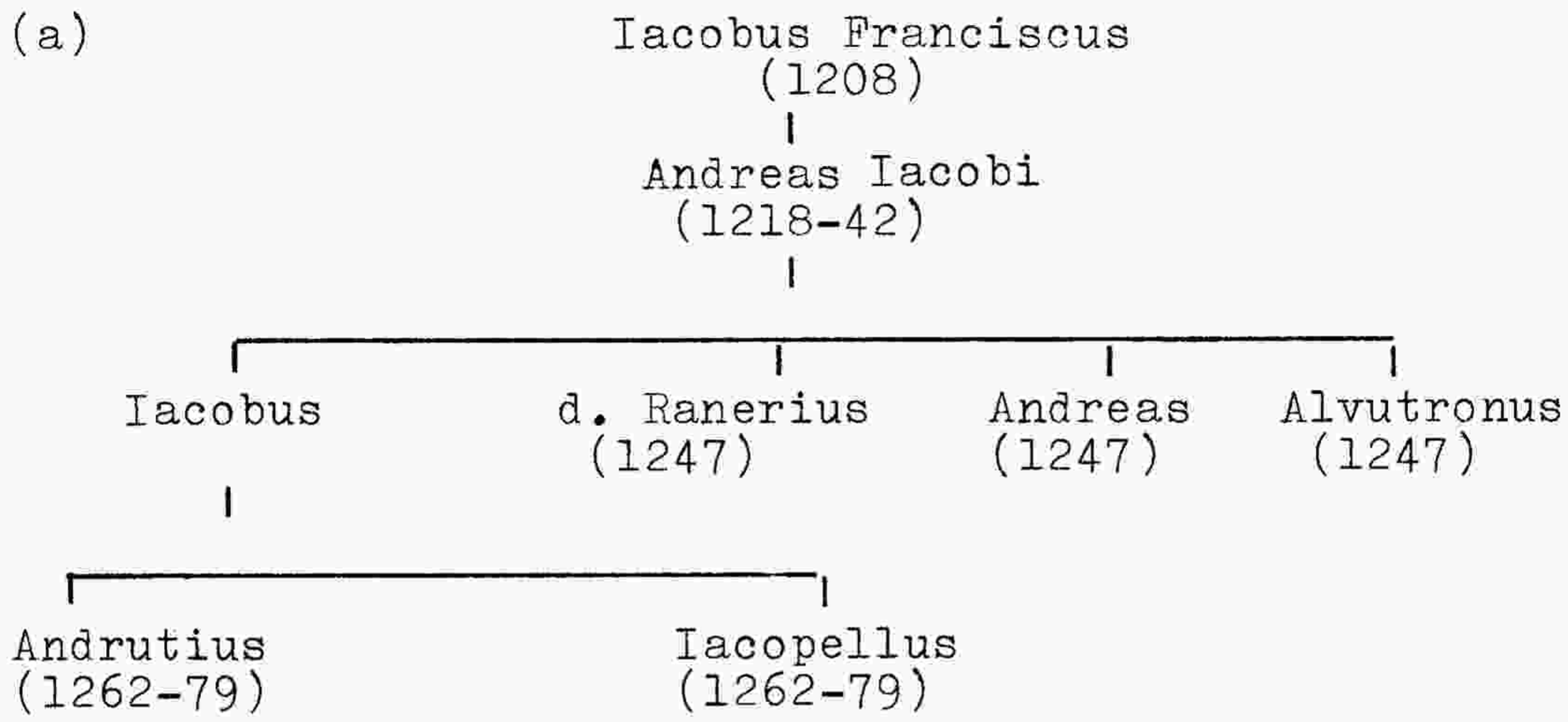
year, and the counsellor whose advice was finally accepted was himself a Montemelini, Andreas Tiberii. Instead of meeting the monetary penalty, Perugia returned to the two grandchildren the _podium_ of Montegualandro with the whole of its _curia_, _districtus_, _passagium_ and _iurisdictio_. Those portions of Montalera, Montiano and Valiana which had also belonged to Andreas Iacobi were also restored[1].

Thus, the family, although prey to political vicissitudes, was not seriously harmed during the mid-thirteenth century. Their earlier acquisitions from the marquises appear to have been fully confirmed and restored by the popular regime at Perugia.

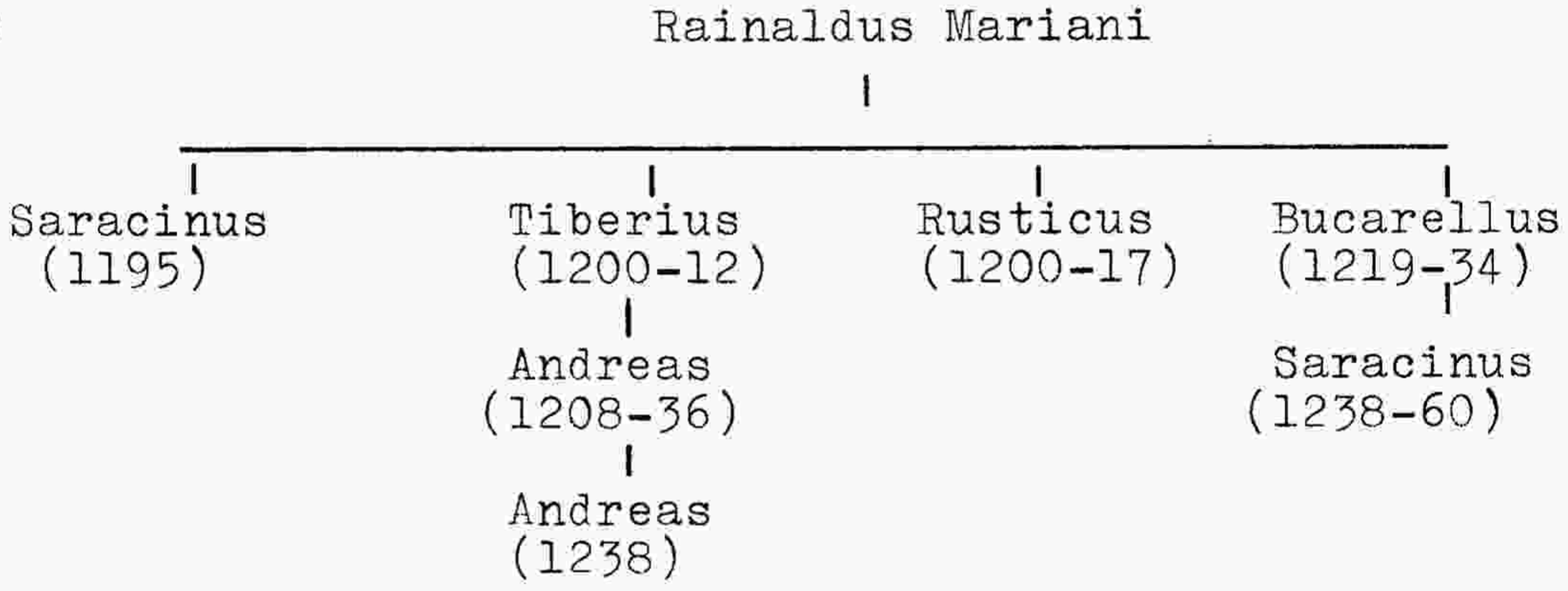
1. ASP _Somm_. I ff.57r-v, 67r-72v (_Somm_. XLIV-XLVIII).

The two lines of the Montemelini in the early thirteenth century.

(a)



(b)



CHAPTER III. THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY: THE FAMILY OF THE COUNTS OF COCCORANO.

This chapter seeks to investigate, through the history of one of the greater Umbrian families, how valid for this part of Italy are the general conclusions which have emerged from recent work concerning the fate of the territorial aristocracy in later medieval Italy. The pattern put forward has portrayed the great dynasties of the early Middle Ages as subject to a process of disintegration so that by the thirteenth century they were often divided into numerous branches and their patrimony irredeemably fragmented[1]. Thus weakened, they were more likely to lose their previous privileges and private jurisdictional powers.

For much of the Middle Ages our knowledge of the family of the counts of Coccorano is nothing more than a faint and misty outline; from this, now and then, considerable landmarks emerge. The early Eugubine charters offer no more than the occasional reference to a count. Usually, he would appear as witness rather than as an active participant in a

1. For a close association of family structure and the integrity of family lands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see MENANT 'Entre Milan et Bergame' p. 435. The division of the patrimony of the nobles of Calusco/Carvico is shown to have resulted in four separate branches. A similar process has been traced for the Berardenghi, see CAMMAROSANO La famiglia dei Berardenghi esp. pp.260-66 where the crystallisation in independent family nuclei is dated from 1125.

transaction, and these few notices are totally insufficient to construct any more general picture. Because of the recurrence of the name Ugolinus in the family during the succeeding half-century, it is tempting to identify the counts with the filii Hogolini who, in the 1186 privilege to Perugia, were excluded, together with three other families and the monastery of San Salvatore, from all Perugian jurisdiction[1]. This can, however, be no more than a plausible suggestion. Even in the thirteenth century the evidence, which is much richer, is nonetheless of an irregular nature. Attention has, therefore, been directed to the documents of the late thirteenth century and their various threads have been followed both backwards and forwards in time to illustrate how the family conceived of and organised itself and to outline some of the changes which it underwent. The best starting point is the agreement made in 1284 between the two branches of the family, those of Petroia and Coccorano, perhaps the single most illuminating document preserved from thirteenth-century Perugia.

In this pact, dated 28 October 1284, the family was divided into two lines[2]. That of Petroia was represented

1. See above pp.38-9.
2. ASP Rif. I ff. 62r-72v. For the family tree derived from this document and from the will of count Iacobus (1290) see below pp.247-8.

by Bonconte, Corradus and Ranaldus, sons of the late dominus Albertinus of Coccorano, together with their sons, Galeoctus domini Boncontis and Albertinellus domini Ranaldi, and their nephews, Uguitio and Ugolinus Ugolini domini Albertini. The Coccorano line was represented by dominus Iacobus domini Ugolini and his son, dominus Philippus. Various women of the family gave their consent to the document's terms and all are recorded as having had particular interests to protect. They were Baronesca domini Gentilis of Camerino, who was wife of dominus Iacobus, Agneta, the daughter of Albertinus and Bona, the daughter of dominus Nicola de Branca and wife of Contolus Corradi. The immediate cause of the gathering was a family dispute which was allowing Gubbio to make inroads upon the counts' lands. Perugia, Gubbio and the pope were to be asked to ratify the final text, and certain concessions were to be made to the two communes if they did so.

Throughout the document reference was constantly made to the will of Ugolinus <u>maior</u> of Coccorano, upon which the terms of this agreement were to be based. The subscribers gave a promise: 'non contravenire huic divisione quia non fuit conformis testamento quondam domini Ugolini maioris de Coccorano cum immo credatur esse maxime conformem'[1]. From the wording of the text, it appears that the testament

1. ASP <u>Rif.</u> I f.64r.

had aimed to preserve within the family all its possessions and jurisdictional rights: 'ad conservationem horum duorum castrorum Coccorani et Petroii in sua descendentia et posteritate usque in infinitum excludendo feminas saltem descendentes ex eis'[1]. It is almost certain that the will had also made some general provision for the dividing of the inheritance. Albertinus and Ugolinus Ugolini, so it was recorded in 1284, had divided their lands and other possessions, including mobilia, monies due from debtors and the buildings they owned, except for the palatia in Coccorano which were not divided until after their death. Included were lands in the contadi of Perugia, Gubbio, Assisi and elsewhere. However, no such division had been made of the jurisdictional rights pertaining to the comital castles, which formed an autonomous area outside the contadi of both Perugia and Gubbio[2]. These formed the bone of contention in 1284, and it is with them alone that the agreement is concerned.

Our first task is to establish a chronological setting for Ugolinus maior. Everything suggests that he is the same Ugolinus who was the father of Albertinus and Ugolinus. It makes eminently good sense to see the problems of 1284 as the concluding stage in a process of regulating the

1. ibid. f.64r.
2. ibid. f.62v. See map on p.249.

inheritance which had been initiated some fifty or so years earlier. Furthermore, the following statement seems to put the gap between the two very clearly at no greater than one generation. In an attempt to define those who were to be considered as counts of Coccorano, or as it was also put, 'de hac agnatione de Coccorano', the following were included:

> ... omnes descendentes de masculiis quondam domini Ugolini maioris sive per stirpem quondam domini Ugolini Novalli sive per stirpem quondam domini Albertini nunc[1] in vita existentes vel in futurum nascituri in infinitum.

Exactly the same notion appears almost a century later in the 1370 catasto entry[2]. Thus, Ugolinus maior played a fundamental role. He seems to have been the decisive element in a new phase of family history, and his testament is probably to be dated to the first decades of the thirteenth century. The fact that Ugolinus Ugolini, brother of Albertinus, was called Ugolinus Novellus may be a further indication along the same lines. Our ignorance of the previous centuries of comital history is particularly regrettable, but it would be entirely unreasonable to suppose that there was no comital history before this date; they are certainly not a thirteenth century creation.

Reference is made in the pact to an ancestor who lived

1. ibid. f.65v.
2. ASP Catasti XXXIV f.30r.

two centuries earlier. It appears as part of a clause binding the counts to an alliance with Perugia and Gubbio, should the two communes ratify the accord. The counts would then be pledged to offer support against all except pope, emperor and a further list of favoured persons:

> Item non teneantur venire contra habentes legitime titulum regis Ierusalem in memoriam regum Gottifredi et Balduini a quibus dominus Ranaldus senior de Coccorano fuit summe beneficatus nec contra reges Britannie in memoriam sanctissimi et beneficentissimi Regis Eduardi et successorum a quibus multos favores semper habuit familia Comitum de Coccorano nec contra marchiones de Colle nec contra marchiones de Montemexano nec contra dominos de Varrano[1].

How sceptical should one be of this? That the early medieval Italian aristocracy could have long and accurate memories of itself, stretching back for several centuries, has recently been demonstrated by Violante[2]. Moreover, the Coccorano pact is a sober legal document, not a piece of fanciful propaganda, and its aim was to settle a dispute, not to extol the family. Everything which it contains, if it is verifiable - and much of it is - can be shown to have been perfectly accurate.

The local names mentioned above are precisely those

1. ASP Rif. I f.71v.
2. VIOLANTE 'Structures familiales' pp.91-2. Among other instances, he records that in 1046-7 Anselm the Peripatetic was able to trace five generations of his family in his Rethorimachia, and the Berardenghi, when in 1003 they refounded Fontebuona, were perfectly clear as to the role played by the original founder, Winnigis, in 867.

which we would expect, since all can be shown to have enjoyed close relations with the comital family. The agreement itself speaks of marriage alliances among these various kins, and the association between the counts of Coccorano, the marquises and the lords of Varano is further illuminated by an incident of 1288. In this year the marquises,reluctant as ever to pay off their Perugian creditors, were threatened with the possibility of a military expedition against them. In an attempt to prevent this, dominus Iacobus of Coccorano sent an embassy to Perugia in which he enumerated the good services which the counts had rendered to the commune and the links between the comital family and the marquises, suggesting that he should be allowed to effect a settlement between the two parties. In the letter Iacobus also recalled that the aid he furnished Perugia had been strengthened by the participation of the late dominus Gentile of Camerino. The petition had more than the desired effect; it was debated whether perhaps Perugia itself might not settle the marquises' debts[1]. This is not merely an instance of the prestige and influence of the counts, for it demonstrates more particularly the mutual consciousness possessed by the greater families of this area and the obligations which bound them together.

1. ASP Rif.X f.102r-v. In the debates surrounding this petition specific mention was made of Perugian gratitude to the nobiles iuvenes Uguicionellus and Ugolinutius domini Ugolini, described as consobrini of the marquis of Montemexano, the present defaulter on his debts.

Thus, if the counts had a similar sense of obligation towards the kings of England and of Jerusalem, the burden of proof seems to rest on those who wish to retain an inordinate suspicion. There is nothing too far-fetched in supposing an involvement in the Crusades, and if the counts' memories were unfounded, we then face the even more intriguing question: why ever Edward the Confessor? If the statement is accepted at its face-value, therefore, it appears that into and beyond the thirteenth century the counts continued to remember those ancestors who had brought into the family traditions which succeeding generations found it incumbent upon them to respect. Of other ancestors, however, nothing is heard. In the centuries of comital history, the figure of Ugolinus _maior_ marked a turning-point, that at which the ordering of the patrimony took on a more definite form, and Ugolinus himself appears very much as _capostipite_ of the generations that followed.

The detailed terms of the 1284 compromise will bear close analysis. Jurisdictional rights were divided into two parts. To the descendants of dominus Albertinus were accorded the castles of Petroia, Pile, Codale and that part of Coccorano which they held _iure proprio_. Codale, it was stated, had not belonged to the family when Albertinus and his brother agreed to divde their lands and chattels[1].

1. ASP Rif. I f.63r.

To the other branch of the family went Coccorano, Biscina and Ghiomisci[1]. The villa of Santo Stefano Arcelle would be given to Gubbio if the town agreed to observe the counts' rights; Perugia was to receive Collalto for a similar ratification, and an undertaking to continue to protect the family[2]. Then follow extremely detailed provisions concerning the apportioning and devolution of the castles within the two branches. Two general points may be made. The castles of Petroia and Coccorano emerge as the centre of the patrimony; more rigorous measures were taken to safeguard their future than for the remaining possessions, and each became the seat of one branch of the comital family. In 1258, when they made an alliance with Perugia, Albertinus and Ugolinus were both styled counts of Coccorano, but, from the late thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth, a distinction was almost always made between the comites de Coccorano and those of Petroia, and this is particularly clear in the Libro Rosso[3]. The two castles were not equal, however. Coccorano remained at the head of all the comital possessions and was described as 'clavis semper et caput iurisdictionis'.

1. ibid. f. 63v.
2. ibid. f. 64r.
3. ASP Somm. II f.78r-v (Somm.CXLIV). FABRETTI Documenti I. 106, 110, 111. For example d. Iohannes domini Filippi comes de la Biscina et de Coccorano; Boccaccius Albertinelli comes de Petrorio, filii Feltrani Albertinelli comites de Petrorio and other members of the Petroia branch.

Secondly, the text is full of entail provisions. In the first attempt to grapple with the matter, the entail clause is set out in general and programmatic terms and the rights of primogeniture are traced through the whole gamut of possibilities right down to the third-born child of the fourth-born son[1]. It is evident that all the more concrete provisions follow from this general principle. For example, if dominus Philippus had no sons to inherit Biscina, then it was to pass to other sons of dominus Iacobus; doubt, however, was expressed that there would be any, since Iacobus and his wife were old. In that case the castle would pass to dominus Albertinus by reason of primogeniture[2].

For Petroia, whilst Bonconte, Corradus and Ranaldus were alive, they together with their nephews, Uguitio and Ugolinus, who represented the primogenitive line, were to share equally in the castle's jurisdiction. The first three, however, were not to pass on these rights beyond their grandchildren's generation. Then the strict rules of primogeniture would come into play and the jurisdiction would pass to Bigazzinus Uguitionis alone and, in defect of heirs of his body, to Puciaptus Ugolini. A woman might hold the jurisdiction of the castle solely in her own

1. ASP Rif.I f.64v.
2. ibid. f.68v.

lifetime (*in vita sua*). The entail was traced through the different lines of descent from dominus Albertinus domini Ugolini until, in the event of a total failure of the house of Petroia, the jurisdiction would pass to the Coccorano line. Any persons alienating the castle or in any way prejudicing comital control over it were to be considered as if dead (*pro defunctis*) and could not inherit. For whatever reason the castle might be alienated, it could always be recovered; no length of possession would give to an unlawful holder rights of prescription. Primogeniture again determined who should hold the jurisdiction after such a recuperation, although any member of the family who had failed to make claim in the thirty years after attaining the age of twenty-five would lose his rights in a subsequent recuperation and the castle would pass to the next in line of succession[1]. A special provision was made for the dowry assignment in Petroia, held jointly by Branca and her husband, Contolus Corradi. It was to continue in their line for three generations and the couple could bestow it as they wished, but at the end of this time it was to return to the *iurisdictio* of Petroia[2].

For Codale, on the other hand, although it too was not

1. *ibid*. ff.64v-65r.
2. *ibid*. f.66r-v.

to pass to the female line, the requirement of primogeniture was waived. Bonconte and Ranaldus were to hold it either as a joint tenancy or a tenancy-in-common. It could only pass from the family by means of exchange or by reason of dire necessity, such as to defend the life of one of the counts or to secure the continued possession of Coccorano or Petroia. For Pile a similar division was envisaged. Half was accorded to Conradus Albertini and the other part to Uguitio and Ugolinus Ugolini[1].

Of the castles adjudged to the Coccorano line, Ghiomisci was to pass from dominus Iacobus to his son and thence according to primogeniture. The Biscina belonged to dominus Philippus, and again, daughters were excluded from it. However, for the duration of the recently-contracted marriage between Philippus and Ghisa Bernardini domini Ugolini of Marsciano, the castle was to be given to his wife, provided that all members of the family agreed[2].

For Coccorano itself the position is more complex. In 1284 dominus Iacobus held the castle, and after his death it would pass to his son. No woman might ever hold the castle - nec minus in vita earum. Thus, if the line

1. ibid. f.67r-v.
2. ibid. ff.69v-70r.

should die out and the jurisdiction be transferred to the Petroia branch, any woman who might then possess a life interest in the jurisdiction of Petroia could not succeed equally to Coccorano. In such a case,it was to pass immediately to the next male in order of succession. The only exception allowed in this total exclusion of women touched those who already held property in Coccorano. Baronesca, the wife of Iacobus, had toleave the land she possessed to her son. The other two women, Agnes and Gaudens domini Albertini, both of whom were born into the family rather than married into it, might institute heirs as they wished. If those heirs were extranei, they must exchange their bequest for some other land which did not possess jurisdictional rights ('cum alio terreno non iurisdictionali'). In any event this land might be separated from the rest of Coccorano for three generations at the most, commencing with the heirs of the daughters of dominus Albertinus. The three-generation rule was a very definite one. It was applied similarly to those members of the Petroia branch who held land iure privato in Coccorano. A clear statement was made:

> Dicta petia et tenimenta terrae et bona stabilia quelibet que posita sint in territorio castri Coccorani non possint esse disiuncta et separata a reliquo territorio dicti castri quoad iurisdictionem, imperium et regalia nisi usque ad tertiam generationem.[1]

1. ibid. f.69v.

A similar practice has already been noted for Petroia itself.

Whilst Coccorano had been accorded to Iacobus, it was also stated that some residual jurisdiction was held by all descendants _in infinitum_ from Ugolinus _maior_, unless they were expressly excluded by Iacobus. With this we reach what the documents term limited and full jurisdiction (_limitata iurisdictio_ and _plena iurisdictio_). It was the former in which all descendants might share; the latter in 1284 was reserved to Iacobus. The limited jurisdiction gave to all the descendants of Ugolinus _maior_ the right to style themselves _comites de Coccorano_. The same concept of limited jurisdiction applied to Petroia, but here it was restricted to the progeny of dominus Albertinus, all of whom might call themselves _comites de Petroia_. Theoretically, therefore, a younger son of the Petroia branch might be termed either _comes de Petroia_ or _comes de Coccorano_. In practice, this rarely happened. The two branches were distinguished by their use of titles and all members tended to adopt their respective title. The employment of the comital title by all members of the lineage was not at all unusual in Italian history by this date; what it would be interesting - if probably impossible - to know, is whether this was a thirteenth century innovation for the Coccorano family, and, more generally, to assess the antiquity of the distinction between limited and full jurisdiction.

The former was defined as follows:

> Sed sit tamen limitata non generalis ad omnia videlicet sit restricta ad habendam certam superioritatem in dictis castris ad ministrandam etiam iustitiam civilem et criminalem, decidendo causas civiles mercedum et que summarie et de pleno procedant, cognoscendo et graviores sed non decidendo sine licentia habentis pleno iure regalia, immittendo in possessionem, puniendo debita pena pecuniaria vel corporis afflictiva ad necem, tamen exclusive et mutilationem membrorum exclusive[1].

Included also were fishing rights in the river Chiascio wherever it touched the territory of the counts. Holders of the lesser jurisdiction were exempt from the payment of gabelles, both to whomever possessed the plena iurisdictio, should he impose a tax on those within this territory, and also to any outside authority, although here no towns or persons are specifically mentioned. However, if one of the counts were to alienate land within the territory of Coccorano to anyone outside the family, the immunity would not pass too, but would revert to the holder of the full jurisdictional rights. To the latter pertained

> ... facultas quaslibet gravissimas causas et de plena potestate decidere, applicare sibi aut quibus volent, emolumenta de penis colligenda,capitali pena damnare et absolvere, imponere et colligere quas velint gabellas et collectas census et tributa a subditis et vassalis originariis inquilinis adscriptitiis censitisque, monetas cudere, leges et statuta condere et omnia et singula et quaecunque iurisdictionalia exercere maiora et minora et merum et mixtum imperium et regalia plenissime.

From rights of full jurisdiction all bastards were to be

1. ibid. f.70v.

excluded unless they had previously been legitimised by subsequent marriage or by the agreement of all members of the Coccorano _proles_. No other legitimisation could be considered valid for this purpose, even if granted by pope or emperor. From the limited jurisdiction, however, bastardy was not a disqualification[1].

Having thus established and divided jurisdictional rights, the remainder of the document deals with matters such as relations with Perugia and Gubbio[2]. Ratification of the pact and the possibility of future modifications to it were discussed. Wives and sisters of the house were to confirm these terms and minors to give their consent when they reached the age of twenty-five. Any changes to the agreement were similarly to be made by all the counts with the consent of their wives and of those daughters who had not yet married out of the comital house[3]. But no alteration could ever be made which would separate the castles of Petroia and Coccorano from the family

... cum hoc sit expresse contra testamentum quondam domini Ugolini maioris volentis dicta castra omni tempore in hac progenie conservari quod testamentum debet[4] omnino aliis omnibus aliorum dispositionibus prevalere.

No testamentary dispositions of any count were ever to have

1. _ibid_. f.70v.
2. _ibid_. f.71r-v.
3. _ibid_. f.72r.
4. _ibid_. f.72v.

validity as regards jurisdictional rights; these were to be dealt with solely in unanimous decisions of all the counts. Excluded from participation were all who had entered the Church, not for odium religionis but to prevent confusion and to ensure that no clerics should exercise power and jurisdiction with the counts[1].

A final point which emerges from this document is the right of the counts to create notaries. The notary who drew up this charter signed himself 'Franciscus de castro Coccorani imperiali et suprascriptorum comitum auctoritate notarius'. He may perhaps have been the family notary, since reference is also made to another document which he had written, the instrument assigning a tenimentum terrae in Petroia to Bona when she married Contolus Corradi[2]. The subscription of the notary suggests very clearly that the comital power to make notaries derived from imperial concession, but we cannot know in what form.

With the 1284 compromise we enter into the heart of the family's history. The powers which the counts still possessed were very considerable: but since the document was intended to meet a particular threat of disintegration, it is in order to wonder how far its terms reflected reality or whether they were rather programmatic statements of a

1. ibid. f. 72v.
2. ibid. f.66r.

rapidly vanishing ideal. To answer these questions, much more needs to be known about the internal structure of the comital patrimony. Why, for instance, were different castles subject to varying dispositions? Did this reflect a different origin and did it affect their subsequent history? Evidence must be sought for the continuation or otherwise of the jurisdictional rights outlined here, and the degree of solidarity between the two branches of the family should be investigaged. Relations with the two nearest communes of Perugia and Gubbio are also of fundamental importance. A rather erratic series of documents from the 1290's helps to illuminate these problems.

The will of dominus Iacobus of Coccorano of 1290 with its later codicils is in many ways exactly what one would expect. Noticeably absent is any reference to jurisdiction which, as has been shown, no longer entered within the competence of an individual count's will. Under discussion here were the <u>res mobilia et immobilia</u> along. Legacies were in money. Apart from these, his only son, Philippus, was created heir general, and an entail dealt with the eventuality of his dying without male descent. Whilst the male line received pride of place, in the absence of grandsons, the two daughters of Iacobus, together with any daughters Philippus might have, were to inherit with equal portions. In this case Iacobus's nephews, Abrunamonte and dominus Ugolinus Neroli, would receive a thousand Ravennese pounds

each. Further provisions were made lest his daughters die without heirs. Except for a number of pious bequests,all legatees belonged to the count's close family. Dowries were provided for his daughters, and his widow was also suitably cared for. Interest extended as far as his sisters' sons, and dominus Ugolinus Neroli was to act as fideicommissarius together with Iacobus's son; but the Petroia branch is not mentioned at all[1].

Important is the status of the families into which the Coccorano women tended to marry. The family trees show that these were usually marriages of equals. There was no question generally of disparaging the comital daughters, but unequal marriages were not completely unknown. In this will, Helena uxor quondam Fabrutii of Perugia received a settlement of two hundred Cortonese pounds, at most, half of the amount which was to go to Iacobus's daughters for their marriages to the Baglioni and the Fidesmira family of Fabriano. The use of the term quondam suggests that the marriage may have taken place some time previously, and the position of Helena herself is a little obscure. She was not specifically referred to with the words filia mea, but, on the other hand, she was to be allowed to return to the family house as a widow. For the rest of the family's history

1. Monastero della Beata Colomba, Perugia. Miscellanea Pergamene I (28 July 1322) - a copy of the will originally made in 1290 with codicils of 1291, 1292 and 1294.

the nature of the documentation tends to militate against our discovering lesser alliances; only those of a political significance deserved record. Only once can we be certain of such an unequal union. A contract of 1375 from Perugia records a payment made pro dote by Iacobus Bigazzini Uguitionelli, count of Petroia, to Christoforus Gioli of Petroia for the former's niece, Iannocta Filippi. The sum involved was sixty florins, which was not very considerable for the period[1].

Of interest also is the arrangement made by Iacobus that he should be buried in the church of Santa Maria Valfabbrica. Other sources show that the family had a definite interest in this dependency of the abbey of Nonantola. We know of it through its more violent aspects. In 1274 Iacobus, together with the abbot of San Vittore of Chiusi and other nobles from Gubbio and Camerino, invaded the monastery's lands, and a disputed election of the early fourteenth century reveals not only a similar involvement, but also the championing of the two parties, one by the Coccorano line and the other by that of Petroia. Iohannes Philippi of Coccorano occupied the priorate for twelve years from 1327, ejecting the previous incumbent, a certain Iohakinus. Despite papal letters to Perugia asking

1. ASP Diplomatico VI P.11 c.35 n.174. For comparison with other typical dowries of the first part of the fourteenth century see above p.180.

the commune to persuade Iohannes to relinquish his usurped place, as late as 1343, Iohakinus was still dispossessed. When he was eventually restored, it was with the aid of various of the counts of Petroia[1]. Unfortunately, the evidence is insufficient to allow us to construct anything approaching a coherent picture of the relations between the two branches of the family. A little hostility between them, consciousness of the close family group in testamentary practice: none of this is in the least extraordinary, nor does it conflict with memories of the lineage as a whole, and these continued to appear.

The study of the individual comital possessions is an equally difficult task. Of how and why Petroia and Coccorano came to the family, next to nothing is known. The documents occasionally speak of time immemorial, but can be no more precise than that. Codale, as has been seen, was definitely a recent acquisition in the thirteenth century. The same was almost certainly true of Ghiomisci, although its history is not entirely clear. In June 1240, the abbot of San Donato in Pulpiano leased to dominus Munaldus Suppolini for three generations the castle of

1. TIRABOSCHI G. Storia dell'Augusta Badia di S.Silvestro di Nonantula. (Modena 1783) II 430-2. See also BENSI G. La Badia Benedettina di Santa Maria di Valfabbrica e il suo castello. (Assisi 1974) pp. 32-2, 35-8.

Ghiomisci, its curia and its homines. Excepted were the houses and other possessions held by religious bodies there, the rights to the mill one day in each week, since they, too, belonged to the Church, and finally part of a wood in this curtis which had previously been held by a certain dominus Guido[1]. By 1258, however, the castle, or at least part of it, was within the hands of the counts and was included among their possessions in the alliance which they made with Perugia[2]. The terms of this agreement speak of a restitution that Gubbio was to make to the counts of a sixth part of the castle and a destruction of the novitas which they had erected in the castle. Whether the counts possessed more than a sixth part is not clear; nor has any record come to light of its transfer to them, although this may have been connected with the apparent financial difficulties which the Suppolini experienced at this time[3]. Whether it continued to be held from the abbot when it passed to the counts is also unknown. But that would have been nothing unusual; the counts of Marsciano, for example, held one of their main castles, Parrano, as a fief from the bishop of Orvieto[4].

For the Biscina, the sources are more generous,

1. ASG Diplomatico Comunale IV/8 (12 June 1240)
2. ASP Somm. II f.78v.
3. For example, ASP Somm. II ff.93v-94r (Somm.CLXVII) 3 Aug. 1263; see also below p.303-4.
4. Ut.sup. p.149.

although again it is unknown when it came into the family. A papal document of the mid-fourteenth century speaks of time for which the memory of man can give no origin. In 1258, it too figured in the alliance with Perugia. There can be no doubt that it was an asset of prime importance for the family, and its strategic position was underlined in a papal document which described it as the key to the Duchy of Spoleto: 'cum ipsum castrum propter suum situm sit custodia et clavis totius Spoletani Ducatus'. If the Biscina were invaded, the whole Duchy might easily succumb to rebellion. The fourteenth century witnessed several important changes in the status of the castle. It may possibly have been transferred from allodial possession to the status of a papal fief, although this remains a matter of some debate, and later it was lost to the family in precisely one of the ways which the 1284 pact sought to prevent - through acquisition by the family of a count's wife.

By 1342 the counts' hold was already threatened, as is revealed by a contract drawn up at Bevagna on 6 April between the Rector of the Duchy and dominus Iohannes domini Philippi, count of Coccorano[1]. It refers first of all to the antiquity of the comital family, their jurisdiction

1. ASP Scritture diverse disposte per alfabeto. ll. 6. - this is a seventeenth/eighteenth century copy of the original.

and possessions. For this long period of time they had resided in the Duchy and been fideles and subiecti of the Church. Iohannes's possession of the Biscina was then mentioned and the boundaries of the castle enumerated. Generally, they follow the viae and the natural features of the landscape. However, notice was given of certain mansi in this territorium and the homines who held them. Furthermore, the castle was said to include

> unum tenimentum terrae cum domo in eo existente positum in territorio castri Petroii comitatus et provintia dicti Ducatus .... emptum a Pucciato quondam Contoli de Petrorio comite de Coccorano cum mero et mixto imperio et cum omni iurisdictione.

A certain amount of transferring of judicial rights was obviously still going on within the family. Noteworthy too is the use of the title comes de Coccorano of someone quite definitely of the Petroia branch. Iohannes held 'merum et mixtum imperium .... tam in civilibus quam etiam in criminalibus', holding the castle 'in plena exemptione' as his ancestors haddone. Because of attempts to usurp his rights over the castle, Iohannes made an agreement with the Rector:

> Volens sibi super hoc de opportuno remedio providere, ac sub umbra et protectione Romane Ecclesiae cuius fidelis et subiectus existit confidenter confugere et recurrere et sub alas dictae matris Ecclesiae se et sua totaliter collocare, ipsamque in matrem et dominam recognoscere; cum magnifico et honorabili domino domino fratre Raymbaldo de Montibiano ... ad infrascripta pacta et conventiones pervenit videlicet quod ipse dominus Iohannes per se et suos heredes castrum Piscine predictum cum omnibus et singulis exemption-ibus, iurisdictionibus, iuribus, mero et mixto imperio si

quod habebat vel habet ac libertatibus que at quas habet, habuit vel habebat in ipso et suis pertinentiis, hominibus, territorio et districtu dedit, tradidit, summissit et concessit ac eidem domino Rectori stipulanti et recipienti pro se et aliis ducibus seu rectoribus dicti Ducatus qui erunt ibidem ... summisit perpetuo modo et ordine infrascriptis.

Was this the first submission of the Biscina to the pope? There is a possible ambiguity in terms such as subiecti and fideles such as were applied to the ancestors of Iohannes. They might imply no more than a generic obedience and loyalty to the Church. Earlier lists of papal castles in the Duchy and studies of the Papal State furnish no reference to papal rights over the Biscina, but a more systematic investigation is necessary before the argument ex silentio can be accepted[1]. The question is further complicated by reference to this act as a nova submissio: again, this is ambiguous and could well mean either a renewal or an innovation. The following stipulation would tend to argue in favour of the former hypothesis, although it does not necessarily presuppose complete papal overlordship:

Hoc etiam apposito quod omnes honores et iurisdictiones quos et quas ante hanc submissionem Romana Ecclesia habebat in dicto castro et pertinentiis suis et hominibus et personis dicti castri et eius districtus sint et esse debeant perpetuis temporibus duraturi.

1. See for example WALEY The Papal State; REYDELLET GUTTINGER L'administration pontificale.

The count's control over the castle was henceforward to be exercised by a captain or rector whose election had to be confirmed by the Rector of the Duchy, and the length of his term of office would be in accordance with the customs of the Duchy. The captain was to exercise

> ... merum et mixtum imperium et omnimodo iurisdictionem tam in criminalibus quam etiam in civilibus et malificiis, crimina et excessus ac delicta punire secundum formam dumtaxat statutorum, ordinamentorum, provisionum factorum et fiendorum in dicto castro Piscine et sua curia per ipsum capitaneum cum adunantia et universitate habitatorum et hominum dumtaxat habitantium in dicto castro et eius curia, territorio et districtu et leges statuta et reformationes una cum dictis hominibus facere et creare, factas et editas ac ordinationes tollere et cassare, suspendere et annullare.

The syndication of the captain was to be carried out by his successor. Iohannes was to retain all the powers that his ancestors had possessed but was not to transfer his right to nominate the captain nor was he to alienate any jurisdiction without papal permission. An annual census was to be paid in recognition of papal lordship, and one soldier was to be sent when required by the Rector. Iohannes himself or a procurator was to attend the <u>generale parlamentum fidelium</u> when summoned.

The loss of the Biscina occurred in 1351, when Iohannes was murdered by a bastard of the Coccorano family. Ser Guerriero records in his chronicle that the murderers were able to make off with a considerable amount of booty because of Iohannes's great wealth. The castle passed to

one of the Sienese Tolomei, husband of a daughter of Iohannes, and in this way to a second and unnamed Sienese family[1]. It is almost certain that the murder of the count brought about the extinction of the direct male line of the Coccorano branch. Iohannes is the only son of dominus Philippus of whom there is record, and references to the former's family do not appear to mention other than daughters. It is perhaps significant that whilst there are several members of the Petroia line in the Libro Rosso, the sole figure from Coccorano was dominus Iohannes himself, entitled de la Biscina et de Coccorano[2]. After the mid-fourteenth century it became usual to find members of the Petroia branch described as comes de Coccorano et de Petroia, and the 1370 catasto entry seems to reveal a certain reunion of the previously divided patrimony. This presumable lack of male offspring goes a long way to explain why the Biscina passed from the family's control and why, after it had been usurped, there seems to have been little attempt to regain it. Nor did the popes try to have it restored to the comital family.

According to the chronicler, negligence inspired in the castellanus by a love affair, allowed the men of Colpalombo to take the castle in 1360 and to consign it

1. Cronaca di ser Guerriero da Gubbio ed. G. Mazzatinti RIISS XXI/4 (Citta di Castello 1902) p.8.
2. FABRETTI Documenti I. 106, 110-11.

to the governor of Gubbio, hence returning it to the Church. Ser Guerriero records that it was held for a considerable period by Pierre Bramante, a Frenchman, who bequeathed it in his will to the order of St. Anthony in Vienna[1]. In fact, archival sources cast a certain doubt upon this. The Sienese interest may have continued longer than ser Guerriero seems to suggest, as is witnessed by a series of documents from the 1370's. These deal with the acquisition of the Biscina by the order of St. Anthony.

In the first contract dated March 1377, the Biscina was sold to frater Amerigo Simonis by dominus Petrus Andree de Gambacurtis of Pisa on behalf of Maria, daughter of dominus Iohannes Minucii of Siena, and his own sons together with the procurators of the Minucii family of Siena, possibly the family to which, according to ser Guerriero, the Tolomei transferred their interests. The description of the possessions included in the sale is interesting in various respects. For the first time, the Biscina is called not only castrum but also fortilitium, a new term in fourteenth-century Umbria. Besides the castle, the sale included the palatium of Pelagio Arcelle in the contado of Gubbio. Also mentioned were various podere in the contado. The Biscina itself was transferred with all its appurtenances and rights of jurisdiction including

1. Cronaca di ser Guerriero p.17

the iuspatronatus of the church. In the following year frater Iohannes Guidotti of Pistoia, a member of the order of St. Anthony, to purge his conscience, declared that he had been commanded to authorise Amerigus to pay 4000 florins for the Biscina on behalf of the order, but for fear of the pope, Amerigus had been told to do this nomine proprio and secretly[1].

That this transaction was viewed with disfavour by the pope is revealed in the grant of the Biscina as a papal fief to Baldo de Ubaldis by Urban VI. The concession, made in 1380. did not become effective until 1386. The documents refer specifically to the position of Iohannes Guidotti as that of a usurper, and his payment of a census to Perugia in 1381, 1382 and 1383, together with his confessions recorded above, leave little doubt, that by then the recognition of papal lordship had worn somewhat thin. But of the counts there was no mention, and the papal concession to Baldo treats the Coccorano control of the castle as something that very definitely belonged to the past and had been superseded[2].

1. ASP Scritture diverse disposte per alfabeto. 11. 6.
2. SCALVANTI O. 'Il Giuramento di Baldo degli Ubaldi a Urbano VI per la concessione del feudo della Biscina' BU IX (1903) pp.1-25.

was even more complex. There may have been a fundamental change in the situation of the castle before the end of the thirteenth century. This process, by which the homines of the castle were released from their obligations, can be traced through records dealing with the actual grant of freedom in 1290 and the request made by the newly-freed homines to Gubbio in 1292 that they be received as citizens or comitatenses. As early as 1258/9 they had taken advantage of the war involving Perugia, Gubbio and the local feudatories to attempt to escape from their servitude. A record of the 1259 laudum contains a clause obliging Gubbio to return to the counts all those men who had fled from the comital territories to Gubbio or elsewhere, whether they had become citizens of Gubbio or not[1]. Probably, the dispute which preceded the 1284 agreement encouraged similar aspirations. For the next six years the sources are silent, but on 30 June 1290 the counts of Petroia and their homines appointed as arbitrator the prior of Santa Croce of Fonte Avellana[2]. His settlement dealt with the details of the men's freedom[3]. Bonconte, for himself, his heirs and the other members of the family, was to concede libertas and franchitas and was to remit to the men their services under a penalty of a thousand Ravennese pounds for non-compliance. The document contains a list of a hundred and four homines

1. ASP Somm. I ff. 15-21v (Somm.XLIII) 14 July 1259.
2. ASG Diplomatico Comunale XV/6.
3. ASG Diplomatico Comunale XV/7.

of Petroia. The number of men apportioned to Bonconte was greater than that held by any other of his relatives and this probably explains why he, the third-born of Albertinus, played a more prominent role in this agreement than his elder brother, Corradus. The possession of homines seems to bear no necessary relationship to the assignment of the castle's jurisdiction as outlined in the 1284 pact.

Within three months the men were to receive a quarter of their possessions (immobilia) from Bonconte. The counts would retain the remaining three parts, and the detailed choice of which to keep belonged to Bonconte. Any lands alienated in the previous two years, probably during the men's efforts to gain their freedom, were to be returned and included in Bonconte's assessment. Satisfaction was to be given for services owed up to the previous Easter; of the wine and corn from the next harvest the counts would received one quarter. For their chattels the men were to pay 1,900 lib. in three instalments before the feast of All Saints in the following year. At the conclusion of this, the caput iurisdictionis would remain physically in the hands of the counts, their homines having surrendered all that they held within the castle of Petroia itself.

Two years later the problem at issue was that of the relationship of these men to the counts and to the commune

of Gubbio. On 15 August 1292, the men of Petroia elected a representative to petition Gubbio for admission as _comitatenses et cives Eugubii_. The document, it is worth noting, was written 'in dicta curia iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Clementis' not within the castle itself[1]. Gubbio must have received these petitions favourably because the next piece of evidence concerns the counts' appeal to Perugia to stop such a move. Perugia despatched Bartutius domini Taddei as ambassador to protest on the counts' behalf, describing the reception of the men of Petroia as citizens as a _novitas_ which was prejudicial to the counts' jurisdiction. Notwithstanding any imperial privilege to the contrary, Gubbio was said to have no legitimate rights in the castle. Such privileges were void and against the ancient _ius_ and _regalia_ which the counts held in their lands. Moreover, any rights which Gubbio might ever have had in the comital lands had been forfeited in the 1259 peace treaty. Gubbio was then reminded of the counts' determination to hand over the _villa_ of Santo Stefano Arcelle if the commune confirmed the 1284 division of jurisdictional rights. Gubbio was finally asked to repeal the citizenship measures _ad tollenda scandala_. At Gubbio conciliation and procrastination were decided upon; the grant of citizenship was to be revoked and Perugia to be assured of the good intentions of Gubbio towards the counts, described as _cives et_

1. ASG _Diplomatico Comunale_ XV/10, 11, 12.

nobiles principales. However, the more general question of jurisdictional rights was to be postponed[1].

After this, the fate of Petroia has to be gathered from fragmentary evidence. It is quite clear that the position of Petroia and the Biscina vis à vis the commune of Gubbio in the fourteenth century continued to be an ambiguous one, giving rise to considerable dispute, and Gubbio seems to have acquired rights in and control of certain of the comital lands at this time. In 1327, the commune was discussing repairs to the castle of Pile, which was previously subject to comital jurisdiction. It was resolved that in return for the carrying out of these repair works

> homines castri Sancti Petri de Vigneto, homines villae Sancti Andree de Possaleis, homines villae Sancti Mariae de Valle, homines adiuncti castro Pilii, homines villae Montis Baroncelli, homines villae Biscinae et homines villae Petrorii non graventur hinc ad IV annos proximos venturos solvere datia in comuni Eugubii nec[2] dictis IV annis custodiam facere in civitate Eugubii.

This seems to imply that the commune already had rights in at least some parts of the comital territories and was able to impose taxes and services. However, the council minute continues in such a way as to cast some doubt on this interpretation. The men of the Biscina and

1. ASP Rif. I ff. 59v-61r.
2. ASG Rif. I f.27r (27 July 1327)

Petroia were to be invited to 'venire ad mandatum dominorum gonfalonum' and henceforward to be taxed for nothing but their libra; those who refused were to be treated as exbanditi. The first passage, quoted above, suggests that they were already being treated as comitatenses and bearing all the burdens that the inhabitants of the medieval contado might be called upon to respect. The second resolution suggests either that they were being received for the first time into the jurisdiction of the commune, or that a previous position was being modified and the onus slightly lightened. Ten years later, on 26 February 1337, it was resolved that all men of the curia Petrorii comitum and of the Biscina were to pay datia to Gubbio. Furthermore, all resolutions made in 1336 on 23 August and 28 October to the advantage of the above-mentioned were to be confirmed. On the same day, in a provision concerning the nomination of custodes civitatis, it was resolved that no-one from Petroia or the Biscina should be elected to this office[1].

For retrospective light, a case before the rector of the Duchy is very valuable[2]. It concerned a certain ser Paulus Butii of Gubbio who was at odds with the commune. On 9 August, the vicar sent a letter to Gubbio outlining

1. ASG Rif. II ff. 8v,13r.
2. ASG Diplomatico Comunale XXX/7.

the issue and commanding that the commune should cease its attempts to tax ser Paulus for the lands which he held within the curia of Petroia. These possessions are described thus: 'que olim fuerunt comitum de dicto loco Petrorii' and the vicar asserted that they were not taxable 'nec de consuetudine vel de iure'. In November and December of the same year at Spello, a document containing certain heads of proof was produced for consideration, and a witness, Sensus Ciacii, questioned about the truth of the various items. Several of these referred back to the 1259 peace between Perugia and Gubbio and the disputes which preceded it. From then Petroia had been 'sub protectione et defensione comunis Perusii et sub omnimoda iurisdictione comitum de Chocurano'; the homines and universitas of Petroia had been exempt from the payment of taxes to Gubbio. For more than fifty years the castle had been 'extra comitatum et districtum dictae civitatis Egubii et extra fines et districtum civitatis predictae'. Neither here nor in any other document has either Petroia or Coccorano been described as falling under the jurisdiction of Perugia; the words used always refer to protection and alliance, as illustrated above. Thus, it seems that Petroia was fully autonomous. The witness claimed that Petroia constituted a jurisdictional entity in its own right. and described its boundaries thus:

... quod habuit ac habet territorium per se et quod territorium ipsius castri Petrorii protenditur versus territorium Egubii usque ad fossatum vigneti quod fossatum

dividit territorium Egubii a territorio castri Petrorii. Item ex alia parte dictum territorium castri Petrorii confinat cum territorio castri Galgate. Item cum territorio castri Piscine. Item cum territorio castri Codalis. Et inter dicta territoria est territorium castri Petrorii per se et separatum ab aliis. Interrogatus de tempore dixit predicta vidisse a xl annis et ultra. Et etiam citra continue. Et audivit dici ab aliis antiquoribus et maioribus sive de dicta contrada quod omni tempore sic fuerat.

The witness also claimed to have seen the counts continuing to exercise their rights here; 'vidit dictos comites et dominos de Petrorio habere plenam iurisdictionem in dicto castro et eius territorio et maxime imponendo honera et gravamina'. Excluded from these obligations were the men whom the counts had freed and who had then submitted themselves to Gubbio. Gubbio, however, had no rights over those who had not been thus freed and submitted. This statement raises problems. It suggests that the emancipation of 1290 did not regard all the districtuales of Petroia, and that the hundred odd families listed might have been less than the total population. On the other hand, Sensus Ciacii said there were only about twenty such freed men, and he provides a list to support this. It is possible, therefore, that all those enumerated in the 1290 agreement did not eventually receive their freedom and that the counts' authority continued much as it had done before.

A contract of 19 April 1414 appears in various respects to mark a final stage in the history of the castle and of the counts' involvement with it. According to this, Guido Antonii, count of Montefeltro, sold to Matheus Pauli di

Accomandutiis of Urbino 'unum situm castelenorum in quo olim fuit castrum Petrorii cum omnibus et singulis iuribus et immunitatibus ad dictum castrum pertinentibus'[1]. The document suggests that the actual fortification, the seat of the curia in earlier days, was in considerable disrepair and had been abandoned. Whilst the area preserved its ancient rights, Gubbio seems to have acquired certain powers, and the counts had disappeared from the scene. The apparent disuse into which Petroia fell is, perhaps, not entirely surprising. If the measures taken in 1290 to preserve comital control over the caput iurisdictionis were effective, they would radically have diminished the importance of the castle as a centre of settlement. It has been seen that in subsequent references, the men of Petroia were associated with the villa Petrorii and not with the castle. The same was true of the men of the Biscina. A similar situation obtained at Coccorano in the latter part of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries[2]. But this also corresponds with a more general movement towards the valleys which has been noted for other regions such as Tuscany. Also noteworthy and important in both these documents is the fact

1. ASG Diplomatico Comunale XXX/13.
2. By 1279 some at least of the men of Coccorano had been freed. The statute makes provision for them to pay taxes to Perugia as other comitatenses did. (ASP Statuti I f.56r); the villa franchorum de Coccorano appears under Porta Sole in the 1282 collecta (BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 Table 12). For mention in the 1376 dowry settlement ASP Diplomatico VI P.11 c.35 n.174.

that as comital control disintegrated, rights including those of jurisdiction over the territory of Petroia seem to have been transferred intact, along with the land itself, to the new owners.

Finally, some further consideration should be made of the counts' relations with Perugia and their involvement in communal life. For this, the key point of reference is the alliance of 1258 with Perugia. As has been shown above, it was mentioned in almost every subsequent incident involving the two parties. In the catasto entry of 1370, two of the counts noted particularly that they had been allied with Perugia as a family for a hundred and twenty-two years, but had maintained rights and jurisdictions both civil and criminal in their lands. The final laudum of 1259 made exactly the same point as regards comital independence.

1258 was not the first time, however, that the counts had been involved in Perugian affairs. The treaty of 1217, concluding an earlier war between Perugia and Gubbio, obliged the latter commune to make a perpetual peace with Ugolinus Ugolini of Coccorano, and the rehearsal by Iacobus in 1288 of the good services rendered by his family to Perugia included an alliance with military assitance in 1216-17[1]. Iacobus also mentioned the podestàship at Perugia

1. ASG Diplomatico Comunale II/3 (9 Aug.1217) details the counts' inclusion in the final peace treaty.

of Ugolinus Ugolini in 1225 and 1226 at the height of the milites/pedites conflicts. The submission of 1258 was in no manner an admission of juridical dependence on the part of the counts, except insofar as they needed to rely on Perugian aid for the duration of the war with Gubbio. Perugia promised to restore to the counts their castles as soon as the war was over and not to conclude a peace agreement with Gubbio without the prior consent of the counts. In such a peace Gubbio was to be compelled to reimburse the family of Coccorano for any damages inflicted and to repay a fine of 600 lib. If the war made it impossible for the counts to receive the fruits of their lands, Perugia was to provide for them. There are none of the habitual clauses requiring a recognition of Perugian authority, nothing, in fact, that might derogate from the counts' independence.

In the following period, the relations between Perugia and Coccorano were those of equal allies, as has been demonstrated. Nonetheless, it seems that the counts became Perugian citizens and were liable to pay taxes. The 1320 libra lists under the parish of San Biagio in Porta San Pietro the assessment of dominus Philippus for 5000 lib. 'pro podere quod habet in civitate et comitatu Perusii' and for 3000 lib. 'pro bonis et possessionibus que et quas habet extra districtum Perusii'[1]. The question arises whether

1. ASP Libra II f.9v.

the first figure included the comital possessions in the territories of Coccorano and the Biscina or whether, to an assessment that already made Philippus the richest man in Porta San Pietro and probably also in the whole of Perugia, there should also be added the value of his comital territories. Unfortunately, there is nothing to provide an answer either one way or the other. A comparison with the claims which the degli Oddi were still making a decade or so later for Pierle suggests that the comital lands might indeed have been exempt[1], and the documents already examined offer no hint that areas were ever deemed to have formed part of the Perugian contado. However, it is hard to imagine just where in Perugia or its contado the Coccorano line held all this property unless, of course, it was particularly valuable urban property. The 1370 catasto entry specifically admits to having no possessions under Perugian jurisdiction, and lists the comital territories separately, allowing them to be taxed so that the counts might enjoy the benefits of Perugian citizenship. This may be what the more laconic statement of 1320 really meant[2].

1. See above pp. 129-30
2. This particular instance does offer a warning against interpreting too easily the figures registered in the urban tax assessments. Their real significance remains open to some question unless a thorough understanding is attempted of the structure of the contado.

The most fertile period for the counts' role in Perugian internal affairs was the early fourteenth century when count Philippus held the office of standard-bearer of the guilds. This position, which was created after the 1303 crisis and the establishment of the guild priors, has been discussed by Grundman. Quite what the count did during the twelve years he held office is not clear. There is little evidence to show, as Grundman would like to believe, that this constituted a flirtation with signoria. It seems far more likely that Philippus provided an extraneous and stabilising force in a decade or so of considerable uncertainty. The fact that he had been absent in Hungary as companion to a papal legate in the years immediately preceding 1303 may have reinforced this position of impartial outsider, if that is what it was. It is fairly clear that he did not exercise his office continuously; for all of 1306 and for much of 1307 he was podestà of Foligno. Moreover, the only moments when he appeared with any real prominence in the town records were those of particular political difficulty and also of external threat - such as the advent of Henry VII[1]. Apart from this decade or so, however, involvement at Perugia and Gubbio was fairly minimal.

1. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp.312-15. For his visit to Hungary BANFI F. 'Umbri in Ungheria' BU XLVIII (1951) pp. 45-6. ASP Rif. XV f.80r-v for his role in 1310. As podestà of Foligno Frag. Fulg. Hist. pp.20-1. In 1319 Boccacius, count of Petroia was podestà of Arezzo (Ann.Aret. Min.p.15); otherwise, there seems to have been little involvement with other communes.

One field of co-operation between Perugia and the counts lay in the construction of a series of bridges over the Chiascio, following the road to the Marches. In 1276 various agreements were made. At first it was intended that Iacobus and his son should take overall control on Perugia's behalf - 'imperare homines universitatem Portae Solis castrorum et villarum comitatus Perusii non minus quoque illos de suo comitatu Coccorani et Biscine'. In the end, the counts seem to have been more anxious to get on with the job than was Perugia and they undertook the construction themselves, Perugia agreeing to be responsible for all future repairs[1]. Comital rights over the river were still recognised in 1380 when Perugia sent representatives to the count of Montefeltro on behalf of the Coccorano family informing him

> ... quod pons novus esset de districtu comitis Iacobi de Coccorano non autem civitatis Egubii et quod flumen Clasii ubicumque tangeret territorium de Coccorano semper fuerit dictorum comitum ab antiquissimo et immemorabili tempore.[2]

In the same petition the count of Montefeltro was requested to receive as <u>amicus</u> and <u>socius</u> Franciscus Feltrani, count of Petroia and to make him his captain general.

Furthermore, in 1444, when the bridge needed repairing, Perugia admitted that this was the town's financial

1. ASP <u>Rif</u>. X ff.252r, 257r.
2. ASP <u>Rif</u>. XXVII f.134r.

responsibility, but gave to count Bigazzinus Iacobi permission to attend to the details himself and to command the inhabitants of Porta Sole to offer assistance if required, in a manner similar to that which had been envisaged in the original construction of the bridge.

Final examples of the respect and independence accorded to the counts comes from the late fourteenth century. In 1378 Perugia resolved to send a petition to count Iacobus Bigazzini recounting the case of a fellow citizen, Cola Iohannis, whom the count was holding captive in his prisons at Coccorano, on charges of having robbed merchants on their way to Gubbio. The priors, however, were convinced of the prisoner's good character and of the nullity of the accusations against him. For these reasons they asked for his release. There was no question of casting doubts on the legality of Iacobus's action. Perugia recognised his right to imprison even a Perugian citizen; the petition merely put in a plea for the good character of the accused[1]. Two years later the commune made this point even more explicitly. The counts of Montefeltro had again tried to claim jurisdictional rights in the Chiascio river, this time by imprisoning a certain Conrad of Gubbio, guilty of having thrown an inhabitant of Ghiomisci from the bridge into the river. Iacobus Bigazzini requested Perugia to

1. ASP Rif. XXVI f.55v.

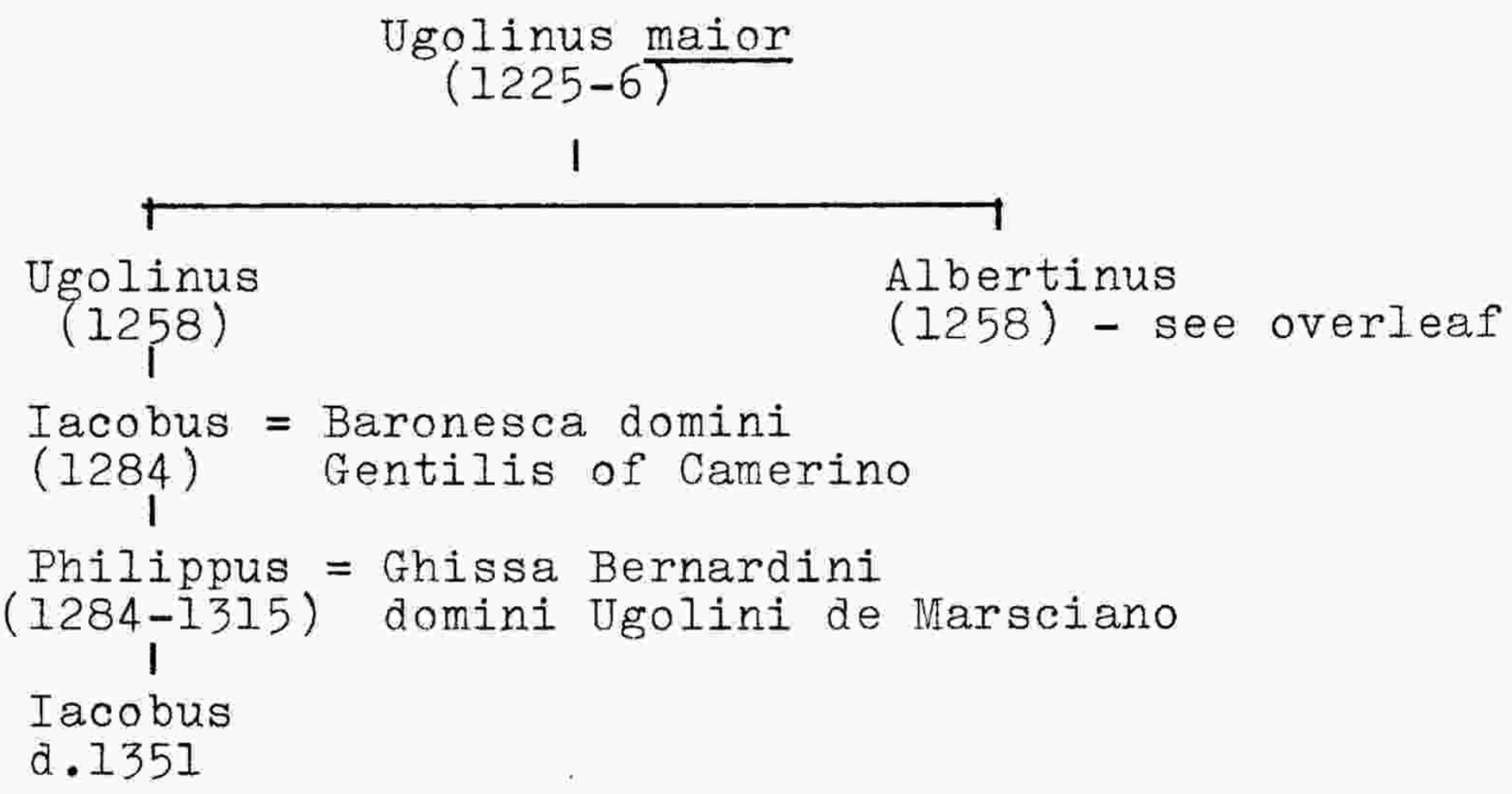
uphold his sole jurisdictional rights in this spot. The preamble to the resulting Perugian resolution stated that it behoved the commune to retain the friendship and loyalty of its citizens 'maxime illos qui habent absolutas iurisdictiones ne recognoscunt superiores in suo districtu et territorio' - which was exactly the position of the counts[1].

Independence, continuity of traditions coupled with autonomous development and change within the family itself - such are the elements which characterised the history of the counts of Coccorano in the communal era. The persistence of their authority is remarkable, but by no means unique. Yet, a certain loss of control is evident, a loss which occurred at a fairly late date in the fourteenth century and redounded less to the benefit of neighbouring communes than to other individual noble families, to the Sienese Tolomei and Minucii, to the Montefeltro and later still to the Gabrielli of Gubbio. In short, it is a history comparatively little touched by the internal vicissitudes of the Umbrian towns to which, in a certain measure, the territory of the counts might stand as at least an equal.

1. ASP Rif. XXVII f.19r.

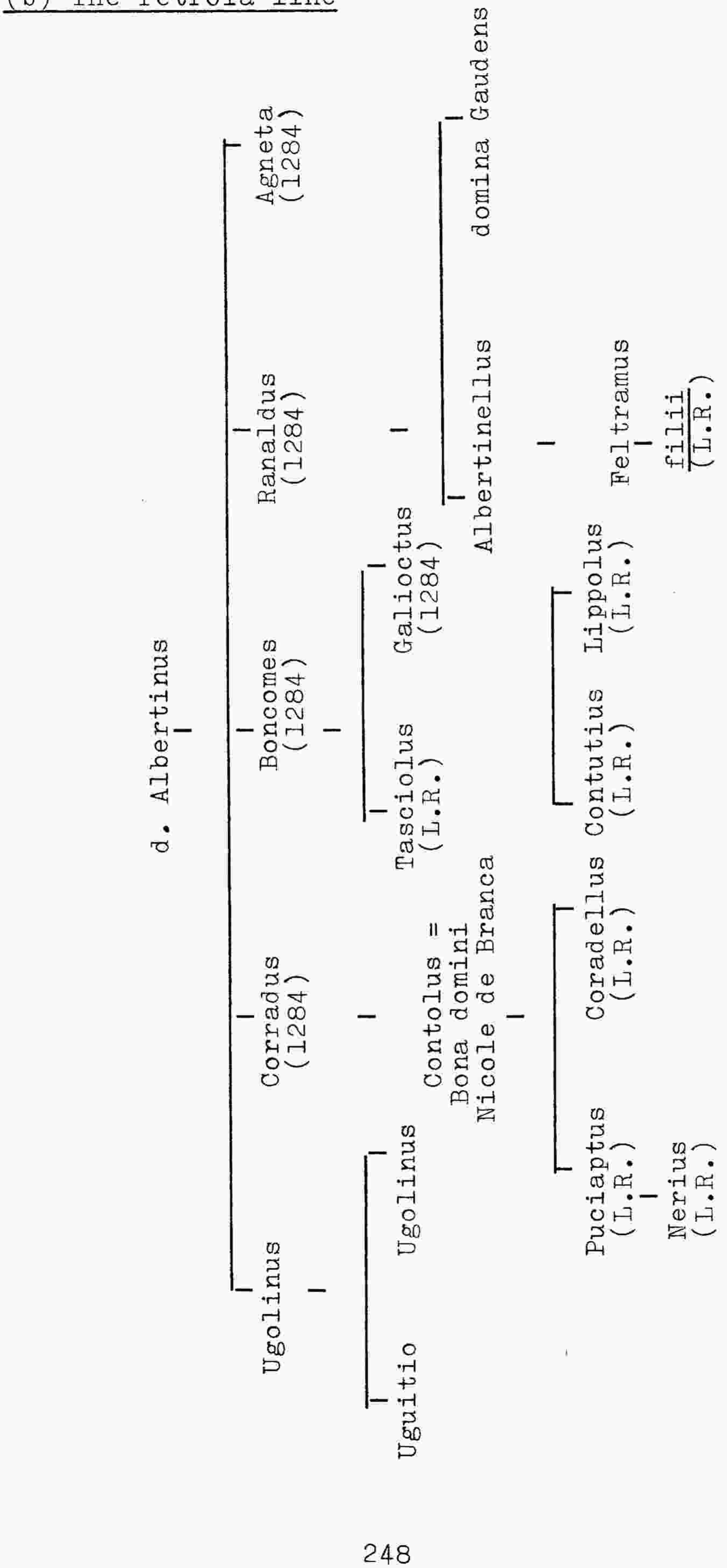
The Counts of Coccorano.

(a) The Coccorano line.

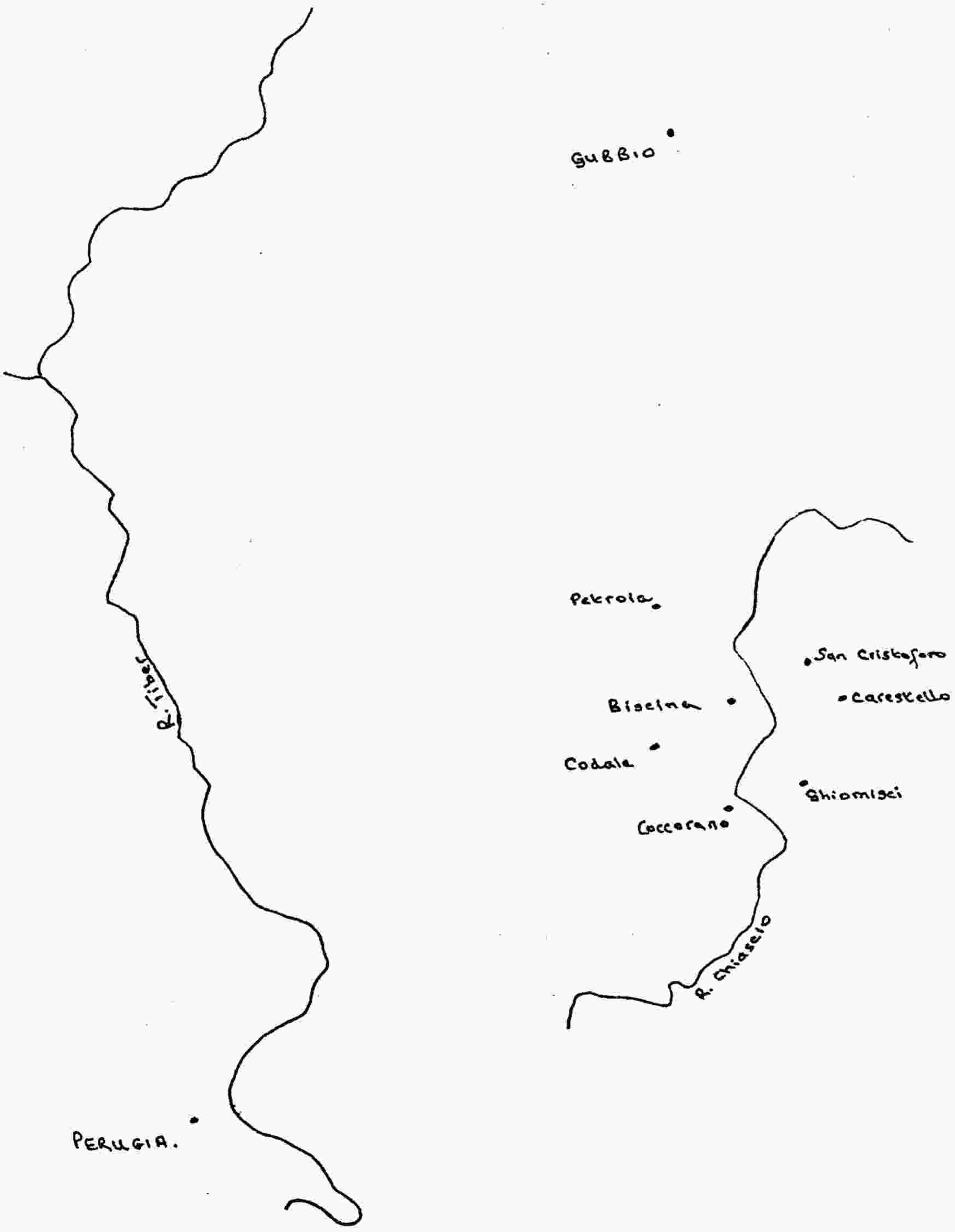


Dates refer to years for which there is documentary evidence for that person.

(b) The Petroia line



MAP I. THE LANDS OF THE COUNTS OF COCCORANO.



CHAPTER IV. THE POLITICS OF TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE (1180-1350).

The rural origins of the Perugian nobility have been traced above. It is now necessary to examine the way in which this situation affected the political developments of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and the implications of these political changes for the aristocracy. At the heart of this question lies the relationship between town and countryside, and it cannot be considered properly without reference to two other interpretative frameworks: that proposed by John Grundman in his political study of Perugia and the general reflections upon the matter of *inurbamento* best outlined in recent syntheses of Italian urban history, such as those of Jacques Heers and Sergio Bertelli.

As has already been noted, Grundman's history is written from a very definite point of view: that of Gaetano Salvemini. He had few doubts about the possibility of dividing Perugian society into three clearly distinguishable groups - nobility, *popolo grasso* and *popolo minuto* - or that their behaviours and interests might be portrayed as those of solid blocs. The early history of the commune is seen as an age of aristocratic predominance. From a set of rather hasty onomastic considerations he concluded that most, if not all, of the consuls were noble, although

there is no clear explanation of what, in fact, nobility was[1]. Noble power diminished steadily, and the long series of milite/pedites conflicts culminated c. 1228 in a popular victory[2]. Thence, the popolo went from strength to strength. The period which saw the appearance of the office of captain of the people in 1255, the fleeting institution of the anziani and finally the Ordinamenta Populi of 1260 laid the foundation of the glory and prosperity which Grundman associated with the next twenty years. By then, the nobility had been ousted from any real political power in the town[3].

Gradually, towards the close of the century a split occurred in the popolo as the lesser artisan classes advanced new pretensions. Their position was consolidated in the disturbances of 1303. The guild consulate was replaced by the priorate, which gave a greater numerical representation to the less important guilds. This contrast

1. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp. 5-9. By studying the names of the Perugian consuls in the light of the work done by Olof Brattö, he suggested that some of these were of the type used exclusively by nobles; most others did not descend farther down the social scale than judges and notaries. It goes without saying that Grundman did not have a particularly clear idea of what nobility meant. Quite rightly, however, he felt it necessary to re-examine the argument of nineteenth century Perugian historians, such as Bonazzi and Briganti, that the twelfth century witnessed a period of primitive democracy.
2. ibid. pp. 37-96 passim for a detailed reconstruction of the years 1214-34.
3. ibid. pp. 121-99.

between rich and poor was fundamental to Perugian history in the early fourteenth century and was reflected in the shifting policies proposed by the commune to deal with problems of finance, administration and the ordering of the contado[1]. Without a detailed analysis for the period after 1309, it is suggested that this division brought about the decline of the popolo at Perugia and the status of the town in Umbria - a decline which it is erroneous to trace to this early date[2]. Thus, the stage was set for the re-emergence of the nobility.

This view is somewhat crude and antiquated. In many of its individual details and in some of its more general trends it carries weight, nonetheless. It was unwise, however, to transfer to Perugia a model that is not only primarily Florentine, but which also has been seriously questioned for that city. The neglect of prosopography is similarly unfortunate. As far as the nobility is concerned, the presumption that all of a vague and ill-defined group was involved in Perugian affairs in the consular period,

1. ibid. - in chapter VI he begins to trace a malaise in Perugian society in the aftermath of the first war against Foligno and suggests that this is reflected in criminal law reforms and attempts to stem immigration from the contado to the town. In chapter VII he considers the years 1290-1303 which he sees as punctuated by two crises, in 1293 and 1303. In the latter year the priorate was established and the representation of the mercanzia and cambio changed from 3 of 5 to 3 of 10 offices.
2. ibid. pp. 305-56.

losing ground later in the town at the same time as it was dispossessed in the countryside, is certainly in need of further investigation.

The second approach is far more subtle than this. Emphasis is placed on the abiding strength of oligarchy and the interests of the larger family clans, whose rivalries and networks of clientage offer the key to much of urban politics. An essential precondition of this was the process of inurbamento. For this, internal causes have been postulated, such as the continual disintegration of the patrimonies of rural nobles through successive generations. Among external factors is the policy of the town itself. Often it is presumed that from the moment when a contado noble submitted or sold his castle, he transferred most of his interests - political if not economic - from the countryside to the town and modified his way of life accordingly. In many respects, this again is a thesis which better fits the greater centres such as Florence and Genoa[1].

Both of these arguments, contradictory as they are, provide in one way or another the background against which

1. HEERS J. Le Clan Familial au Moyen Age.(Paris 1974) For certain reservations see the review by Tabacco S.M. XVII/i (1976) pp. 219-24. BERTELLI S. Il potere oligarchico nello stato-città medievale. (Florence 1978) - for noble inurbamento see esp. pp. 21-4. The resulting situation is nicely described: 'egli sarà fagocitato nel mondo dei cives'.

it is customary to view the relations of town and country-side in the communal era. It still remains to be determined how far such models can really provide a useful approach to Umbrian politics.

At Perugia, unfortunately, the extant documentation does not allow us to determine a point of cardinal importance: the weight that should be accorded to the noble class in the town during the consular period. The later development of the popolo will have quite different repercussions on noble consciousness and power according to whether, in the late twelfth century and beyond, the aristocracy shifted its interests on any large scale towards the town. It has been clearly demonstrated above that ancestors of many Libro Rosso families were to be found among the consuls and witnesses from the 1180's.[1] Most of the so-called local podestà had a similar background; they were either members of the greater territorial aristocracy, came from other prominent families such as the Montemelini or were among

1. See above chapter II passim. Other Perugian consuls, who cannot be traced through to Libro Rosso families, figure in the early twelfth century charters from Valdiponte. Dux Rogerii, consul in 1202 (ASP. Somm.I f. 116r Somm. V) was father of Michele Duce who, in 1216, together with the daughters of Andrea of Columella and Gualterius Vilani,made a donation of land in Col d'Arbore. The wife's consent was given in the house of Dux Rogerii. (ASP. Corp.Relig.Sopp. S. Maria Valdiponte Pergamene cass. IV no.319).The father of the above-mentioned Gualterius Vilani, was Vilanus Saraceni, consul in 1202 (ASP. Somm. I f. 116r Somm.V)

the holders of greater emphyteutic leases from local religious establishments[1]. Identifiable communal treasurers

1. There are two lists of so-called local podestà. The first is included in the fourteenth century vernacular chronicle edited by Ugolini; the second is in Latin and was compiled in the eighteenth century by the antiquarian, Mariotti. They are substantially, although not wholly, in agreement. In fact, there is very little documentary evidence to support the description of most of these individuals as podestà, and it is possible that a confusion has been made between consul and podestà. The matter has been discussed by M. Giorgetti in a work to be published shortly. In this brief list those names marked with an asterix(*) are those for which there is documentary backing. For the sake of brevity here, reference to the sommissioni will be in their published version only.
(a) Leonardus de Deruta 1192* - see above p.38.
(b) Bevegnate Barnardi Uguicionis 1193 (Annali e cronaca p. 143; MARIOTTI A. Saggio di memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della città di Perugia. (Perugia 1806) II 187-8). He was witness in 1202 to the arbitration made between Spoleto and Foligno by the Perugian consuls (SANSI Documenti storici inediti p. 217)
(c) Bombarone Ranutii Blanci 1194 and 1219* (Annali e cronaca p. 143; MARIOTTI Saggio pp. 188-9 for 1194/5. For 1219 THEINER Cod. Dipl. S. Sedis I 78)
(d) Iohannes Bonicomitis* 1196,1198 (Annali e cronaca p. 143; MARIOTTI Saggio p. 189-90). He was also witness in 1195 to the diploma of Philip of Swabia (Somm.LXVII) and to other documents in 1201 (SANSI op.cit.p. 217) and 1203 (Somm.LXXIX). In 1201 he underwent an investigation for a term of office as podestà at Perugia. There was some dispute concerning the town's finances, but he was absolved (Somm. LXXIII).
(e) Bernardutius Rambotti 1197 (MARIOTTI Saggio p. 190).
(f) Ugolinus Montanari 1199 (Annali e cronaca p.144; MARIOTTI Saggio p. 190 - who places him for no apparent reason in the Roman family of the Cesarini). Consul in 1188, 1212 (Somm.III,XCI), witness in 1205, 1208 (Somm. LXXXII, LXXXIV, VII).
(g) Leo 1200. See above p.35.
(h) Ugo Marcovaldi 1202 (Annali e cronaca p. 144; MARIOTTI Saggio p. 191) Consul in 1200 (Somm.LXXI), involved in the investigation of Iohannes Bonicomitis in 1201 (Somm.LXXIII), witness in 1193, 1208, 1219 (Somm. LXV, VIII, XVI).
(i) Uguiccio marchio 1204 (Annali e cronaca p. 144;MARIOTTI Saggio p. 191).
(j) Glottus Munaldi 1207 - of the Ranieri, see above pp.183.
(k) Andreas Magioli 1208 - almost certainly the brother of Ugolinus Maioli, witness in 1201. Consul (Somm.V,VII,LXIII,

were men of the same type[1]. Whether consular office was the exclusive preserve of such families is far more difficult to resolve. Keller believes that in Lombardy consuls were drawn from all three orders of twelfth century society and thus popolares might have held a third of the

LXIV, XC) also present at the foundation of Monteluce in 1218. Their father, Massolus, also witnessed early communal documents (Somm.LXII, LXXXVIII). They may be connected with the clan de Magiolis listed in the Libro Rosso (FABRETTI Documenti I 117-9). See also GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p. 476.

(l) Andrione de Rambotto 1210 (Annali e cronaca p. 145; not mentioned by Mariotti).

(m) Ranerius Baruncii 1211 (Annali e cronaca p. 145; MARIOTTI Saggio p. 194). Treasurer in 1212 (Somm. XCI).

(n) Rusticus Ranaldi Mariani 1212 - of the Montemelini, see above pp.196, 202.

(o) Ranuccius Petri Gregorii (Annali e cronaca p. 145) - 1213.

(p) Bulgarellus Ranerii 1216 (Annali e cronaca p. 145; not in Mariotti) - probably one of the counts of Marsciano.

(q) Andreas Iacobi - of the Montemelini 1218*

(r) Andreas Tiberii 1220 - of the Montemelini

(s) Thebaldus Saracini 1224 (Annali e cronaca p. 146, MARIOTTI Saggio pp. 198-9).

(t) Ugolinus Ugolini 1225,1226* - count of Coccorano, see above pp. 240-1.

(u) Suppolinus Ugolini Presbyteri 1229 (Annali e cronaca p. 147; MARIOTTI Saggio p. 200 - see above p.144-5.

(v) Ranerius Bulgarelli 1250 (Annali e cronaca p. 149) - of the counts of Marsciano. For similar conclusions, but a more detailed and illuminating study of earlier podestà in the Romagna see LUDWIG C. Untersuchungen über die frühesten Podestaten italienisher Städte. (Vienna 1973).

1. Treasurer in 1188 - Ranerius de Capelle - see above p.121. and in 1193 Guido Zacconis (Somm.LXV, LXVI) who in 1217 bought from the margraves Guido and Nerius land and jurisdiction in Colognola for 680 lib. (ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S. Maria Valdiponte Pergamene cass. IV no. 325).

available positions[1]. For Perugia, Grundman may well be correct to observe that the consul of 1188 - Stuffolo de Rainaldo de pede perusino - was so described precisely because it was unusual for such a man to hold this office[2]. Since, however, for perhaps half of the names recorded in the early lists of witnesses and consuls, it has not been possible to establish anything more than the most fragmentary of family trees or gauge accurately the social milieu to which they belonged, the balance of knightly to other families remains unknown.

However, a further consideration should be borne in mind. Even in the fourteenth century when most communal offices, and probably the bulk of political power within the town, were in the hands of the popolo, noble names occur as advisors and witnesses to the most important political decisions. Almost all the surviving records from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are either alliances with other communes or resolutions concerning specific contado areas. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that members of the leading aristocratic families should be among the signatories; these are precisely the moments of civic life when such names would appear a century later. Possibly, if there remained a considerable body of

1. KELLER Adelherrscaft p. 20.
2. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p. 9.

mundane administrative decisions from this early period, an even greater proportion of unidentifiable names would be found.

In certain cases it can be clearly shown that the only occasions upon which individuals appeared as consuls or witnesses coincided with moments when Perugian politics touched their interests most closely. This is the case for the family from Rosciano, placed strategically on the border between Perugia and Assisi. Every time a member of the family figures in the Perugian documents there was also tension in this border area. Amideo Rosciani was consul in 1202 during the Assisi/Perugia war, and in 1205 witness to the peace agreement. In 1209 he was present when the prior of Valfabbrica promised not to re-build this castle,another spot just within the contado of Assisi[1]. Almost all the activity of his son Tancredo in the mid 1250's centres upon a dispute concerning lands in Colle to which Assisi had advanced certain claims[2]. The only instance which does not fit into this pattern is the latter's role in 1252 as representative of the commune in the concession of land in the Chiugi to various other Perugian nobles[3].

1. ASP. Somm. I f. 117r (Somm.VI); II f. 39r (Somm.LXXXII): II f. 21v (Somm.LXXXVIII).
2. ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. p.8 refers to certain concessions Tancredo had made to Perugia; pp. 42-3 to a dispute with Assisi regarding lands in the Valle Scura and in Colle. See also pp. 65,75.
3. ASP. Diplomatico IV P.7 c.25 nos.29,30.

Developments and changes in the northern part of the contado around 1200 have already been outlined. The situation is far too complex merely to be reduced to an instance of Perugian expansionism. The town was only one of a number of parties interested in the fate of that particular region; members of the local aristocracy were equally involved and, indeed, equally successful in making considerable gains. Often, the figures who appear as consuls and those who had their own territorial interests to guard and further are one and the same. A spur to urban involvment and to assimilation in one commune rather than another doubtless came from this interplay of forces in the countryside.

Castiglione del Lago, for example, submitted to Perugia in 1188 by the abbot of Campoleone, was probably disputed by his vassals, some of whom came to be regarded as Perugian citizens. At the same time, it was certainly coveted by the Empire; the 1186 privilege forbade a resumption of hostilities or any new building operations there, and in 1196 the matter blew up again with Philip, duke of Tuscany[1]. Pierle and Castro Novo, however, are even more telling cases. The political choice of the degli Oddi could

1. For Castiglione del Lago and the abbot see above pp.133-4; also ASP. Somm.II f. 35v (Somm.LXIII) and f.36r (Somm.LXVIII). The peace of 1198 made between Perugia and Arezzo was drawn up 'in obsidione Castiglionis Clusini'. (ASP. Somm.II f.23v Somm.LXIX).

not have failed to have been influenced by their involvement in a multi-cornered contest for Pierle. With the commune of Perugia as their allies, they were eventually victorious over the marquises and Cortona[1]. The history of Castro Novo runs along almost identical lines. Submitted to Perugia by the marquises in 1202, its jurisdiction passed to a local family, whose possession was then contested by Cortona. Half a century later the situation was finally settled to the advantage of the nobiles de Castro Novo who had been able to rely on Perugian support. Three documents from 1252 reveal the condemnation of Cortona to 4,000 lib.damages, chiefly as compensation for the seige and destruction of Castro Novo[2].

The history of the Montemelini illustrates to perfection how necessary it was to hold a key position in town and countryside at the same time. They were among the leading Perugian families around 1200. They played a particularly significant role as local podestà, not only at Perugia, but also in Arezzo and Città di Castello, towns that might also have cast a predatory gaze upon Montemelini lands around Lake Trasimeno. In 1200-2 they had to face a challenge from Perugia itself to their possessions near Monte Malbe and Montemelino. It cannot be at all coincidental that the period

1. ut.sup. pp.126-9.
2. ut.sup. pp.130-1.

in which they played such an active role in the town corresponds precisely to that in which they increased their power in the countryside too[1].

In casting light in this way upon certain of the motives for noble involvement at Perugia in the consular period, and in suggesting that this involvement need not necessarily have been connected with a transfer of interests on a grand scale towards the town, it is not intended to reduce all aristocratic influence at this time to a marginal position, connected mainly with the vicissitudes of individual areas in the countryside. The series of milites/pedites conflicts in 1210-1230 would be incomprehensible without a fairly considerable degree of noble pre-eminence and prestige within the town itself. Some of the acts of physical hostility concerned urban properties, and the chief issues of financial privilege and taxation were very real and immediately practical ones[2]. Moreover,

1. ut.sup.pp.195-8.For the Perugian challenge to the Montemeline lands in 1200-2 see ASP.Somm.II ff. 33r-34r (Somm. LXXII, LXXV, LXXVI.)
2. See the terms of the interventions of Honorius III in 1214 and 1218 (Cod.Dipl. S.Sedis I 76-9 no.CXXVII): the bull of 1223 summarises previous attempts at arbitration. In this final restitution of property and payments of damages the town figures as well as the countryside. In the course of hostilities, the town gates had been removed - 'ianuis portarum civitatis in locis pristinis repositis'. Grundman carefully analyses the financial issues, the question of assessment by libra rather than by parish, the role and the administration of the communanze within the system. It seems that the milites were more in favour of the sale of communal lands as a means of raising money and of the less formalised and, probably, less efficient, parish as the basis of the assessment of wealth. Their views, however, did not prevail (GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp. 38-46, 62-90.)

the subsequent extension of councils and the first appearance of the guilds and the bailitores of the armed popular societies suggests that the period may have corresponded to a real broadening of the basis of political life[1].

Patterns of residence and property within Perugia offer the same delicate balance of town and countryside. It is, of course, impossible to tell how early noble families had possessions within the town. The first references come from the thirteenth century,but the original acquisition probably antedated this considerably[2]. Such is suggested by the central position of many of these properties, certain of which were lost in the course of the thirteenth century as the commune required building space for its new public buildings. Those affected by the purchase of the insula plataea in 1300, for instance, were predominantly noble[3]. Some families may have leased houses from

1. For example, in the 1235 agreement with Florence, the first mention of the council of guild rectors. (ASP. Somm. II f. 10v Somm.CIX). For the chronology of the development of councils see BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp.55-9,dating the special council to 1216 and the consiglio maggiore to 1237.
2. The degli Oddi had property in Perugia by 1218 (GALETTI A.I. 'Insediamenti degli ordini mendicanti nella citta di Perugia. Prime considerazioni e appunti di ricerca' MEFRM LXXXIX/ii (1977) p.589 n.4), since one of the submissions refers to Tonglius q. Perutii who lived near to the hospital of Porta S. Susanna 'iuxta rem filii Oddonis et iuxta rem hospitalis et iuxta viam! In 1253 houses in this porta were donated by Iacobus Palmerii Oddonis, Oddo domini Oddonis and Gualfredutius Altefrontis to the Friars Minor.
3. ASP. Rif. I ff. 84r-90r.

religious institutions. The Archipresbyteri in the mid-thirteenth century paid to the cathedral chapter an annual rent for property which included houses in the town. In the chapter records, however, such grants usually dated back to before the 1250's, taking the form of long-term emphyteutic leases for a nominal rent. Nobles played next to no part in the canonry's commercial expansion of its suburban lands in the late thirteenth century, the one small grant to the Coppoli constituting an exception[1]. Many noble families possessed only one residence in the town, or by the mid-fourteenth century, one house for each branch of the family[2]. A few, however, such as the Armanni, held a large number and were in a position to rent some out.

In certain cases there are hints of the classic process of *inurbamento*: the fact that the 'domini Magistri' family turns up a first member called 'de Capelle', after the *villa* where most of the family lands were situated, and that a few generations later all reference to this *contado* toponymnic had been dropped is perhaps an indication of growing urbanisation[3]. But generally, families possessed houses in town and countryside and continued to live in both. For the

1. *Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo* Sect.3. I f.170r; II ff.179r-190v. The concessions of land in the *conca* at Perugia date from c.1290.
2. Discussion of the position of nobles' property in the town in GRUNDMAN 'La posizione economica' pp. 807-8.
3. *ut.sup* pp.120-22.

thirteenth century, the Ranieri history illustrates this clearly, and in the fourteenth the catasti offer much evidence of dual residence. Although individuals may have declared that they lived in their houses in order to escape tax assessment on such property, there are sufficient entries which distinguish between property in which the owner lived and that which he rented out to allow us to believe that they tell, in some measure, the truth. Moreover, in addition to a house in Porta Sole, Ugolinus Rogerii domini Iannis de Podio held with his brother [illegible] near the castle of Pacciano Novo a rather fine country dwelling 'cum logia et pergulis'. Such a place was obviously meant to be lived in[1]. Among the Baglioni, domini Percivallus domini Guidonis declared, together with a concentration of urban property, a house in the villa Sancti Iannis where he lived with his family[2]. It was also quite possible for families to have houses in Perugia and still be but marginally involved in urban life. At least two of the tower-owners of the early fourteenth century, the sons of Uguitionellus of Flumine and the nobles of Montefrondoso, whilst appearing in the libra and the Libro Rosso, are not at all in evidence as counsellors and witnesses[3].

1. ASP. Catasti XV f. 10r.
2. ASP. Catasti XI f. 167r.
3. For two lists of tower-owners see ASP. Rif. XV ff.40r-42r (1312) and XVI ff. 26r-v (1315). For the two families mentioned here ASP.Libra I ff. 35v, and FABRETTI Documenti I 117-8.

Gradually, from the mid-thirteenth century members of the nobility came to be excluded from almost all the permanent offices of the commune. For some time, the composition of councils remained mixed and confused; in 1266 it was still possible to find a member of the degli Oddi as treasurer and in 1276 one of the Graziani purchased the communanze of Chiugi[1]. Only from 1290-1310 do the administrative documents come to reveal a situation where all the guild consuls and priors were certainly popolani, where the financial offices of the commune went to non-nobles and then to the Franciscan Tertiaries[2] and where it was uncommon to find nobles among the purchasers of the communanze[3]. Even then, however, they acted as advisors on all important issues and they continued to act more frequently as ambassadors, especially for the most vital or prestigious matters. As podestà of neighbouring towns, they

1. For councils at the close of the 1260's see above p.41. ASP. Rif.VI f.135v for Oddo as camerarius. The 1276 purchase of the Chiugi is recorded as ASP. Somm.I ff.125r-126r (Somm. LV). Another member of the Graziani, d.Mafeus Ufreducii, had leased the communanze of Lake Trasimeno in May 1269 (ASP.Rif. VI f.259v).
2. ASP. Rif.XII ff.161v-162r relates that in accordance with Feolus Libriocti it was agreed that the massarius should be both a layman and a popolano. Later that year, in September 1298, Nicholutius Andreotti was elected, and in March 1299 the post went to Iohanellus Micholutii (ibid.ff.174r, 205r). For the later role of the Franciscan Tertiaries see FANTOZZI BUGHETTI 'Il Terz'Ordine Francescano in Perugia' AFH XXXIII (1940) pp.70,82.
3. ASP. Rif.XIV f.100v (1311) - a list of the group of Chiugi revenue farmers who were exempted because of this from the obligations of the cavallata. ASP. Miscellanea XXI ff. 44r-58r - a register of those holding the communanze in 1330, mostly on ten to twenty year leases.

were called upon to use their influence to solve pressing political difficulties[1]. The disturbances at Nocera in 1308-9 were resolved by the Perugian podestà delegated there: dominus Lambertus domini Iannis. He already held the office in March, and in May the local inhabitants requested a renewal because of his success. In 1312 members of the same family filled the post again[2]. It was not unknown for appointees to local podestàships to abuse their influence and attempt to gain a more permanent personal control. Such endeavours, however, generally met with little success[3].

In considering the position of the nobility as podestà elsewhere it is essential to distinguish between two types of appointment: those made at Perugia to communes over which

1. See the volumes of riformanze from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries passim. Practical administrative matters were almost always the exclusive preserve of members of the popolo, for example, the repair of walls at Marsciano and Diruta (XII f.6r) or the concession of plots of land at Somareggio (ibid.f.85r). Decisions of political importance were always discussed by a mixed group - for instance, the cavallata (XV f.9r), the custody and defence of the town (ibid f.38r), the despatch of ambassadors to declare war on Todi (ibid.f.52r). In vol.XVI noble representation appears in discussions of Perugians held prisoner at Pisa (f.56v), debates about the university (f.72v), the future podestà (f.80r), relations with Iesi and Ancona (f.110r) and the pacification of Città di Castello (f.174v).
2. For the events of 1308-9 see GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia pp.331-8, 386 and ASP. Rif.XIII f.140v, 163v, 165r, 176v for deputations from Nocera. Podestà in 1312 was Ugolinus domini Iannis (ASP. Rif.XV ff. 71v, 152r.)
3. See below p. 271 for instances in 1351 from Spello and Città della Pieve.

Perugia itself exercised a political hegemony, and those made independently elsewhere and then referred by individual Perugian nobles to the communal council for approval. On certain occasions permission was refused, but these tend to correspond to moments of general political unease[1].To almost all distant and significant podestàships the appointees came exclusively from noble families. However, those local offices which were under communal control reveal a rather different picture. The number of these increased throughout the course of the fourteenth century as more and more of the surrounding areas fell under at least a nominal Perugian domination. Besides Nocera, two of the earliest and most important were Assisi and Spoleto in 1320. By mid-century there were a considerable number[2]. The 1342 statute informs

1. ASP. Rif.XIII f.32v (1308) - Simon domini Bonifatii received permission to accept the captaincy of Florence; ff.68r-69r (1310) Gualfredutius domini Iohannis Baglioni was refused permission to accept the podestàship of Fermo because his presence at Perugia was deemed indispensable. It is not clear when the practice, recorded for the late fourteenth century, first became common, by which a Perugian elected to the podestàship of another town would agree that for the duration of his office reprisals would be suspended between the two communes. For this, obviously, the agreement of the Perugian council was necessary.
2. For the situation in general see below pp.321-8 , the list of Perugians appointed to podestàships. In the early fourteenth century, especially during the Ghibelline troubles of the second decade, it was not unknown for Perugian nobles to be appointed to a castle within the contado to defend it. No rural commune was to elect to such a post a Perugian,noble or otherwise, without the permission of the town council. (ASP. Statuti XII iv/rub. 300, dating from 1308). See also the statute of Gaiche (1318) which forbade the election of and 'nobilis vel lambardus sive .. de prole nobilium' as notary or vicar. (BRIGANTI F. 'Lo Statuto di Gaiche' BU.XIV (1908) p.504). For the rubrics of 1342 see Statuti di Perugia MCCCXLII i/rubs. 72-74.

us that at least the podestàships of Nocera and Città della Pieve were to alternate between _popolani_ and magnates, and the lists of such officials from the 1360's reveals how the system worked then. The most important alternated at six-monthly intervals between nobles and _popolani_. All lesser positions, such as Castiglione del Lago and Foiano, were consistently given to members of the _popolo_. Thus, in alternate terms almost all these offices were in the hands of the _popolo_[1].

Thus, when the diplomatic treaties of the early and mid-fourteenth century speak of the preservation of the _status popolaris_, this would seem to be quite literally what they mean. Grundman's argument that the beginning of the fourteenth century marked a division in the _popolo_ such as to presage its demise and Perugia's decline is extra-ordinarily short-sighted, and projects what may have been temporary differences of opinion, even more serious conflicts, upon the whole course of later history. In fact, partly because of papal absence from Italy, Perugia was able to extend its sphere of influence in Umbria quite considerably:

1. ASP. _Offici_ I _passim_. This fact emerges from the practice of designating holders of the most important podestàships as either _magnas_ or _popolaris_ (see especially ff. 2r-v, 17r-v, 29r-v). For the lesser posts this was unnecessary since only _popolani_ were appointed. The positions which rotated were the podestàships of Città di Castello, Assisi, Chiusi, Spoleto, Nocera, Città della Pieve, Gualdo and Castiglione Aretino and the captaincy of Assisi.

the list of Perugian adherents in the peace of Sarzano of 1353 marks the culmination of half a century's power and growth[1]. Certainly, not all policies were founded upon Perugian strength and aggression. From 1310 Perugia had to deal with the divisions and pretensions of individual families at Assisi, Todi and Spoleto; in the 1330's much of the running seems to have been made in the north by the Petramala of Arezzo[2]. But the balance and the final results are distinctly favourable. It is a reasonable hypothesis that these years gave added confidence to certain leading popolano families who acquired characteristics and pretensions very close to those of the nobility. For the mid-fourteenth century, Matteo Villani spoke of a predominance of the Michelotti and the Andreotti families. In 1355, there were no noble representatives in most of the delegations sent to Charles IV, the traditional tripartite structure of many such Perugian embassies having fallen into

1. For the period in general FOP Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa. For the fourteenth century submissions ASP. Miscellanea XXI and XXXIII. For Perugian allies at the time of the peace of Sarzano ASP. Miscellanea XXXIV or the edition in UGHELLI F. Italia Sacra IV col.222-49. Further submissions are to be found after this date, for instance that of Montepulciano in 1355 (Diario del Graziano p.181 n.1)
2. For the events of 1320-1330 see FUMI L. Eretici e ribelli nell'Umbria. Studio storico di un decennio 1320-1330. (Rome 1974); ANSIDEI V. 'Su alcuni rapporti fra Perugia e Spoleto nel sec. XIV' BU. III (1897) pp.549-66; LOEVISON E 'Intorno alla sottomissione di Spoleto a Perugia nel 1324' ASI. XIII 5 ser. (1894) pp.98-104. See also ASP. Rif.XIII-XVIII passim and the chronicle entries ad ann. A general summary is found in vol. I of Pellini's history and in HEYWOOD A History of Perugia pp. 113-39 and 161-81.

abeyance. The emperor dealt almost exclusively with leading members of the popolo[1].

At the same time, and perhaps not surprisingly, there are the first large-scale noble revolts. Earlier, the events of 1302-3, which surrounded the establishment of the guild priorate, involved as leaders of the rival factions the Baglioni and the degli Oddi[2]. The dispute concerning the bishopric in 1330 brought the same noble families to the fore again[3]. But, by the 1350's, there were not only occasional instances of the allying of Perugian nobles with the Visconti, but there seems also to have been a definite tendency towards more serious noble conspiracies, which

1. Istorie di Matteo Villani X 75. For Perugian relations with Charles IV see below pp.408,411 and FOP op.cit.pp.133-37. Compare, for example, the embassies of 1344, which carefully distinguished between noble, doctor of the law and popolano. DEGLI AZZI G. Le Relazioni II 76. On a similar tripartite form at Pisa see TANGHERONI M. Politica, commercio, agricoltura a Pisa nel Trecento. (Pisa 1973) pp. 15-6.
2. For 1303 see Annali e cronaca p. 168. A literal reading of the text accords the original impetus to rival noble families: 'In quisto millesimo, essendo messer Brodaio da Sassofferrato capitanio de Peroscia, esso prese a deffendere tutte egl Raspante de Peroscia, e perciò nacque una grande briga e contentione fra messer Giovagne de messer Baglone caporale da una parte e messer Giocopo degl'Odde e messer Piero de messer Venciolo caporale da l'altra parte'. Grundman's detailed reconstruction does not succeed in assessing the exact position of the noble families in these events.
3. For 1330 see again Annali e cronaca p.224 and UGOLINI 'L'abbazia di San Pietro' pp. 124-33. The Vencioli attempted to secure the bishopric of Perugia by annulling the election of Ugolinus Guelfoni, then abbot of San Pietro. They were supported by the Baglioni and opposed by the degli Oddi and the Montemelini; the events led to large-scale public riots.

rather than operating, however bloodily, within the town alone, extended also to the countryside and made specific mention of aims such as that of subverting the government in power[1]. The giudiziario of 1353 gives further details of an incident more briefly recounted in the chronicle of Graziani. Petrutius domini Alardi degli Oddi, podestà of Città della Pieve, and Nichola domini Simonis attempted to secure control of this area at Perugia's expense. Francescinus Petrutii, accused of having unjustly tried to cast all the blame for the plot on the Montemelini, was condemned to death. An interesting aspect of his confession is its revelation that all the conspiring took place in the countryside[2].

The guidiziario of 1361 recounts the aftermath of another major disturbance. One hundred and thirty two persons under noble leadership were accused of plotting against the

1. Among the allies of the archbishop in the peace of Sarzano were Contutius domini Vencioli with his followers, Nicola Spaglie of Poggio Manente and Vannes Bonus Coppoli. (UGHELLI Italia Sacra IV col.222-49). At the same time the Vencioli were able to rely on the help of the Montelfeltro armies to make an attempt on the abbey of Pietraficta. (Diario del Graziani p. 162).
2. Diario del Graziani p.169; FOP op.cit.pp.123-7. Note particularly the words which Franceschinus reports Nicola having said to him as they travelled together to Città della Pieve: 'E elli ripuose chelli venia da Monte Mellino e chelli avea parlato con messer Franchiesco e con messer Tivieri et era venuto ricto a Pacciano che avea parlato con Ghiottolo d'Alexandro .. dicendo chome messer Franchiesco avea Monte Mellino, messer Giovanni era initiato in Preggio e che aveano Montone et il Preggio di Manente e Reschio, la fracta Vidara'.

government. The initial stages had taken place within the town itself and had involved the suborning of a large number of popolani; a vital agreement was reached in the house of Bacello Baglioni. The later developments were focused upon the contado where Squatranus offered to bring a hundred and fifty horsemen into the territory of Montemelino. Plans were laid to secure a number of castles,using them as bases whence to put pressure on and gain control of Perugia itself. The conspiracy failed, and there followed the first instance of the mass exiling of members of the noble class[1]. Despite this judicial process, the Perugian contado remained in danger in that year and the next. According to Graziani, in 1362 Perugia lost Tuoro, but was able to recapture it in August, beheading sixteen of the rebels taken there. In 1363, Monte Fontegiano del Lago was the scene of a repeated enactment of the previous year's events. From about then, date the oscillation of power and the upheaval of areas within the Perugian contado which were to characterise the latter part of the century[2].

For the duration of this century and a half it is possible to outline a typology of noble involvement in Perugian politics. Some of the Libro Rosso entries - excluding a priori all those whose interests were mainly

1. FOP op.cit.p. 153 which lists the various nobles and the castles each would be able to control.
2. Diario del Graziani pp. 190-94.

centred on other towns - rarely appear in communal sources at all, other than in the libra and registers of nobles. At most, they can be found doing military service for the commune, and in this respect the increasing reliance on mercenaries from the fourteenth century may have been yet another way of diminishing local noble participation in urban life[1].

Other families can be shown to have played a fairly regular part in Perugian affairs from the 1180's to the fourteenth century. Such were the Fuciarelli and the 'domini Magistri', present but never extravagantly so; and the Graziani who can probably be traced back to a consul of 1139, who provided a treasurer in 1231 and counsellors in the 1250's and 1260's, probably became even more important in the early fourteenth century[2].

1. It is difficult to find any other references at all to persons such as Ciccolus Magalocti of Preggio, to the family from Carestello or the nobles of Caterano. For others, such as the nobles of Ramazzano, evidence is confined to occasions on which they acted as guarantors for other members of the rural nobility (ut.sup.p.137-8) or to occasional instances of military service. A list of payments to soldiers sent to the Romagna in papal service in 1281 includes representatives from Ascagnano, Castro Novo, Castiglione, Antignolla, Agello and Colle, none of whom are otherwise much in evidence, except when, especially as happened in the early fourteenth century, border hostilities and revolts at Todi, Assisi or Città di Castello put their own castles in danger and drew them into the local warfare.
2. The latter two names of the consul of 1139, Guilielmo de Ufredutio de Bonifatio (ASP. Somm.II f.38r Somm.LX) recur in the Graziani family throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For the treasurer of 1231, Uffredutius Bonifatii, see ASP. Somm.II f.51r (Somm.CLXXI). ANSIDEI Reg.Ref.p.370 summary of the activity of Mafeus Ofreducii as counsellor in

Particular interest attaches to those families who gained a marked eminence in communal affairs at any given point. It would seem, for example, that the Ranieri in the latter part of the thirteenth century, retreat somewhat from their earlier prominence. Before 1250 it might have been possible to mistake them for entirely urbanised nobility; later, this is at least balanced by the emphasis given to their position in the countryside. The Coppoli demonstrate even more clearly this possibility of eclipse. They were ubiquitous in the early thirteenth century, present at most major political decisions. A Coppoli was witness to the submission of Castiglione del Lago in 1184: Coppolo de Uderisio, the first identifiable member of the family[1]. During the war against Gubbio in 1216-17, Bonifatius Coppoli was camerarius and a prominent figure in the peace treaty, which his brother, Ugolinus, also subscribed. Bonifatius was among the Perugian milites in the 1223 alliance with Città di Castello, was podestà of Gubbio in 1239 and of Assisi in 1242[2]. Various members of the family appear in

the mid century. See above for their purchase of the communanze revenues p. 265 . In the early fourteenth century they were among the families most consistently reported as furnishing counsellors and podestà.
1. ASP. Somm.II f.21r (Somm.LXII).
2. ASP. Somm. I ff.7v-9v (Somm.XI-XIII). MAGHERINI GRAZIANI Storia di Città di Castello II 114 n.12. ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. S. Maria Valdiponte Pergamene cass. V no.569 (Oct.1239) for the record of the Eugubine podestàship. For Assisi FORTINI Vita Nuova III 174 (Feb.1242).

the 1250's. Oderisius and Iohannes Coppoli were active in the Città della Pieve campaign of 1250 and dominus Iacobus domini Bonicontis Coppoli was one of the definitors of the communanze in 1255[1]. In the events of 1258-59 the Coppoli were again to the fore. The first prior artium was no other than dominus Uderisius Bartolomei Rainaldi de Coppolis. He was prior again in 1259 during the crucial months of the peace treaty with Gubbio and was elected to be captain of the people at Città di Castello in the following year[2]. Dominus Uguitio domini Bonicomitis was witness to the land grant made in 1258 to Nicola de Portolis, and his brother, dominus Iacobus, was among those who in 1259 received Fossato from Gubbio in accordance with the peace terms[3].

No family could have been better represented than this in the Perugian documents. After about 1265, apart from fleeting references to an embassy in 1273, to membership of

1. ASP. Somm.II ff. 125r-126v (Somm.CXXI-II) and f. 159r (Somm.CXXXIV).
2. ASP. Somm.I f.110v (Somm.XXXVI), f.15r-21v (Somm.XLIII), II f.73r (Somm.CLV). Jacobus Coppoli was witness to the first and last of these three documents in which Oderisius appears as prior FUMI Cod. Dipl.p.212 ANSIDEI Reg.Ref.p.221 recounts the election as captain of Città di Castello.
3. ASP. Somm.II f.110v (Somm.CXLV), f.73r (Somm.CLII). For the involvement of other members of the family in the Portule deal see ASP. Somm. I f.89v,90v (Somm.XXXI, XXXII). Much fuller details of all the family's recorded activity in the first half of the thirteenth century are given in BARTOLI LANGELI A. 'La famiglia Coppoli nella societa perugina del duccento' in Francescanesimo e società cittadina: l'esempio di Perugia. (Perugia 1979) pp.45-112.

the special and general council in 1277, they are hardly to be found: scarcely a trace of them in the list of sapientes of 1276-77, and for the early fourteenth century an even greater silence[1]. They retained a strong foothold in the Church, however, founding the Franciscan monastery of Monteripido in 1276. They also held the abbey of San Pietro. In 1258 Ranerius Coppoli succeeded his uncle, Iohannes. Between then and his death in 1291 he twice refused the bishopric of Perugia[2]. In 1281 Bonifatius Iohannis Coppoli was among the cathedral canons, and the sole reference to the family in the first decades of the fourteenth century mentions Uguitio de Coppolis, a Dominican[3]. This submergence lasted perhaps as long as a century; by the 1370's the family appears once again among the protagonists of Perugian politics.

Their place in the early fourteenth century was largely taken by the Baglioni. It has already been suggested that they only became particularly notable in Perugian politics

1. ASP. Rif.VII f.12v (May 1273) - d.Bucharus Coppoli among the ambassadors to the pope. Another member of the family served with the Perugian contingent in support of the papal forces in the Romagna in 1281. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p.105 for membership of the special and general councils in 1277. For their absence from most lists of counsellors 1276-7 see ASP. Riformanze VIII passim.
2. BLANSHEI op.cit.p.24; HEYWOOD History of Perugia p.153. Liber Contractuum pp.230, 459.
3. ASP. Diplomatico (Bolle, brevi e diplomi) VI P.5 c.33 no.9 (1318); Archivio Capitolare di San Lorenzo Libro Verde f. 44r no.39.

after 1250. Possibly, they were less compromised by earlier associations[1]. At no point did their members become assimilated to the _popolo_ in any way, but of all noble families they, together with the related clan _de Sancto Ianne_, had more than their just share of counsellorships, podestàships and the like - not an overwhelming superiority, but sufficient for the reader's eye to be caught. In part, this fact has biological roots; the generation of the early fourteenth century was remarkably prolific, providing a large number of Baglioni with political and military abilities. The career of Bicellus, for example, has already been outlined. His influence in the surrounding countryside was sufficient for the pope to write to him in 1325 requesting co-operation in regulating certain tensions and disturbances there. Towards mid-century the family was obviously concerned to extend its territorial influence in this area; in 1341 they had designs on Spello, and their attempts to control Bettona will be discussed below[2].

This is a familiar phenomenon: a concurrent interest in town and countryside. There are more than echoes of the Montemelini position a century earlier. This is the aspect

1. See above pp.166-8.
2. _Ut.sup._ pp. 96-7. See also FUMI L. 'I Registri del Ducato di Spoleto' _BU._ III 527; _Registres de Benoit XI._ ed. Grandjean M.Ch. (Paris 1883) no.3239.

of urban and noble politics that should be stressed for Perugia at this time: not the transfer of interests or irrevocable shifts of emphasis, but the continued need to have a foothold in as many spheres as possible. If, in certain respects, the Perugian popolo is astonishing in its autonomy and in its not falling too much under the sway of noble factions, this perhaps can be explained by two things - partly through the change and development of the internal structure of the nobility, as has been outlined above, and because the latter was not wholly committed to the town.

How was this political situation reflected in institutional terms? What, for instance, was the real significance of the sommissioni and what meaning should be attached to terms of such fundamental importance to communal life as that of civis?

First of all, attention should be drawn to the lack of a certain type of document. For those nobles, the bulk of whose lands were to be found within the Perugian contado, there are no formal agreements which mark a significant moment of change in their relations with the commune. There is, for example, nothing to compare with the long series of documents from early thirteenth century Fabriano whereby local nobles consented to become castellani of that town and 'facere omnia comunia negotia que nobiles de Fabriano

fatiunt'. Most of these individual agreements refer back to the pact of 1198 made between various representatives of the boni homines and universitas plebejorum Fabriani, according to which the domini regulated the position of their vassals, gained exemption from taxation and guaranteed for themselves compensation for the loss of their horses in service of the commune. Many submissions required the annual swearing of an oath by the noble, and almost all specifically included the demand of residence within Fabriano itself[1].

Closer at hand, the history of Assisi looks rather similar. Here the Fabrianese pact finds a counterpart in the famous 1210 Assisi agreement, which Bartoli Langeli has recently described as the prerequisite for the establishment of even a minimal form of communal life[2]. This does not mean that Perugian nobles did not possess homines and vassals[3]. But there is nothing to suggest that

1. ZONGHI A. Carte diplomatiche fabrienensi. (Ancona 1872). For a discussion of these see LUZZATO G. 'Rustici e Signori a Fabriano alla fine del XII secolo'. Dai Servi della gleba agli albori del capitalismo. (Bari 1966) pp.229-43.
2. BARTOLI LANGELI A. 'La realtà sociale assisiana e il patto del 1210' Assisi al tempo di San Francesco (V Convegno della Societa Internazionale di Studi Francescani) esp. pp. 273-336.
3. See above page 150 ; (BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p.80 - in 1280 among the contado communities under P.S.A., the villa Sumontis includes the 'franci homines domini Egidii Benedictoli'. One of the provisions in the 1279 statute runs as follows: 'Qualiter homines afrancati de Cocorano et qui afrancabunt solvant collectas et datas et faciant servitia comuni Perusii' (ASP. Statuti I f.56/55).

the Perugian commune was based upon a changed relationship between the two or that the homines played any significant role in fashioning urban life. Nor, at a later date, does Perugia have any equivalent to submissions which actually refer to the future good behaviour of nobles or to the clauses in the Spoletan constitutum of 1296 commanding the podestà to summon all the nobiles cives so that they might swear obedience to him, and to compel the lords of Arrone to reside in Spoleto in accordance with the terms of their submission[1].

Those Perugian submissions which concern individual feudatories all relate to the Perugian border area or to families outside the contado altogether. The former deal with various castles, generally in the north and north-west part of the contado, which accepted Perugian suzereignty. Such was the submission of Città della Pieve in 1188 by count Bernardinus of Marsciano[2]. With the agreement of the consuls of Città della Pieve, he promised that the local population would serve Perugia in parlamentum, would

1. SANSI Documenti storici inediti p.307 - the lords of Arrone promised 'quod ipsisdomini facient per se et vassalos eorum omnes exercitum generalem et specialem et parlamentum Comuni supradicto Spoletii. Et venient cum dictis eorum vassallis ad ius reddendum sive de jure respondendum coram podestatem'. See also Statuti di Spoleto del 1296. ed. Antonelli G. (Spoleto 1962) p. 109 'De Iuramento recipiendo a nobilibus districtus Spoleti'.
2. ASP. Somm. I ff. 114r-115r (Somm.III).

pay 81 pence annually on the feast of Sant'Erculano, provide hospitality for the Perugian consuls three times a year and honour any external policies undertaken by Perugia. except those directed against Bernardinus, his heirs or the emperor. If the men of Città della Pieve were asked to fight on Perugia's behalf, they were to do so at the latter's expense, and they were to swear allegiance every seven years. Finally, they were forbidden to render any services to Orvieto, a provision which suggests that the whole agreement might have been a comital initiative to stem some of the pretensions of the local commune to a greater autonomy. In 1171, the men of Città della Pieve had submitted themselves to Orvieto, and the terms of the transaction were rather less favourable to them than those of 1188[1]. The former seems to have been a move which they made on their own, for the only mention of count Bernardinus is in a list of persons against whom the commune could not be obliged to fight; they did, however, continue to recognise him as their lord. The submission to Perugia, obviously instigated by Bernardinus, may have enhanced temporarily his own position.

Connected with this agreement is the submissio

1. FUMI Cod. Dipl.pp.28-9 no.XLI. Here the payment was not an annual census of a fairly nominal type, but 100 soldi every time Orvieto imposed a collecta. Rights to toll payments from Orvietans were also relinquished.

Jonkenatorum of 1189, which contains a clause promising support to Perugia if the men of Città della Pieve failed to fulfil their obligations. Here, a number of individuals, in their own name and for all other Joncaniti, submitted their lands, agreeing to observe any orders that Perugia might make concerning them. Excepted were their own lands in the Orvietan contado and their own houses, lands and gastaldi[1].

Also in 1189, the marquis Ugolino submitted Fracta filiorum Uberti; besides the usual agreement ad pacem, guerram, ostem et parlamentum, the area was to contribute ad coltam et datam like the other parts of the Perugian territory, although half of this levy was to be retained by the marquis[2]. Similar terms appear in the treaty of 1202 made by the marquises Uguitio and Guido Ranerii for Montegualandro, Castro Novo, Santa Maria Perelle, Lisciano, Tisciano and Resche. Here, however, there was no reservation of half the taxes[3]. Among ecclesiastical submissions were Castiglione del Lago ceded by the abbot of Campoleone in 1184[4] and the lands of Santa Maria of Petrorio by her abbot in 1202, possibly in conjunction with that of the marquises[5].

1. ASP. Somm. I ff.28r-v (Somm.LXIV).
2. ASP. Somm. I f.115v (Somm.IV).
3. ASP. Somm. I ff.116-v (Somm.V).
4. ASP. Somm. II ff.20r-21r (Somm.LXII).
5. ibid.f.19v (Somm.LXXVII).

It is to be noted that all these submissions establish duties and obligations for the inhabitants of the contado areas in question. The nobles ceded certain rights and opened the region to Perugian influence, but otherwise were not touched in person by these agreements. An unprejudiced reading of the clauses of these submissions does not in fact even suggest a full transfer of judicial rights. In some cases, such as that of Città della Pieve, it is certain that this ensued, at least eventually, but for some of the castles of 1202 the matter is very much more problematic. The terms are completely silent upon matters such as residence in Perugia, citizenship, oaths of obedience or loyalty from the lord himself or a concomitant development of closer political links with the commune.

The second group of submissions comprises the offensive and defensive treaties associated with periods of local warfare: during the Assisi war of 1202-5, the Eugubine/Perugian hositilities of 1216-17 and 1258-9, the war with Foligno in 1253. These were all drawn up under conditions of political tension, and they concern individuals whose lands often lay outside Perugia or its contado.

A key move in the first war was the concession of citizenship at Perugia to a leading Assisi family, that of Girardus Gislerii Albericii, who presented himself on 17/18

January 1202:

Dicens se predicte civitatis velle fieri civem et terram quam habet in Colle infra hos fines a via qua vadit ad Pulverum usque ad vallem de Ermita et a via cavalerecia que vadit ad castella de Colle et pergit ad Montoronem et aliam res quas habet in comitatu perusino se velle pro comunantia Perusine civitatis tenere sicud perusini tenent possessiones quas habent in eodem comitatu pro ea et pro eis civitati respondere et civitatis onera subire secundum precettum factorum pro tempore in ea existentium civitate.

On 23 January two other members of the family, Fortebraccio and Oddo Leonardi, swore to abide by these terms[1]. The very conduct and success of the war rested upon them. One of the major conditions of the 1205 peace with Assisi was that the family's lands should be restored; these were situated both within Assisi and beyond[2]. Assisi was to build a tower and palace for them in Sassorosso or anywhere else that the family might choose. Henceforth, they and their descendants were numbered among the Perugian citizenry, appearing in the 1285 libra, the Libro Rosso and the 1371 magnate re-admission[3]. A council deliberation of 1319 refers to their claim to toll dues - 'domini de Colle et Saxi Rubeo cives Perusii qui asserunt habere ius in pedagium Saxi Rubei' - and admits their rights as justified[4].

1. ibid. F.14v (Somm.LXXI), edited by FORTINI Vita Nuova III 547.
2. ASP. Somm.II ff. 18r-19r (Somm.LXXXIII).
3. ASP. Libra I f.67v 'Munaldus domini Todini pro podere quod habet in comitatu Perusii et in comitatu Assisi et ubilibet maxime pro podere et passagio Sassi Rubei et Uscioli et eorum iurisdictionis'. Other members of the family follow and are described in similar fashion.FABRETTI Documenti I f.111.
4. ASP. Rif.XVII f.245r.

The second Assisi agreement was made in 1203 by Marescottus Bernardi Dodici. He promised to hold his lands in Colle Strada as an allod of the Perugian commune. He also agreed to purchase a house in Perugia and to live there as requested by the Perugian consuls[1].

Citizenship and residence are both unusual requirements in the Perugian documents. They occur on two other occasions only. In 1214 they are to be found together in the submission of count Tancred of Sarteano. Besides placing all his lands between the Chiana and Perugia ad hostem et parlamentum, ad guerram et pacem and exempting Perugians from the payment of tolls in his lands, he promised to purchase a house and vineyard within the town, specifically stating that he wished to enjoy the benefits of Perugian citizenship and was prepared to assume the appropriate obligations. The family appears in the list of contado magnates of 1260[2].

In 1216, during the war against Gubbio, Gualterius and Girardus Ranerii Malguardi and their kinsmen submitted

1. ASP. Somm.II ff.22r-v (Somm.LXXVIII), edited in FORTINI op.cit. II 554-5. 'Praeterea promitto quod emam vel acquiram in civitate Perusina una cum predictis fratribus meis et nepotibus domum pretia centum libris vel plus. Et habebimus dictam domum in civitate de hinc ad octavum diem ante proximas kalendas madias. Et erimus abitatores civitatis Perusine ad mandatum consulum'.
2. ASP. Somm. II ff.26v-27v (Somm.XCIII). For the 1260 list see ASP. Rif. IV f.162r.

to Perugia the castle of Valmarcola together with all its appurtenant jurisdictions and with complete control over the central military stronghold. The nobles were to retain seven podere and might keep any lands captured from the Eugubines - 'de civibus Eugubinis vel de eorum contadinis qui non sint cives vel de comitatu perusine civitatis'. Perugia was to make them a grant of land in Colle and to give either one good house or three lesser ones in the town pro habitatione nostra, although there was no strict compulsion to reside[1].

The later hostilities with Gubbio gave rise to a number of treaties between Perugia and the border feudatories. Almost the families concerned were later regarded as citizens, but the alliances speak only of the placing of lands under Perugian protection. Typical is that concluded with the lords of Compresseto and Frecco in 1257; they agreed to hold their castles ad honorem et statum comunis Perusii, to make war and peace at the commune's command and in return they received Perugian aid. Both families come later in the Libro Rosso[2]. Of the others

1. ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.5. For relations with Gubbio and the subsequent history of the castle see CENCI P. 'Le relazioni fra Gubbio e Perugia nel periodo comunale' BU.XIII (1907) pp.521-71.
2. ASP. Somm.I ff.84v-85r (Somm.XXIX); FABRETTI Documenti I 110, 118.

who made treaties at the same time, the lords of Poggio Manente are in both the Libro Rosso and the libra[1]. The domini of Somareggio, Rocca Santa Lucia and Glogana come in the latter only[2]. The protagonist of the submission of Santa Cristina, dominus Raynerius de Monte Iulgano, who was entered among the contado magnates of 1260, is probably the same individual who, as dominus Raynerius de Monte Iuliano, comes in the libra. His son, dominus Iohannes, witnessed the sale of the castle of Portule in 1279 and his descendants appear in the Libro Rosso[3].

Thus, by 1285, most of the nobles of the Libro Rosso were already to be found in the libra; yet, there is very little to suggest that those whose lands lay chiefly outside the Perugian contado had made formal agreements of citizenship, or even that they had any property within the town itself, since the entries of the libra could well refer to rural possessions only. Indeed, to call these men

1. See above p. 177-8.
2. ASP. Somm.I f.59v. Bartolus Munaldi, Monaldutius and Iacoputius domini Ranerii of Somareggio, Cavalca domini Rogerii of Rocca S. Lucia, dominus Bulgarellus, dominus Leonardus domini Stephani and Ugolinus of Glogiana submitted these three castles together with Poggio sub Ripa, Castiglione, Brescia and Laurino. Their position vis à vis Perugia was not clear cut, for in May 1266 they attempted to sell Somareggio to Fabriano (ASP. Rif. VI f.33v). ASP. Libra I f.92v - their tax assessment, by which they promised servitia consueta, an annual palio and one soldier to take part in Perugian campaigns.
3. ASP. Somm.II f.72r (Somm.CXLVIII); ASP. Rif.IV f.165v; ASP. Libra I f.26r for 5,000 lib. ASP. I B14 ff.120v-121v; FABRETTI Documenti I 106.

citizens at all with the usual meaning of the word would seem to be quite inaccurate.

A rubric of 1286 commanded the captain of the people to inquire of 'omnes nobiles qui non habitant in civitate vel comitatu perusii solentes servire comuni perusii in exercitibus et aliis' whether they were prepared to have their libra registered at Perugia and generally to be treated as Perugian citizens. If they refused, further diplomatic or military assistance was to be denied to them. This suggests a floating category of noble hangers-on. The result of this decision is probably to be found in the number of additions to the libra after its completion, several of which refer to individuals of this type[1].

In the following years there are various concessions of citizenship to nobles from elsewhere. In 1288, Oddolus domini Armanni Guelfoni of Gubbio and Bernardus de Soldaris, a familiaris of dominus Venciolus, and previously of Todi, were made citizens[2]. In 1304 dominus Rodulfus of Camerino and his sons were admitted 'ut cives originarii civitatis

1. ASP. Statuti XII vii/rub.51. The additions to the 1285 libra are identifiable in two ways: either they were added to the foot of the folio sheet and marked with a cross or they follow the total assessment for the parish in question. Among the nobles added after 1285 were the Gabrielli (f.29r, 57v), the Ghelfoni (ff.68v-69r), the nobles of Poggio Manente (f.34v), of Vaiano (f. 36r) of Bettona (f.103r).
2. ASP. Rif. X f.53v.

Perusii[1]. Their position was, however, ambiguous. As lords of Camerino, they were quite outside any degree of Perugian control and were in a position to put pressure on Perugia in order to achieve their own ends[2]. Most of their Perugian possessions in the mid-fourteenth century were in the villa de Sancto Ianne and derived from a marriage alliance with the Baglioni[3]. In 1395, the priors considered a petition from dominus Gentile of Camerino that he might be given a house in the town; he did not have one and objected to seeking lodgings whenever he came to Perugia. The priors gave him a palace in the parish of Santa Lucia in Porta Sole. Some years earlier the commune had given to another member of the family a casamentum in Porta San Pietro next to a Baglioni house in which he had a life interest only[4]. The family's involvement in Perugian life was essentially very fluid. A further grant of citizenship is that of 1318

1. ASP. Rif. I f.168r.
2. ASP. Rif. VII f.83r (1276) - an embassy was sent to Camerino demanding that no obligations of cavallata be placed on the domini of Camerino who were already recognised as Perugian citizens. ASP. Rif. XVIII ff.24v, 25v, 150v (1320) an instance of their extorting a double salary from Perugia for the period in which Nutius domini Rodulfi was both podestà of Nocera for Perugia and captain of war. Perugia admitted that Camerino had offered considerable military aid and that the role of the lords of Varano had been especially important in the war against Assisi, the re-gaining of Nocera and the reform of Spoleto; for this reason they were not to be alienated in any way.
3. ASP. Catasti XI ff.228r-229r. At this date they seem to have possessed a house in Perugia; the land in the contado included a tenimentum with house and dovecote valued at 6.740 lib.
4. ASP. Rif. XLI f.94r; XXX f.196r.

in favour of dominus Rossellus domini Rosolini of Città di Castello. He was registered in Sant'Andrea of Porta Sole for a hundred pounds and possessed a house in San Biagio, Porta San Pietro and a petia terrae near Rosciano[1].

The gain which came to Perugia through such grants of citizenship may have been very minimal, perhaps nothing more than a certain financial benefit. A council resolution of 1312, for example, commanded that none of the following were to take part in any cavallata on behalf of the commune or to be employed as mercenaries:

> Bartolus Gueti de Fabriano, dominus Mannus et Actomannus quondam domini Nardi de Eugubio, dominus Nallus de Eugubio, heredes Conoli Gualteroli, Munaldutius Suppolini de Fabriano, domini de Bictonio, filii Hermannutii de Ghea, domini de Rosciano, domini de Somareggio, domini de Rocca Sancta Lucia, Nutius de Cortonio, domini seu illi de Cortonio[2].

Many of these names are to be found in the Libro Rosso. Here they were excluded from participation in Perugian campaigns because of their political sympathies. In this, the commune effectively admitted their right to pursue an independent and contrary policy. The same years witnessed a concerted effort to make the working of the cavallata system more efficient[3], and this abdication of any claim to

1. ASP. Rif. XVII f. 133r.
2. ASP. Rif.XV f.138r.
3. ibid.ff.9r, 16v-17r, 18r (March 1312). Those held to participate were to serve in person and not to resort to substitutions.

control a number of its more distant noble citizens suggests that even citizenship might lay a relatively light obligation and that it might be viewed rather in terms of a political alliance, an alliance in which Perugia was by no means necessarily the stronger party. It is perhaps worth noting that various of the individual grants of citizenship in the latter part of the thirteenth century occurred at times when the nobles involved were at odds with Perugia; in several instances it was the noble himself who suggested that he might become a citizen[1]. Thus, citizenship may have been seen as a quid pro quo, a means of contributing to victory in another field. For the obligations of aid and alliance which Perugia would be forced to assume in these cases were at least as onerous as those imposed upon the individual nobles.

Recent writers, working mainly from legal sources, have stressed the fundamental juridical importance of citizenship[2]. In practice, however, there was a good deal

1. The Guelfoni concession coincides with the time when Guelfoni interests in Sigillo were under discussion (see below p. 300). For the particular case of Fossato where Perugia refused to grant citizenship see below pp.302-3 .
2. Among others BOWSKY W. 'Medieval Citizenship: The Individual and the State in the Commune of Siena 1287-1355'. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History IV (1967) 193-243 and 'Cives Silvestres: Sylvan Citizenship and the Sienese Commune1287-1355' BSSP. LXXII (1965) 1-13. KIRSCHNER J. 'Ars imitatnaturam' Viator V (1974) 289-331; RIESENBERG P. 'Citizenship at Law in Late Medieval Italy'. Viator V (1974) pp. 333-46.

of fluidity and politicking, at least in the higher echelons. Certainly, for a lesser figure the acquisition of citizenship, with its property and taxation requirements, must have been a serious matter, and for such individuals Perugia was concerned that dual citizenship would in no way redound to Perugia's financial loss, as might happen, through toll exemption[1]. However, citizenship might also be conferred temporarily upon exiles from a hostile town who made common cause with Perugia, and on various occasions, in the phrases cives vel comitatenses the two categories seem to have been equated rather than contrasted[2]. Possibly, juridical distinctions had not completely crystallised, and in the reality of practical politics there was always room for manoeuvre.

The fate of another term at Perugia displays similar ambiguity: the phrase nobiles de contado and its equivalents[3]. In the magnate lists of both Florence and Bologna

1. Among concessions to lesser men ASP. Rif.I f.100v,156v, XII f.202r (Jan.1299) which laid down that an individual who acquired a second citizenship at Perugia was not to be exempt from the payment of tolls if the town from which he originated did not have a reciprocal toll agreement with Perugia.
2. See below p.316 for the case of the Bettonese in 1312, a privilege accorded also to men of Gubbio, Foligno, Città di Castello, Assisi and Spoleto. For an even more striking equation of civis and comitatensis from Spoleto see SANSI Documenti storici inediti p.361, a document of 1298, being the submission of 'Oddo quondam domini Oddonis de Brancaleonis civis et comitatensis civitatis Spoletii'.
3. For a brief general discussion see JONES 'Economia e società' pp.234-6 and the literature cited there. He sees the nobiles rurales as comprising the higher nobility who

there was a separate category of nobiles rurales. None of the names in the Libro Rosso, however, is distinguished in this way. Salvatorelli estimated that more than half the total references were to contado nobles, but it seems that he based this claim on nothing more than the application of the contado toponymnic to certain of the names listed[1]. There are two thirteenth century lists at Perugia which do appear to give the names of so-called nobiles de contado. The first is the register of singulares et magnates personae assessed for a grain contribution in 1260. The second, coming from 1276, forms part of the sussidio focolare, and is also a grain assessment[2]. Both registers include a list of churches and rural communities held to the same obligation. In 1260, there are lists of nobles for all five portae, but in 1276 only four. The 1276 compilation does not in fact use the term nobiles de contado; it speaks of, for example, nobiles et ecclesiae porte Eburnee, although it is clear that it is those of the countryside who are meant. These are the only such lists of grain contributions extant from the thirteenth century. They may have been a common occurrence, the administrative

retained a certain autonomy, but allows the presence of a mass of lesser gentry.

1. SALVATORELLI 'La politica interna' p.92.
2. ASP. Rif. IV ff.144r-175v and Sussidio Focolare I ff. 4r-v, 19v, 24r, 104r, 107r-v, 109r, 113r-v. Half of both these lists has been edited by Nicolini in the introduction to Reformationes Comunis Perusii.

records of which have disappeared, or they may have been the commune's response to years of particularly bad harvest[1].

It is not clear what, if any, legal significance should be derived from these documents. Possibly, they are nothing more than a record of those individuals believed to be in a position to supply the commune with grain. In composition the two registers are rather different. That of 1260 contains a large number of recognisable names, most of which turned up later in 1285 and 1333[2]. It is possible that those thus named had jurisdictional rights in the countryside and therefore powers of preemption over grain. But there is nothing to prove this one way or the other. Families such as the Acerbi and the Mastinelli or Coppoli, whom there is no reason to connect with contado jurisdictions, are significantly absent; the degli Oddi, however, who can be connected with the dominatio of Pierle, do not appear either[3].

Few of these families re-appear in 1276. The sussidio focolare includes many other names, some of whom come in

1. For 1260 as a year of poor harvest see ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. pp.146-7. For Perugian grain policies in general see BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p.61; various of her examples refer specifically to 1260.
2. For example, the nobles of Ramazzano, Poggio Manente, Ascagnano, Col d'Arbore and Colomella. (Sussidio Focolare ff. 4r, 19v, 24r.)
3. See above pp. 164-5, 126-9.

the Libro Rosso[1], but for a large number of whom this is the only time that they are encountered in the sources. Some of the places in the contado from which they originate can be connected with various of the major Perugian ecclesiastical institutions[2], but most of the toponymnics are as obscure as the individuals whose names they qualify[3].

It is worth emphasizing that the sole appearance of this category of contado nobles is in these two separate grain assessments and that the resulting lists are by no means identical. The second is certainly not one of persons possessing private jurisdictions, but perhaps its listed names belong to the more general category of those of knightly descent. Very few of the 1276 names appear in the 1285 libra. Now, the tax legislation of the 1290's, which required all rural nobles to become citizens and to register in the urban libra, would logically have put an end to a separate group of contado nobles[4]. The rubrics certainly

1. Such are the families from Caterano, S.Maria de Pitgliano and Flumine. (Sussidio Focolare I f.4r, 107r, 113r).
2. Associated with the demesne of Valdiponte were Contolus of Montelabbate, heredes Crescenbene of Civitella Bonizone and Fava of Colognola, with the chapter of San Lorenzo Bucharellus and Manicolus of Montepetriolio. (Sussidio Focolare I ff.5r, 19v, 104r, 107v.)
3. For instance: 'Taddeus de Capocaballo, nobiles Montis Blani, filii ser Alvutroni de castello Arno, Terisius de castello Arno, Belnitede et filius eius de Spina, Ranucius Stopolli de Sancto Pietro in Sussolo, Ranerius qui moratur in Pantano, dominus Martinus Assoli, Rigucius de villa Pitorelle'. (Sussidio Focolare I ff.19v, 104r, 109r, 113r.)
4. ASP. Statuti XII i/rub.72 which contains resolutions dating from 1286, 1296 and 1300.

imply that not all nobles did as requested, but this incomplete enforcement would not necessarily have allowed the preservation of old distinctions. Those nobles who did not register their property with the town would, according to the letter of the law, have been absorbed into their respective rural communities. No other possibility existed. Perhaps this is what happened to a large number of those mysterious figures from 1276, which may explain why they are not to be found in the Libro Rosso.

If this is so, it is an important matter to note that the inability to register in the urban tax books served, more or less, to derogate from the status of nobility. It provides an interesting reflection upon the relation of town to countryside. Whilst we have argued that citizenship at Perugia was a very nominal obligation and often implied, at best, very tenuous links with the town, nonetheless, the quality of nobility was very firmly connected with this interest in the town, albeit weak and superficial, and with certain urban traditions, even if they were of a preeminently fiscal nature.

In considering the degree to which the nobility retained its foothold in the countryside, the sources permit at best the reconstruction of a fragmentary picture, but one that suggests the preservation of a rich and complex mosaic of power within the contado.

Certainly, by the latter part of the thirteenth century, the lists which were drawn up by the commune naming castles and _villae_ that were obliged to _collectae_ and to deliver grain include all the localities known to have existed in the _contado_, including areas closely associated with the counts of Marsciano and with the marquises[1]. The fiscal and military ordering of the countryside is a constant theme in council deliberations and statutes,but it would be misplaced to presume that this entailed in any way a complete dominion by the town. A council minute of 1274, for instance, shows that Perugia had no such pretensions, admitting that _podestà_ would not be sent to all the castles in the _contado_, but only to those which did not have a lord, lay or ecclesiastical[2].

For the most part the sources are silent upon the continuation of private jurisdictions. But for at least two areas this is demonstrated well into the fourteenth century. The degli Oddi entries in the _catasti_ of the 1330's make it clear that, whilst the family was prepared to be assessed for land held there, it was very concerned that this willingness would in no way prejudice its jurisdiction

1. BLANSHEI _Perugia 1260-1340_.pp.79-81 publishes the list of 1282 from the _Collecta Straordinaria_ for that year.
2. ASP. _Rif_.VII ff.115r-116r. Among the smaller _contado_ localities to which Perugia had sent a _podestà_ before that date were Plagario and Preggio (ASP. _Rif_. IV ff.171v - 1260) Both are surprising in that they can be assumed to have had _domini loci_.

there[1]. In 1377, the nobles of Rosciano came to an agreement with Perugia. Henceforth, the commune's officials were to exercise criminal jurisdiction within the castle, powers which had previously been held by the nobles themselves, and even now they retained all civil jurisdiction and the right to levy taxes[2].

The 1279 statute bears witness to the continous existence of pedagium rights. In general, the tolls levied in the Perugian contado - those of the city gates, together with rights in Fossato and Casacastalda - were to be put up for yearly auction. At various castles, however, dues were still payable not to the commune but to individuals. New exactions of this type were forbidden, but the following places retained their rights: Vernazzano, Passignano, Castro Novo, Monte Rufiano, Villa Plani, Carpina, Montalera, Monte Bello, Plagario, Agello, Montale, Casalina, Coldimedio, Marsciano, Diruta, Fracta filiorum Uberti and Montolto[3]. Almost all of these can be associated either with the ancient margraval sphere of influence to the north, the comital families to the south and south-west or, as in the case of Casalina, with the abbey of San Pietro. Other

1. ASP. Catasti IV f.190v. Also see above p.129-30.
2. ASP. Rif. XXV ff.29r-v (23 Jan. 1377).
3. ASP. Statuti I f.13v. Edited in FABRETTI A. Statutum Comunis Perusii anno MCCLXXIX Digestum. (Turin n.d.) pp.89-90.

Perugian castles were not to inflict charges upon Perugians, Romans or papal nuncios. The castle of Portule was to waive any such rights, and Perugians who possessed castles outside the contado were to be similarly obliged[1].

Again, it is not certain how long this situation continued. In 1296, Cucius Tiberutii of Monte Melino, obliged to the commune for a certain sum as guarantor of a number of malefactors from the Isola Maggiore, suggested an arrangement whereby this amount would be deducted from a concession made to him by the bishop of money owed by the town 'de passagio Montis Rufiani vendito comuni'[2]. It is not clear whether this refers to an outright acquisition by the commune of private toll rights or to the practice of paying an annual compensation to the holder, should he agree to waive charges against Perugians. A second petition concerning the honouring of cautionary pledges for the inhabitants of Isola Maggiore made by Iacobus domini Gualfredutii again speaks of money to be received from the commune 'pro suo pedagio'[3]. The 1342 statute is quite unhelpful in this field, but seems to suggest that by this date the commune had acquired most individual rights.

1. ASP. Statuti I ff.13v-14r; FABRETTI Digestum pp.92-4 'Et homines seu domini de Saso Ruscio et alii nostri cives et comitatenses habentes castrum in iurisdictione alterius hoc statutum debeat observari'.
2. ASP. Rif. XII f.31v.
3. ASP. Rif. XII f.42v.

But on the Perugian borders some individuals continued to hold rights of toll in the mid-fourteenth century, although it does not seem that the actual financial gain was very large. Sasso Rosso and Bettona were among such areas; the Guelfoni declared similar rights in Monte Cuccho and Sigillo[1]. The case of Sigillo is particularly interesting. This was a castle re-ordered and fortified by Perugia in the 1270's. In 1285 Hunfredutius domini Hermanni 'qui habitat in castro Costarciari districtu Eugubii' agreed not to exercise the rights he had received from the monastery of Santa Maria at Sitria in land within the castle of Sigillo. This, however, did not prevent the family from maintaining the bulk of its possessions in the district of Sigillo, nor from exercising rights of toll there[2].

The sale of castles and even forced expropriation are sometimes suggested as factors which diminished aristocratic power in the countryside. At Perugia neither of these would seem to have been overwhelmingly important, and both are

1. ASP. Catasti XV ff.87v-88r. The value of Bettona was given as 10 lib., but Sasso Rosso was 60 lib. for a fifteenth part. Toll rights at Sigillo were less valuable, see ASP. Catasti IV f.84r, XV f.338r and IX f.284r.
2. ASP. Diplomatico V Pll c.20 no.508 (1 Oct. 1285). He can be shown to have been a member of the Guelfoni by connecting him with Petrutius and Munaldellus domini Hermanni, who witnessed the sale of Portule in 1277. The 'filii Munaldelli de Guelfonibus' were among the magnates of Gubbio in the early fourteenth century. (ASP. Statuti I f.21v.) The family comes in the Libro Rosso under Porta Sole and Porta Eburnea. (FABRETTI Documenti I 112,121.)

connected with the history of the communanze, since castles purchased by the commune were almost inevitably assimilated to the communanze, and these in turn became the areas where Perugia was most concerned to prevent any challenge to its control. For the most part, however, there is no reason to believe the provision in the statute of the rural commune of Gaiche, which explicitly guaranteed the protection of nobles' lands there, was anything but standard policy[1].

The only really large-scale instance of expropriation concerns the Chiugi, which may legitimately be regarded as a special case, forming as it did the communal granary. At the close of the thirteenth century the marquises were forbidden to molest either the peasants of the area or the purchasers of the communanze. Following an inquest into the state of the land there in 1291, the commune proceded to a series of recuperations from individuals and from ecclesiastical institutions. In 1314 all nobles were prohibited from living in this area, and during the subsequent decade all those who held land there were gradually bought out[2].

1. BRIGANTI 'Lo Statuto di Gaiche' p.533. 'Dicimus et ordinamus quod bona ecclesie sancti Antonii, filiorum Ugolini de Marsciano filiorum domini Bartolomei, Andreutii Brencoli et filiorum Guilielmi custodiantur a custodibus dicti comunis prout bona hominus dicti castri custodiuntur'.
2. For the inquest of 1291 see ASP. Miscellanea XII f.19v which lists those hit by the recuperations; included were the bishop of Perugia, the Ranieri, men from Città della Pieve and Cortona, members of the Magioli. For the resolutions of 1314 ASP. Statuti XII ii/rub.107.The wholesale expropriation is in ASP. Miscellanea XXIII and XXV.

Among the outright acquisitions of castles made by Perugia was Fossato. After oscillating between Perugia and Gubbio at the will of its domini in the early thirteenth century[1], it was finally gained by political treaty at the close of the war with Gubbio in 1259 and came to form part of the communanze[2]. Here, Perugia experienced considerable difficulties with the expropriated lords who even made the classic request that they would come to Perugia to live as citizens if they might possess their lands in peace. This seems, however, to have been refused, since the 1279 statute forbade them to live either in Fossato or at Perugia. Again, in 1285, they were exiled from the castle[3]. This is one of the few instances in which Perugia refused permission to

1. It hadbeen submitted to Gubbio in 1187 - ALFIERI A. Fossato di Vico. Memorie storiche. (Rome 1900) p.113. ASP. Somm. II ff.70r-v (Somm.LXXXVII) for the submission to Perugia in 1208 made by Bulgarellus de Bulgarellis and his sons, Ranier and Bernardinus. The terms are wholly political and make no mention at all of matters such as Perugian fiscal rights. In 1251 (ASP. Somm.I ff.21r-24r. Somm.XXV) the two sons transferred the castle to Gubbio for 4,000 lib. together with all rights over the local inhabitants. Mainly because of the similarity of names, it is traditional to regard this family as a branch of the counts of Marsciano, (see among others UGHELLI Albero e Istoria p.20). The question is open to some doubt. The area is quite distant from the comital lands, which otherwise form a fairly compact area. The Fossato family never receives the comital title, and a document of 1290 gives similar names to a family individual who looks very much as if he were a member of the Gabrielli of Gubbio (SANTONI Libro Rosso di Camerino p.59 no.75 - Borgaruccio di Ranuzio di Burgarello.)
2. ASP. Somm.I ff.15r-21v (Somm.XLIII); II f.73v (Somm.CLV) for the peace terms with and Perugian re-possession in 1259.
3. ASP. Statuti XII v/rub.29.

live in a certain district. Another case regards the castle of Torsciano, the development of which Perugia was especially anxious to foster; the cattanei of Rosciano were not allowed to possess houses there, although an exception was made for the casalina once conceded by Perugia itself to Iacoba domini Tancredi[1].

Perugia similarly acquired Casacastalda from Guido domini Munaldi Suppolini. The family itself may have gained part shares in it only in the early thirteenth century when it passed to them from Ranerius and Petrus de Serra[2] and was for some time a cause of dispute with the bishop of Nocera who claimed it as an episcopal possession[3]. Guido and his brother, Uguitio, received their father's share of the castle upon their emancipation in 1242.[4] Following upon conflicts with Perugia regarding its possession and custody, in 1257 Guido sold to Perugia for 1,050 lib. a

1. ASP. Rif. X ff.244v-245r (25 May 1296)
2. ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.6; edited in BENSI G. Il castello di Casa Castalda e la sua Pieve (Assisi 1974) pp.277-8. Co-recipient with Suppolinus was dominus Rainaldus de Serra. It is possible that Suppolinus was also a member of the family from Serra and that the whole transfer took place within the family.
3. ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.7. edited in BENSI op.cit. pp. 278-80. The agreement of 1222 was made by the local parish priest between the bishop of Nocera and the nobiles viri Casacastalde, Suppolinus, Albertus, Munaldus and Petrus. Half of the exactions and dues paid by the men of the castle were ceded in benefitium by the bishop to the nobles.
4. ASP. Diplomatico IV P.6 c.25 no.16; ed. BENSI op.cit. p.280 (21 July 1242).

specified amount of property there together with his homines[1]. Twenty seven of these families were freed by Perugia, and it is interesting to note that the commune acted as an individual lord would have done, requiring of them the cession of half their property in return for their freedom[2]. The re-ordering of the castle ensued, involving various land sales and concluding with a further concession of lands to the local inhabitants for an unspecified price and the annual census payment of a pound of wax. The castle thus came to form another part of the communanze[3].

The sale of Montalera to the commune has already been discussed, and at least a portion of Valiana was purchased in 1277 from the marquis Ranerius domini Uguitionis[4]. In both cases the original owners seem to have experienced financial difficulties, and again the castles came to form part of the communanze. Very rarely did Perugia actually force a sale of rural property, and when this happened here,

1. These disputes are recorded in the council minutes of 1256 (ANSIDEI Reg. Ref. pp.57, 59-60). For the sale see ASP. Somm. I ff.85v-88r; ed. BENSI op.cit. pp.281-4.(10 Oct. 1257). A tower, variously carefully defined houses and lands were ceded, as were all the possession of Guido 'a ripis intus salvis manualibus et proprietatibus aliis quas ipse habet extra ripas'. The homines were sold 'cum feudis et homagiis et tenementis'.
2. ASP. Statuti I ff.34r-v; ed. BENSI op.cit.pp.287-8.
3. ASP. Somm. IV ff.76r-80v.
4. See above page 140. ASP. Rif. VII f.270r (1276) Andrucius and Jacopellus domini Iacobi Andree Iacobi sold all the land they possessed in Valiana for 2,200 lib.

the circumstances are entirely reasonable. Having bought a part of Montalera, the commune resolved to construct a cassarum there. In order to do so, the other members of the family who had not been a party to the concession made by Andreas Guidutii had to be compelled to sell the portion of the castle still in their hands[1]. The acquisition of part of Valiana from the marquises seems to have encouraged the commune to demand that the Montemelini sell their share as well.

However, it was not always Perugia to benefit from the indebtedness of contain contado nobles. There is little doubt that many of the difficulties experienced by Nicholutius domini Andree de Portulis stemmed from a lack of money. There is a record of a complicated series of transactions between him and the commune. In 1258, he submitted the castle for the duration of the war with Gubbio, receiving the assurance that it would be restored to him at the close of hostilities, together with its jurisdiction. At the same time a land exchange was made, land near Portule being conceded for twelve bebulkariae of the communanze of Colle[2]. This exchange was revoked in 1262 and Nicholutius was

1. ASP. Rif.XIII ff.135r-136r (1309) 'Et deinde cogantur domini et possessores ipsius Montis Alere venditionem comuni Perusii bene et sufficienter facere. Ita quod comune Perusii sit securum'.
2. ASP. Somm. I ff.89r-v (Somm.XXXI); f.92v (Somm.XXXII); II f.110r (Somm.CXLV)

adjudged 2,000 lib. for past damages and for the fruits of the land in Colle: 700 lib. of this was set aside in order to pay his creditors[1].

Nevertheless, when a final sale was made of the castle in the 1270's, it was not to a commune but to members of the Eugubine nobility. An abortive transfer was made in 1274 when the sons of Nicholutius sold the whole castle with its curia, its homines and manentes to their consanguineius, Zenolus domini Boniohannis[2]. This could not have lasted long, since in 1277 Nicholutius himself sold the castle and its jurisdiction to Rubinus and Rigotius domini Uberti. His son, Andrutius, confirmed the sale two years later and a special arrangement was reached for dower lands held there by the latter's wife[3]. Those to whom the castle passed belonged to the Gabrielli of Gubbio, a fact which is demonstrated by a family agreement of the 1340's which refers to Philippus Rigotii domini Uberti de Gabriellibus and to the land and houses which he possessed there[4].

Marsciano was sold to Perugia in 1281 because of the political rather than financial difficulties of its lords. One of the counts was convicted of murder at Todi in 1280,

1. ASP. Somm.II ff.103v-107v. (Somm.CLXII, CLXIII, CLXIV)
2. ASP. I B.14 f.17v.
3. ibid. ff.129r-130r (1277); ff.120v-121r (1279)
4. ibid. ff.136v-137r (1341)

and the sale of Marsciano to Perugia seems to have been one way of avoiding its confiscation[1]. The contract of 1281 records a transfer of full jurisdictional rights to Perugia; these included blood justice, civil justice and the regulation of disputes among the men of Marsciano, rights of silquateum, of the determination of local measures and of appointment of consuls and bailiffs within the castle. A sufficient number of exceptions were made to allow the counts to retain, in practice, a position of some weight. Their own possessions remained untouched by this agreement, as did their rights over their vassals and over the latter's possessions in Marsciano and its territory. Any debts owed to the counts by individual inhabitants of Marsciano had to be paid. The viae publicae et vicinales, both within and outside the castle, together with all rights of entry were to remain free. The counts retained the iuspatronatus of churches here and had permission to keep a boat on the Nestor river[2].

In the following year this contract gave rise to some dispute and was modified. In its second form it reveals even more clearly the interplay of interests surrounding what was now a free rural commune, subject to the authority of Perugia. Each of the branches of the comital family was

1. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p.196.
2. ASP. Diplomatico V P.I c.28 no.254 (15 April 1281)

to be permitted to keep six laboratores to work those lands which the family still held within the iurisdictio of Marsciano. These men were to live extra districtum castri Marsciani and could not be compelled to render services to the rural commune, except for debts up to 10 soldi and for any damages which they might commit. Any familiares and famuli of the counts were not to be subject to the commune's jurisdiction in any way if they lived outside Marsciano itself. Freedom of movement along the roads was guaranteed and there were to be two issues of keys to the main gate. One was to be held by the counts, the other by the men of Marsciano. In time of war, however, both could be claimed by Perugia. Marsciano was to concede to the counts a tract of land in the forest of Orzolano which was then to be granted to the comital vassals. It was further specified that the counts should on no account be compelled to sell or alienate their possessions within Marsciano and that none of the vassals living outside the castle territory was to be received within it, thus being absolved from his prior obligations[1]. The counts certainly continued to live in Marsciano. A meeting of the Perugian guild priors in 1311 took place 'in claustro domorum comitum de Marsciano'. They also persisted in claiming the area as part of their patrimony despite the sale to Perugia[2].

1. UGHELLI Albero e Istoria pp.182-6 (17 Dec.1282)
2. ASP. Rif. XIV f.110r. For the 1328 imperial privilege see Acta Imperii Inedita no.497.

The terms outlined in these two documents show two complementary types of lordship: that of the dominatio loci set in the context of a particular locality, which the counts relinquished, and a second control, that over their vassals who were bound by personal ties which could not be broken by the establishment of a rural commune. Moreover, Perugia had little interest in destroying this latter form of dependence, but rather permitted measures to guarantee its continuation.

That the commune of Marsciano continued to allow all its local nobles to live there is proved by a resolution of 1313 dealing with the repair and reconstruction of the castle. Although all nobiles and citizens of other towns, who would be exempt from the payment of contado taxes, were to be refused the possession of property within the castle, exception was made for members of the comital family. A similar exemption from the forced sale of casalina in the castle suburbs was made for the counts and for the Libro Rosso families, Blancolus and Maestrellus domini Orlandini and representatives of the Vibi[1]. This question of house-ownership in Marsciano did not revolve around odium nobilitatis in the slightest. Its chief concern was the equitable distribution of fiscal burdens. Indeed, the case in point here reveals that the local nobility who had

1. RICCIERI Memorie storiche di Marsciano pp.482-5

traditions of residence in a free rural commune would be favoured over and above any ordinary Perugian citizen. The stipulation, of course, referred only to the castle itself in any case, not to land in its districtus, and by the mid-fourteenth century there is evidence that a number of Perugian families held land there.

This picture of sale and expropriation, therefore, is not a particularly drastic one. Two of the castles, anyway, Fossato and Casacastalda lay outside the limits of the Perugian contado. Moreover, not entirely unexpectedly, the sale of a castle did not necessarily reduce to nothing the nobles' interests in that area. When, at the close of the fourteenth century, the social function of the Perugian communanze underwent change, the heirs of previous owners often re-emerge here, and with continued strength and influence, much as the Fuciarelli did at Montalera[1].

Finally, the case histories of two different castles will be considered in some detail: those of Montone and Bettona. There is nothing more unwise than to expect that political and social developments in all contado areas should follow a uniform pattern. In the same way as it is possible to establish a typology of the physical nature of settlement, differences, both of essence and of chrono-

1. See below pp. 375, 378.

logy, may be noted in the political development of the smaller localities. Both these areas were free communes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but owing to the varying circumstances of their historical and political geography, the resulting picture is by no means the same.

Montone, in the north-eastern part of the Perugian contado, had once formed part of the marquises' patrimony[1], but the early thirteenth century marked its definite removal from their direct control. By the submission of 1216 to Perugia, it possessed its own consuls who swore allegiance on the usual terms. The marquises continued to command loyalty, however. The Montonese could not be called upon to oppose them, nor king and emperor[2]. One of the witnesses to the second submission of Montone, that of 1249, was the marquis Guido who probably maintained a residual influence. This submission was part of the political turmoil associated with Frederick II. An agreement of 19 January 1249 between Perugia and the Fortebraccio domini Oddonis made provision for the protection of all the latter's lands in Montone and in the contado of Città di Castello; in return, he promised every possible assistance in securing the re-submission of Montone. This followed, in effect, five days later, and

1. CENCI 'Codice diplomatico' p.374 CCCXIV (1170) - comitissa Oddolina, wife of the margrave Henry confirmed a donation of land here 'scilicet de medietate orti ipsius curiae in Montone iure proprietatis'.
2. ASP. Somm. I f.106r-107v (Somm.X)

Perugia promised to maintain and protect Fortbraccio and Montone in perpetuity[1].

The Montonese in 1279 agreed to delete from their statutes certain rubrics prejudicial to Perugian authority. At first sight, these rubrics appear to represent just another instance of a rural commune developing its own pretensions and prohibiting appeals outside the castle. But a closer examination suggests that the whole affair may have been a move by the Fortebracci to consolidate their position. A fundamental point of issue in the disputed Montonese statute was the role of the syndicus et capitaneus super appelationibus. This official was none other than Fortebraccio himself, who had received full competence over all appeals for the duration of a year: both civil and criminal causes were included[2]. On 28 December the Fortebracci specifically renounced any rights thus acquired[3]. Even if the initiative had come from the Montonese themselves, the entrusting of the task to representatives of the

1. ASP. Diplomatico IV P6 c.25 no.22 ff.1r-6r.
2. ibid. ff.7r-10r. Certain of the rubrics seem to be concerned with other matters, as for example, that which forbade the formation of any society - 'Quod nullus audeat facere vel ordinare societatem'. Most, however, deal with the office and oath of the syndicus and of his notary. The control which the podestà of Montone was to have over them was restricted. He was not to require from them an oath of obedience, unless he had already done so. He was to cooperate in any judicial appeals if so requested and was to uphold the decisions of the syndicus.
3. ibid. f. 10v.

most important family within the commune clearly demonstrates the way in which Montone was falling under Fortebracci domination.

Theirs was not an uncontested power, however. In 1280 a certain Fatiolus of Montone and his followers made an armed attack on the castle. In the resulting condemnation Fatiolus is described as an enemy of the Church and of Perugia, but his actions seem to have been inspired by hostility to Fortebraccio and a desire to take over the latter's position in the castle. This is witnessed by his war cry: 'Latro, tu es mortuus, moriatur latro, terra mea est'. By this date, therefore, Montone was a fighting ground for its two principal families, both of whom possessed houses within the castle[1].

Conflict between Fatiolus and the Fortebracci broke out again in 1281, this time ending in bloodshed. An examination carried out by the judge of the captain of the people describes the events and their motivation. Fatiolus confessed to having approached Tano of Carpina, himself an avowed enemy of the Fortebracci, and to having received twelve hired thugs from him. These he insinuated into the castle by night, intending to kill the Fortebracci as they

1. ASCANI Montone. La patria di Braccio Fortebracchi. (Citta di Castello 1965) p.33.

emerged from their house the morning after. The plan was thwarted because the victims failed to appear. 'Fortebraccius habet malum in pede et Rubeus scribit quemdam librum ita quod non exivant usque ad plures dies'. Therefore, Fatiolus and his men entered the house, killing Fortebraccio and his wife, Rubeus and his son, together with their nephew, Gepzolus. Of interest are the series of insults Fatiolus recounted and which he saw as a justification for his action.

Respondit quod depulerant ipsum de domo sua et retinuerant extra domum per quindecim annos et peroraverunt ipsum decem milia librarum et oeciderant et occidi fecerant multos de amicis ex parte Fatioli .

Presumably,this explains the attack of the previous year. Peace had been made, but Fatiolus claimed that it had been broken, and almost all of these subsequent outrages had occurred to his friends rather than to Fatiolus himself.

Interrogatus si postquam dicta pax fuit predicti offenderant ipsum. Respondit sic faciendo imponi coltas et gravamina amicis suis et dicendo sibi dedecus. Et predictus Fortebraccius fecit percuti Perutius Pere amicum ipsius Fatioli.

Thus, at least in part, the murder was planned to maintain his position among this clientele by avenging its wrongs. Other traditional notions of honour and treachery were very much to the fore in the question put by the judge: whether Fatiolus had intended to kill his opponents at the time of their reconciliation, thus grossly abusing concepts

of hospitality[1].

This incident and its aftermath put an end to the claims of Fatiolus. Henceforward, the surviving members of the Fortebracci were able to develop their own pre-eminence unhindered. Montone, although subject to temporary incursions at times of local warfare, generally enjoyed a greater stability, and it was not again to be regularly contested by rival noble families. Presumably, de facto, it became the Fortebracci domain and was preserved as such into the late fourteenth century, when it became their de iure by papal concession[2].

Bettona, somewhat over the border in the contado of Assisi, offers a picture that is different at least in its chronology. Submitted to Assisi in 1222[3], it had at that time and throughout the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth all the characteristics of a small independent commune, edging its way in the political borderland between Perugia and Assisi. The men of Bettona appear as a superficially undivided bloc with their own autonomy, tallying nicely with the traditional view of the small rural community in the communal period. In 1266, the council

1. ibid. pp.34-5.
2. MAGHERINI GRAZIANI 'Investitura di Montone a favore dei Fortebracci BU. III (1898) pp.383-4.
3. FORTINI Vita Nuova III 598-9.

minutes refer to a dispute between Bettona and Assisi and a treaty of 1269 between Perugia and Assisi provided that no Perugian should give help to Bettona, fines being graded 25 to 500 lib. for the milites and 10 to 200 lib. for the pedites[1]. Other instances from these years speak of problems concerning the local church of San Crispolto, of the obligation of all who had possessions in Bettona to pay the collecta with the Bettonese and of a dispute between Bettona and Diruta[2]. In 1296, the local inhabitants elected Perugia as defensor terrae and in the following year invited the town to send them a podestà[3]. In 1310 and 1312, they received ambassadors from Perugia on behalf of Cutius domini Iannis of Montesporello, who had a dispute with Assisi[4]. During the warfare of the first decade of that century, Bettona was treated like any of the other larger neighbouring allied communes. Local inhabitants were to be received 'pro veris civibus et originalibus comunis et civitatis Perusii' for the duration of the war and were to be obliged to contribute to the tallia[5].

However, during this period, even if their influence does not appear to have been particularly strong, members

1. ASP. Rif. VI ff.12r-13r, 284r.
2. ibid. f. 80v, 81v, 206r-v.
3. ASP. Rif. XII ff.65r, 101v.
4. ASP. Rif. XIII ff.30v, 250r; XVIII f. 163v.
5. ASP. Rif. XIV ff. 82r-v, 94v; XVIII ff. 30v, 117v.

of the nobility had interests in Bettona. A papal document of 1267, enumerating revenues from the Duchy, recounts that most of the papal lands at Bettona had been occupied by Mainardus Imperatoris of Perugia. This is a name which occurs in Perugian sources from 1202 to 1237[1]. The Baglioni too, already had possessions here and certain Bettonese families became registered among Perugian taxpayers and were assimilated to the noble/magnate class. Such were dominus Bonensigna and his sons and Ninus domini Rodulfi and his brother Signorellus. By 1320, dominus Iohannes domini Aceti was similarly listed. Others of indeterminate relationship were also to be found. It is possible that they were all one clan and their names all appear in the Libro Rosso under Porta San Pietro[2].

By the mid-fourteenth century, Bettona was no longer able to preserve its independent position. Previously secure from falling under the sway of one predominant family, it now fell prey to rival groups of nobles, often from quite

1. SANSI Documenti storici inediti p. 257. Mainardus is described here as nobilis vir. For this name at Perugia ASP. Somm.I f. 106v, 107r. (Somm. V, X); II f. 29r (Somm. LXXIV). He was consul in 1232, the last recorded instance of the office at Perugia. (Annali e cronaca p.5) and a member of the consiglio speciale in 1237 (ASP. Somm. II f. 67v.)
2. For the Baglioni see above page 167. The other Bettonese names are in ASP. Libra I f.103r (post 1285 addition); II ff.3r, 14r. FABRETTI Documenti I 106-7.

far afield. Under 1343, the chronicle of Graziani speaks of a conflict 'fra il popolo e gli grande' with a battle on 22 April; support was given to the grande by the rector of the Duchy, and Perugia seems to have intervened on the other side[1]. But the description of the two contending parties scotches any simple notion of class conflict:

> Capo della parte del popolo era messer Crispolto da messer Pietro da Bettona; et capo de la parte de gli grande erano gli figliuoli de Ensegnarello e gli figliuoli de Ranaldo da Bettona; et in loro aiuto ce era Ludovico de messer Vencioli e Venciarello de messer Piero. Et in aiuto del popolo ce era Simone de Armanno de Castiglione de Ugolino e suoi consorte.

The Baglioni, too, took their chance with Bettona a few years later, and they were named in the condemnations recorded in the registers of the Duchy under 1347 and 1348, together with other members of the Bettonese grande family of 1343[2].

In 1351, doubtless as a response to such events, Bettona submitted to Perugia, transferring full jurisdiction and promising a palio annually worth five florins. Perugia would give protection and treat the Bettonese in cives et tamquam cives. Considerable emphasis was laid on the necessity of preserving the existing status popolaris of Bettona; all nobles accused of subversion were prohibited entry, but they were not to be deprived of the lands they held there. Any noble who offended a popolanus was to be

1. Diario del Graziani pp.127-8.
2. FUMI 'Registri del Ducato' BU.VII (1901) pp.58-61.

banished forthwith[1]. This did not prevent further attacks, such as that in 1352 which was combined with the campaigns of the archbishop of Milan and involved Umbrian nobles from an even wider geographical range, who were Visconti sympathisers; members of the Casali of Cortona and the nobiles della Carda collaborated with Crispolto in seizing Bettona, causing Perugia to come to the rescue again[2]. It was not until the early fifteenth century that stability was restored to Bettona through its grant by the papacy to the Baglioni as a fief.

In general, therefore, two things should have emerged: the extreme interdependence of town and countryside and the need to consider the contado not as a solid bloc but as a congeries of different localities subject to a varying combination of influences. A further consideration is possible. If, from the mid-thirteenth century for about a hundred years, the Perugian contado experienced a relative stability - its borders were defined perhaps around 1200 though the submissions and widespread upheaval among its individual castles did not occur until after 1350 - then this should not merely be attributed to urban strength and politics, but also to the fact that the early thirteenth century corresponded to a period of development and ferment

1. ASP. Rif. XXIII ff.95v-97v; Diario del Graziani p.161.n.1
2. Diario del Graziani pp. 160-65.

in the structure, power and possessions of the Perugian nobility, as outlined in the previous chapters, whilst the ensuing period may have been one of consolidation. The heyday of the communal period did not destroy this noble power; but it set a changed scene for another age of ferment and development.

APPENDIX: PERUGIANS AS FOREIGN PODESTÀ

The following lists give the names of Perugians who were podestà or captain of the people in other Italian towns. Comprehensiveness would have been a gargantuan task. Therefore, attention has been limited to a sample selection of towns in the latter part of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth - Orvieto, Gubbio, Florence and Parma - and to a particular series of years: 1273-4, 1287-9, 1297-8 and 1309-10. The lion's share of these appointments clearly went to several of the leading Perugian noble families. Where it is known that the election was made at Perugia, this fact has been stated, although it would seem that this only ever applied for certain local Umbrian towns. Those cited here are Perugians only; in all the towns studied, however, other Umbrians, especially Eugubine nobles, were particularly well represented.

Orvieto

1279-80 Bernardinus de Marsciano. (captain)[1]

1317-18 Raynerius domini Rodulphi. (captain)[2]

1318 Prizzivalle de Baglionibus. (captain)[3]

1. PARDI G. 'Serie dei supremi magistrati e reggitori di Orvieto dal principio delle liberta comunali all'anno 1500.' BU. I (1895) p.375.
2. ibid. p.383.
3. ibid. p.384.

1318-19	Bonifatius domini Offreducci de Giaconibus. (captain)[1]
1319	Raynaldus domini Santi de Perusio. (*podestà*)[2]
1320	Bernardus de la Cervia de Perusio. (captain)[3]
1323-4	Oddo de Oddis. (captain and subsequently *podestà*)[4]
1327-8	Iohannes domini Aceti de Bectonio.(*podestà*)[5]
1328	Raynerius domini Gualfredutii de Perusio. (*podestà*)[6]
1330	Bicellus q. Gualfredutii de Baglionibus. (*podestà* and captain)[7]
1330-1	Baglione domini Novelli de Baglionibus. (*podestà* and captain)[8]
1331	Iohannes domini Aceti de Bectonio.(*podestà*)[9]
1338-9	Guiduccius Oddi de castro Montonis. (*podestà*)[10]
1339	Cecchus Oddonis de Montone. (*podestà*)[11]
1340	Cecchus de Fortebraccis de Montone.(*podestà*)[12]
1345	Nerus de Montemelino. (*podestà*)[13]
1346	Cecchinus domini Vencioli. (*podestà* and captain)[14]

1. *ibid*. p.384.
2. *ibid*. p.384.
3. *ibid*. p.384.
4. *ibid*. p.385.
5. *ibid*. p.386.
6. *ibid*. p.386.
7. *ibid*. p.387.
8. *ibid*. p.387.
9. *ibid*. p.387.
10. *ibid*. p.389.
11. *ibid*. p.390.
12. *ibid*. p.391.
13. *ibid*. p.391.
14. *ibid*. pp.391-2.

1347-8	Nardus Contoli de Perusio. (*podestà* and captain)[1]
1348	Guinicellus domini Vencioli. (*podestà*)[2]
1348	Leggerius Andriocti. (captain)[3]
1348-9	Franciscus domini Vencioli. (captain)[4]
1349	Theus de Micheloctis. (captain)[5]
1349	Iohannes domini Thomae de Armannis.(*podestà*)[6]
1349	Ludovicus domini Vencioli de Perusio. (*podestà*)[7]
1350	Franciscus domini Henrici de Armannis. (captain)[8]
1350-1	Franciscus de Montone. (captain and *podestà*)[9]
1351-2	Ceccolinus de Micheloctis. (captain)[10]

Gubbio

1267	Monaldus Suppolini. (*rector populi*)[11]
1274	Ugolinus de Castiglione. (*podestà*) [12]
1275	Oddo de Oddis. (*podestà*)[13]
1279	Ugolinus de Castiglione. (*podestà*) [14]

1. *ibid*. p.393.
2. *ibid*. p.393.
3. *ibid*. p.393.
4. *ibid*. p.393.
5. *ibid*. p.393.
6. *ibid*. p.393.
7. *ibid*. p.393.
8. *ibid*. p.393.
9. *ibid*. p.393.
10. *ibid*. p.393.
11. LUCARELLI D. *Memorie e guida storica di Gubbio*. Città di Castello 1888) p.163.
12. *ibid*. p165.
13. *ibid*. p.165.
14. *ibid*. p.165.

1281	Balione de Perusio. (podestà)[1]
1307	Iohannes de Bettona. (captain)[2]
1307	Guido marchio. (podestà)[3]
1352	Ninus Lelli Guidalotti. (podestà)[4]

Florence

1275	Guido marchio de Valiana. (podestà)[5]
1279	Ballione de Perusio. (podestà)[6]
1297	dominus Iacone de Perusio. (podestà)[7]
1300	dominus Brodarius q. domini Hermanni de Sassoferrato (podestà)[8]
1300	dominus Gualfreduccius domini Iohannis domini Balionis de Perusio (captain)[9]
1313	dominus Baldus de Castro Novo (podestà and captain)[10]
1320	dominus Iohannes domini Brodarii de Sassoferrato (podestà)[11]
1321	dominus Paulus domini Guidonis de Balionibus. (podestà) 12

1. ibid. p.165
2. ibid. p.168.
3. ibid. p.168.
4. ibid. p.176.
5. DAVIDSOHN R. Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte von Florenz. (Berlin 1908) IV 539.
6. ibid. p.539.
7. ibid. p.541; see also ASP Rif. X f.324v (Feb. 1298) where he states that he had not received his salary of 1,666 lib. 30 sol. 6 den and had been fined 1,200 lib. by Florence; he requests that Perugia send ambassadors on his behalf.
8. DAVIDSOHN op. cit. p.542.
9. ibid. p.554.
10. ibid. pp.544, 556.
11. ibid. p.547.
12. ibid. p.547.

1321	dominus Berardus domini Guidonis de Cornia. (podestà)[1]
1326	Oddo de Oddis (podestà)[2]
1329	dominus Tebaldus de Castro Novo. (podestà)[3]

Parma

1275	dominus Oppecinus de Sassoferrato.(captain)[4]
1280	dominus Oddo de Oddis. (podestà)[5]
1291	dominus Ungharus de Oddis. (podestà)[6]
1293	dominus Maxolus de Oddis. (podestà)[7]
1300	dominus Brodarius de Sassoferrato.(podestà)[8]
1302	dominus Bernardinus q. domini Guidonis de Cornia. (podestà)[9]
1324	dominus Paulus de Balionibus. (podestà)[10]

1273-4

Chiusi	dominus Tiverius (Montemelini?).(podestà)[11]
Foligno	dominus Hermannus domini Suppolini.(podestà)[12]

1. ibid. p.547.
2. ibid. p.548.
3. ibid. p.549.
4. Chronicon parmense. ed. G. Bonazzi (Città di Castello 1902) RIISS IX/9 31.
5. ibid. p.36.
6. ibid. p.61.
7. ibid. p.65.
8. ibid. p.79. He was elected to the podestàship of Florence whilst still in office and was allowed to leave to take up his new duties.
9. ibid. p.83.
10. ibid. p.173.
11.
12. ibid. f.104v.

Gubbio	dominus Ugolinus domini Lamberti.(_podestà_)[1]
Montepulciano	dominus Oddo de Oddis. (_podestà_)[2]
Montepulciano	dominus Iohannes de Montesporello.(_podestà_)[3]
Nocera	dominus Munaldus de Sancto Valentino. (_podestà_)[4]
Norcia	dominus Blancus Bonusmeri. (_podestà_ and captain)[5]
Pisa	dominus Iohannes de Montesporello.(_podestà_)[6]
Spello	dominus Iohannes domini Magistri. (_podestà_)[7]
Spoleto	dominus Jaronellus domini Ufredutii. (_podestà_)[8]

For the following years all named officials were _podestà_.

_1287-9_

Bologna	Iacone de filiis Iaconis.[9]
Cagli	dominus Ugolinus domini Lamberti de Castiglione.[10]
Narni	dominus Martolus domini Iacobi de Oddis.[11]
Narni	Nicholutius Bonaventure.[12]

1. _ibid_. f.88r.
2. _ibid_. f.104v.
3. _ibid_. f. 99v.
4. _ibid_. f.100r.
5. _ibid_. f.142r.
6. _ibid_. ff.67v-68r. He was elected _podestà_ by Charles of Anjou.
7. _ibid_. f. 87r.
8. _ibid_. f. 89r.
9. I am grateful to Sarah Blanshei for referring me to his podestàship of 1289 from her work in the Bolognese archives.
10. ASP _Diplomatico_ V. P.12 c.31 no.551 (1288)
11. ASP _Rif_. X. f.25v - elected at Perugia 16 May 1287.
12. _ibid_. f.61v - 12 June 1288.

Rieti	dominus Oddo de Oddis.[1]
Spello	dominus Venzolus Uguitionelli.[2]
Todi	Henrichus domini Hermanni.[3]
Todi	Glottus Sensi.[4]
Todi	dominus Oddo de Oddis.[5]

1297-8

Città della Pieve	dominus Raynaldus domini Tancredi.[6]
Civita Nova	Cecholus domini Iohannis de Montesporello.[7]
Gualdo	dominus Tadeus Iohannis.[8]
Nocera	dominus Peregrinus Girardini.[9]
Padua	dominus Ungharus domini Oddonis.[10]
Tolentino	Mascius domini Oddonis.[11]

1309-10

Bologna	Simon Giacanis Zacani.[12]
Città di Castello	Lellus domini Gualfredutii (Baglioni).[13]

1. ibid. f.88r - elected by Rieti in Nov. 1288.
2. ibid. f.88v - elected at Perugia 8 Nov. 1288.
3. ibid. f.64r-v - elected at Perugia 7 July, 1288.
4. CECI 'Podestà di Todi' p.314 (1289).
5. ibid. p.314; also ASP Rif. X f.117v-118v. (1289-90)
6. ASP Rif. X. f.342v - elected at Perugia - 28 March 1298.
7. ibid. f.303r (1297).
8. ibid. f.348r - elected at Perugia - 21 April 1298.
9. ibid. f.285v (1297).
10. ibid. f.303r (1297).
11. ibid. f.303r (1297).
12. I owe this reference to Sarah Blanshei.
13. ASP Rif. XIII f.93r - Oct. 1310.

Fermo	dominus Gualfredutius domini Iohannis (Baglioni).[1]
Nocera	dominus Lambertus domini Iannis.[2]
Reggio	Vincolus domini Elimosine.[3]
Rieti	Cione Hermannutii.[4]
Spoleto	Cola Oddutii. (de Sancto Ianne)[5]
Viterbo	dominus Ufredutius de Jacanis.[6]

1. ibid. 68r-69r. On 12 Jan. 1310 he requested permission from Perugia to accept this appointment; he was not to be allowed to go because he was needed at Perugia.
2. ibid. ff.140v, 162r (March 1309).
3. ibid. f.258v (30 Sep. 1310).
4. ibid. f.163r (May 1309).
5. ibid. f.151r (Feb.1309).
6. ibid. f.71v (Jan.1310).

CHAPTER V. LANDHOLDING IN THE MID FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A brief study of the political geography of the Perugian *contado* and the settlement patterns of the nobility will serve to illuminate further the political relations which have been outlined in the previous chapter. For this, the mid-fourteenth century volumes of the *catasti* are invaluable, and in some small measure fill the documentary gap which exists between 1325 and 1370. There are a number of fragmentary entries from the 1330's, but for 1361 it is possible to examine in detail the land-holding of a number of the greater Perugian families. No attempt will be made to compare total assessments for groups, families or classes; instead, particular attention will be paid to the type and distribution of property and to possible differences between that held by nobles and that held by *popolani*[1].

1. Such a study must, of necessity, be highly selective. The 1333-39 group of *catasti* is contained in volumes II to X and XXIX of ASP. *Catasti* (*primo gruppo*). They were used by Grundman in 'La posizione economica', and he lists on pp.811-12 the individual *Libro Rosso* names which appear here with some description, either complete or fragmentary, of landed property and chattels. I have relied very much on his preliminary soundings for a guide to these volumes.

Volumes XI-XXVIII and XXX-XXXV commence in the year 1361 and contain additions covering the whole of the fifteenth century. They are a series of massive volumes, often of 600-700 folio sheets. In all cases I have tended to limit myself here to the original 1361 entries and to those of the years immediately following. They are all clearly recognisable by the notarial hand.

Some of the volumes, for example no. XXVI (P.S.A. Santa Cristoforo), clearly refer to poorer parishes and contain no entries of interest to this particular study. Other volumes constitute a far richer source, and it is upon these that most attention has been concentrated. These are volumes XI, XV, XX, XXIII, XXIV, XXX, XXXIV. A description of the *catasti* and the

The most significant general fact which emerges is the contrast between the central area of the *contado* and the periphery. Maps IIa-b show the distribution of those areas which still preserved the vestiges of jurisdictional rights into the communal period.[1] It is hardly surprising to find that they lie on the edge of the *contado*, since almost all belonged previously to the more ancient families of margraves and counts. Map III charts very approximately the areas where there was the greatest concentration of noble lands.[2] This reveals a similar pattern; such areas coincide almost entirely with the *contado* periphery and leave a hollow central core where only a few families are represented. The fact that Perugia itself lies on the eastern side of the *contado* means that families with properties concentrated here may have developed different characteristics and closer relations with the town because of their geographical proximity to it.

A further point of interest concerns the nature of this property. In the *catasti* land was usually described as either *petiae* or *tenimenta terrae*. Only very infrequently was the

parishes covered by each volume is found in *Archivio Storico Inventario* pp. 338-42. The volumes listed above provide a detailed survey for members of most of the larger families and an adequate coverage of a fair sample of lesser noble families and leading *popolani*. Because of the partial nature of this consultation, the figures given can be no more than indicative; the trends they suggest, however, seem fairly pronounced.

1. See below pp.352-3.
2. See below p.354.

term *podere* found at all[1]. *Tenimenta* were larger than *petiae*, were more likely to have buildings standing on them and to be devoted to the cultivation of a variety of crops - arable farming, olives and vines. They might, in addition, include a tract of woodland.[2] The line of demarcation between the two is, of course, blurred. Notaries also specified the location of land by reference to a *villa* or a castle. Occasionally, a particularly large *tenimentum* might lie at the meeting point of various *districti*, but this was rare, and almost all land was said to be situated within a castle or one of its *villae*. Larger pieces of land with outlying buildings were either to be found in an area of more concentrated settlement or were scattered about the countryside. Often, the use of such buildings to house agricultural labour is specifically mentioned. No taxable value is given for such houses; since both urban and rural property, when rented out, was always assessed in the registers, it would seem that the *laboratores* were not paying rent.

1. Use of the term *podere* in ASP. *Catasti* XX ff. 27v, 130r; XV f.25v.
2. ASP. *Catasti* XXVII f. 181v 'Item unum tenimentum terrae laborative et non cum domibus, silvis, vineis in pertinentiis villae Fluminis et in pertinentiis villae Corgne et in pertinentiis castri Passignani' (valued at 10,500 *lib.*). In all the following notes values of land will be given as the entry immediately adjacent to the description of the *petia* or *tenimentum* in question. This, presumably, reflects its market value. An individual's assessment, however, is the sum of all these figures divided by ten.

Twice there are entries which relate that individuals held all the houses within a named castle[1]. This refers to ownership of the physical fabric of the castle, not to the possession of jurisdictional rights. It may suggest that the castle itself was primarily a seigneurial dwelling, or that the original settlement and attraction of men to live there had been due to the initiative of the lord. In both cases the tax entry refers to a half of the castle held pro indiviso, possibly with other members of the same family. This would argue against a later purchase, and leads us to believe that such possession by local nobles dated from the origins of the castle.

Some families or individuals held most of their lands in one particular area, but there are no consolidated great domains in the Umbrian records comparable to, for example, the casali of the Roman countryside and, indeed, we should not expect any[2]. Even when a family had a special, even an exclusive, interest in one castle, the holdings of its different members consisted of variously-sized petiae and tenimenta there. It was rare for land to be held in

1. For example, ASP. Catasti XXVII f. 185r 'Item assignat dictus Ceccolus suo proprio nomine partem castri Fluminis cum domibus et palatio in eo existentibus' - a member of the family from Flumine (1335). The second instances come from the Armanni family, ASP. Catasti VI f.18r 'Item dimidiam partem castri Montis Iuliani scilicet casamentorum dicti castri divisi cum Rigutio et heredibus Luciarelli domini Iohannis'.
2. Cf. MAIRE VIGUEUR 'I casali' passim.

common. When this occurred at all, it was usually because brothers had not yet divided their patrimony. When it came to a division whole petiae were assigned to the individual heirs. Sometimes, some of the larger tenimenta remained in common after the division. At a date after 1361 three Ranieri brothers, Nere, Dominus Nicola and Gluctus Alexandri divided their inheritance according to this pattern[1]. Mills were also divided into fractions, as were shares in the communanze of a contado castle or villa[2]. Houses often continued to be held in common[3].

1. ASP. Catasti XX ff. 55r-57v. The entry first appears under the joint name of the three brothers, and later marginal annotations indicate the share of each. A large number, although not all, of the greater tenimenta and the houses remained in common after the division.
2. ASP. Catasti XX f. 130r three members of the family from Antignolla held a third each of the communanze, woodland and arable, pro indiviso. IV f. 182v. Longarutius domini Gualfredutii degli Oddi held half a mill in common with the monastery of Monte Malbe. XXXIV f. 695r - a quarter of a mill went to Franciscus domini Andree Montemelini; he also held half a large wooded tenimentum near Mont'Alera worth 450 lib.(f. 697r). For the Baglioni mills near Santa Maria Villagemini see XI f. 170v.
3. ASP. Catasti XI f. 293r - d. Balionus domini Gualfredutii had a quarter of six parts of a casamentum which he held 'comune cum heredibus Chuchi, heredibus Guidarelli et aliis suis consortibus'. His share was valued at 1,957 lib. because a camera was let for five florins rent per year. The casamentum mentioned above seems to have had a special significance for the Baglioni, since each branch also held other urban houses where they actually lived, e.g. ff.169r, 167r-v.

Dowry assignments seem to have been one of the most clearly specified means by which land from one district passed to a family who, otherwise, would have had no interests there. Under the entry for the nobles from Monte Nigro, almost all of whose possessions, and certainly the most valuable, were to be found in this particular castle, there were also lands which had been part of the dowry of Iacoba, the wife of Ciutius Vegnatoli. Most of these were in the villa of Santa Maria de Pitignano, but there was also a casamentum in Porta Sole[1]. In general, however, it is surprising that so few of the 1361 entries reflect a greater miscellany of lands, such as would be expected from the long-term accumulation of dowry settlements. There could be various explanations for this: a tendency to pay dowries in cash rather than in land, the restoration of the same dower lands to the widow on her husband's death, the sale of any such outlying pieces in order to consolidate closer at hand or to provide liquid funds, the habit of assigning such lands as the dowry of future daughters. It is a question which would certainly merit further study over a longer period.

Property, therefore, was largely dispersed, but in varying degrees. Some families, such as the Montemelini, held

1. ASP. Catasti IV ff. 197r-v. They consisted of the following: in the districtus of Santa Maria of Pitiganano - a tenimentum worth 1,000 lib., a second together with an arboretum valued at 815 lib., two petiae worth 150 and 25 lib. respectively, petiae in Rance valued at 100 lib. and less.

up to three different centres of landed concentration. At one of these, Montemelinò itself, the individual entries show a number of very large tenimenta and suggest a considerable degree of concentration here. As a whole, however, the family's possessions run discontinuously along the old margraval sphere of influence in the north-eastern part of the contado, passing along the eastern side of Lake Trasimeno with important centres at Montegualandro and Agello, to Montalera in the south. In the area of the lake, besides one large podere at Flumine, there were also a number of scattered petiae terrae in isolated areas[1].

To a greater or lesser extent, this pattern is also true of other noble clans. The Fortebracci held land almost exclusively in Montone and Fracta filiorum Uberti and their dependent

1. ASP. Catasti XX ff. 23r-28r - for the property held in common in 1361 by the heirs of dominus Franciscus Cutii. By far the largest part consisted of land in Montemelino, where a number of very considerable tenimenta are recorded. Many of these had either mills or houses for the brothers' agricultural labourers. There were also some smaller pieces in Montegualandro and in the neighbourhood of Montesperello. Reschi also figured. This was an area associated with the marquises. The latter appear as owners of contiguous lands, and on occasions the marquises and the Montemelini held land in common. Most of these lands were of negligible value. By the early fifteenth century, the Montemelini had come to lay far more extensive claims to this region; they already seem to have had rights in the castle's central fortification.
Another branch of the family was represented by d. Andreas Mariani in 1334, and his descendants in 1361, almost all of whose lands were divided between Agello and Montemelino. (ASP. Catasti IV ff. 234r-236v; ff. 694r-697v) The third branch, that of d. Ranerius domini Iacobi, had most of its most valuable land at Montemelino, although Mont'Alera was also well represented. (ASP. Catasti XXXIV ff. 229r-230v)

villae[1]. A member of the Fuciarelli, Guidutius Cutii Fuciarelli, had almost the entirety of his estates at Montalera, the castle sold to Perugia by his ancestors. These include a considerable tenimentum, worth about half his total assessment, two smaller arable lands and one piece of woodland. The only other land he possessed was at the other side of the contado, at Petramelina, and amounted to about 12% of his total taxable value[2]. The Vencioli display similar characteristics at their family villa of Monteruffiano[3], and the Montesperelli had next to no rural property outside of Montesperello itself[4].

Sometimes, the distribution of land was more scattered than this, but still remained generally confined to a certain

1. ASP. Catasti XXIII ff. 193r-195v - d. Guido Oddonis of Montone and ff. 198v-200v - d. Franciscus Novellus domini Francisci Oddonis.
2. ASP. Catasti XXIII f. 154v. The one extensive piece was a tenimentum with vines, arable, woods and houses near Mont-'Alera worth 1,200 lib. Other land here was worth 630 lib. He also had a house in Perugia which he rented out at 4 florins a year and was assessed at 290 lib. Land in Petramelina was worth 360 lib.
3. ASP. Catasti XI ff. 7r-9v, represented by d. Alexander Pelloli.
4. ASP. Catasti XX ff. 328r-329v. At most, 15% of the possessions of d. Averardus Ceccoli domini Iannis were held outside Montesperello itself; there, however, he possessed land of a variety of different types - arable and vines, olives, poplars, oaks, dovecotes and an olive mill.
For Andrutius Ninoli Ciutii the figure is about 15% for land outside Montesperello (ibid. f. 346v), and the picture is the same for Ugolinus Agabicti Contoli and Lellus Contoli domini Uguitionis (XV f. 32r, 154r), although it is higher, about 35% for the heirs of Petrutius domini Iannis (XX f. 343r)

area. The della Corgna are a case in point. They held property in almost equal amounts in Vernazzano, Lisciano, Tisciano, Fracta de Bictis, Corgna, San Valentino and the castrum de Formis[1]. Similarly, the Vibi, whilst being centred upon Montevibiano and Montevergano, had interests which stretched across the south-eastern part of the contado, extending as far as the villa of San Biagio and including Compagnano and Plagario[2].

In the eastern part of the contado, along the left bank of the Tiber, were the possessions of the Armanni and the Archipresbyteri, families which have already been associated with the abbey of Santa Maria Valdiponte. Their land is more fragmented than that of most Perugian noble families, reaching along the whole length of the Tiber north of the town and comprising some pieces of land in almost all the castles and villae in which the abbey had an interest. Despite this, very few of the family's lands were held on leasehold from Santa Maria, and this lack of ecclesiastical leases in noble hands is generally true of all the catasto entries consulted. Remaining monastic records also bear out such an impression[3].

1. ASP. Catasti XXIX ff. 12-16(b)v, 18r-21v, 22v-26v, 98v-99v.
2. ASP. Catasti VI ff. 17r-21v; XXIV ff. 12r-15v, 49r-53r.
3. The monastery of Petrorio conferred a lease on Oddutius domini Alardi degli Oddi (IV f. 191r). For the thirteenth century leaseholds from San Lorenzo to the Armanni/Archipresbyteri and to the Coppoli see above pp.146,263. After c.1230, I have not been able to find any further charters from Valdiponte which conferred tenure ad libellum to Perugian nobles. One

Thus, the detailed examination of noble tax entries illustrates more closely the existence of the hollow central core. Its outermost limits can be traced as follows: in the south-eastern corner from San Valentino, where one of the lesser noble families was based[1], running westwards along the line of the Vibi interests[2], then following the mountains to the west of Lake Trasimeno to Pian di Marte in the north-west, across to Antignolla and Castiglione Ugolino in the north-east and thence proceeding along the ridge of the mountains on the right bank of the Tiber south to Perugia. The resulting area within these boundaries can be divided on

document from San Pietro, however, does suggest that in certain areas, at least, some noble families may have continued to hold leases from the abbey: the charter in question, (no. XLIX in Le carte di San Pietro) is dated 19 October 1333. In it abbot Ugolino of Montevibiano gave to Vannes Guidarelli of Montelabbate for himself and his nephews a three-generation emphyteusis for lands near the castle of Santa Cristina. Boundary descriptions include the names of two other Perugian nobles, d. Hermannus domini Ranerii (Archipresbyteri) and the descendants of Suppolus of Fiblino who also held ad libellum. The document itself confirmed to the above-named individuals land which had been conceded to the monastery in 1279 'per nobiles viros Munaldum domini Uguitionis olim avum maternum ipsius Vannis Guidarelli et etiam per Andrutium Iacobi et per Tancredum domini Manentis et quosdam alios nobiles de supra-dicto castro Sanctae Cristinae'.

1. ASP. Catasti XXXIV f. 710v-713r - Munaldutius Abatelli domini Fei; op. entry in Libro Rosso (FABRETTI Documenti I. 120) Besides a number of houses at San Valentino, he held a 'palatium cum carbonariis in pertinentiis villae Sancti Valentini sive podium ipsius ville'. His land was here and in the villae of Coliante and Ulmeto, and he was one of the lesser of the Perugian nobles.

2. For a representative entry for the Vibi see ASP. Catasti XXXIV ff. 115r-120v - Andreas domini Ranerii (2,222 lib. ad grossam).

a relief map into two regions: the plains to the immediate south-east of Perugia and the lesser hills which run somewhat to the north-west and merge on almost all sides into the border area with its concentration of noble property.

In the centre of the contado there were, nonetheless, outposts of noble influence. These were of two types. It was not unknown to find occasional penetration within this inner ring by noble families whose concentration of lands was elsewhere. Mantignana is a case in point. It was one of the centres of interest of the cathedral chapter, and was also associated with the Ranieri, whose chief family castle was at Pacciano in the extreme south-west of the contado. Some members of the family held almost all their lands at Pacciano, but other branches had land at various places along the western edges of the contado and then along the northern border to Preitino. Mantignana, however, is distinctly nearer to Perugia than any of these[1].

The second type of settlement is that of lesser noble

1. ASP. Catasti XV f. 226r-v - Costantinius Rogerii, one of the lesser land-owners in the family (230 lib. ad grossam), all of whose land was at Mantignana. Cf. XX f. 55r - Nere, d. Nicola and Gluctus q. Alexandri, almost all of whose lands were at Pacciano, and similarly f. 59r Iacobus Chelis domini Iacobi. Iohannes Actaviani Tancredi and his brother Tancredus (ff. 81r-82r, 92r-v) both possessed much of their land at Mantignana. The latter had one very small piece pro indiviso with the cathedral chapter, as well as other land in his own right.

families whose possessions lay almost exclusively in one villa, such as Montefrondoso or Caterano[1]. Both these areas are closer to the town than the majority of noble interests. It should be noted, however, that these families were also those which had the least to do with the town until a very late date, often not until the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. Their slightly greater proximity does not appear to have 'urbanised' them in any noticeable way, if anything, in fact, quite the reverse and they both remained unobtrusive and poorly documented.

What we know of the clan from Caterano illustrates this well. None of the individual assessments in 1361 was particularly large, and the total wealth of the family cannot begin to compare with that of the Ranieri, for example. The nature of the settlement at Caterano is ambiguous. Some entries speak of it as a castle, but others place it within the villa of Santa Maria Cenerente. This would reverse the usual order which places a castle at the head of a number of villae.

1. For further discussion of the Caterano clan see below p.373. The references to members' landholding are in ASP. Catasti XXX ff. 428r (Pellinus Cole), ff. 428v-29r (Mascius Cole), ff. 429v-30r (Manente q. Balionis Suppolini), f. 430v (Perus Balionis Suppolini) and ff. 437v-439r (Tomassus Balionis Suppolini). All, except Tomassus, had tax assessments of less than 150 lib. The latter's assessment was 333 lib. XXIII ff. 123v-127v, an entry of 1435 for Tomassus Simonis Putii, whose land was much more widely scattered throughout the contado than the references to the mid-fourteenth century suggest.

Almost all the family's possessions consist of simple *petiae terrae* of relatively small value, although Tomassus Balionis Suppolini, whose tax assessment was greater than those of his cousins, also displayed a greater geographical variety in his landholding. He had land at Agello as well as a number of very small pieces in the district of Megiano Marchionum and a more consolidated bloc of land at Caterano - an extent of arable and vines with buildings and a mill for grain.

The examples cited above refer to the area of the lesser hills. The plains to the south-east of the town are almost entirely free of any concentration of noble property. Only a few families held any land here at all. One branch of the Coppoli is to be found at Cardione, Sant'Egidio de Celle and Santa'Agneta de Boneggio, all to the south of the town[1]. The Baglioni offer a different and rather interesting picture. Whilst the bulk of their lands was immediately to the east of the town near the modern Ponte San Giovanni, the different members of the family also possessed isolated *petiae* at a number of places scattered throughout the southern plain[2].

1. ASP. *Catasti* XXIII for one of the lesser sub-divisions of the Coppoli family - ff. 327r-330v, 345r-46r, 351r. These are the descendants of Fatius Contutii. Their tax assessment ranges from 157 *lib.* to 483 *lib.*
2. ASP. *Catasti* XI ff. 167r-177r, 293r. The wealth of the family is divided up here among nine members to give moderately-sized individual assessments of an average of 400 *lib.* in 1361. The entry for d. Balionus Gualfredutii gives an assessment of 446 *lib.*, but subsequent pages show that this rapidly increased to over 2,000 *lib.* (ff. 293r-95v).

In the previous chapter it has been suggested that the early fourteenth century was a period of political expansion for the Baglioni. This may have allowed them to acquire new lands; because of their original position and their involvement with the town, the southern plain would have been a fairly obvious place in which to purchase. If this was a process of acquisition, it was, however, a wholly promiscuous affair. The records of 1361 show this land to have been scattered and in single pieces.

Before 1361 there is no other noble family whose tax assessment suggests even a tentative policy of amassing lands in the heartland of the contado. Some of the 1361 entries, however, do reveal some definite recent purchases, but these all seem to refer to land in the outer contado areas where the individual in question already had some not inconsiderable interests. This is true, for example, of Andreas domini Ranerii of Montevibiano, who had bought from inhabitants of Compignano petiae terrae worth fifty and a hundred pounds, various very small lands in Montevibiano from a certain Vannutius of Montevibiano and other property in Compignano from Petrutius Neri, count of Migliano. Among the latter acquisitions was a tenimentum of arable with two mills worth two thousand pounds and another worth a hundred, as well as several smaller pieces[1].

1. ASP. Catasti XXXIV ff. 116v,117v - Andreas domini Ranerii.

This suggests that, at least up to the mid-fourteenth century, the plains nearer the town did not exercise any strong power of attraction upon the nobility. This may have been caused by a number of things. Perhaps, the nobility did not tend to acquire many new lands at all after the thirteenth century, the 1361 entries in this case referring to land possessed for a considerable length of time. If this were so, then the early fourteenth century would be a period of stagnation in aristocratic acquisition of lands, although this could also have coincided with the improvement of existing estates. Another reason might be that the nobility deliberately chose to keep most of its possessions at a distance from the town, judging that a greater degree of independence might thus be retained. Such a situation would also have facilitated evasion of communal restrictions on the export of grain. There might, therefore, have been a commonsense feeling that it was better to maintain a certain cohesion and to limit purchases to previous areas of interest.

It would seem that the economic magnetism of the town was not sufficient to make land nearer Perugia so profitable that the nobility actively developed a new interest in this area; possibly, however, they were not concerned to do so, even if if would have been to their advantage. This is not true of land in the immediate suburbs where a number of nobles held

very large tenimenta.[1]

It is difficult to compare the pattern of distribution of noble property at Perugia to that in other communes, since so few investigations have been undertaken in this matter. However, recent studies for Pisa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries suggest an entirely different state of affairs. The Visconti lands, for example, were in the Val di Serchio and the Val d'Arno not far from the town. The same was true of the da Caprona and Marigiani lands. In summing up the results of these various monograph studies, Gabriella Rossetti states that the proximity of their lands to Pisa was one of the chief characteristics of the consular families in the early commune. As we have seen, the opposite was the case at Perugia[2].

An examination of selected popolani at Perugia reveals a very different picture. It is less usual to find a concentration of lands in one particular area and more common for families to avoid the periphery of the contado. (Maps IV a - b). Of the sample families, some seem to have possessed wealth surpassing that of the lesser nobility by the mid-fourteenth century, and

1. For an entry with a considerable amount of land in the town itself see ASP. Catasti XXIII ff. 27r-35v - d. Franciscus domini Ugolini (Archipresbyteri). For Andreas domini Ranerii mentioned above XXXIV f. 115r - 'quasdam possessiones prope Perusiam in loco dicto Porsina cum domo', f. 119v - land with vines and a house in the suburbs of P.S.S., worth 1,500 lib. Holdings in the suburbs were usually assessed at a high figure.
2. Pisa nei secoli XI e XII pp. xxiii, 39, 192, 198.

occasionally comparable to some of the greater noble houses, although probably not to the greatest, such as the Montemelini[1]. This pattern may have been in evidence at an earlier date. Mira estimated that in 1285, of the 91 richest proprietors, 64 belonged to the nobility and the rest came from other sections of society. Grundman's analysis of the 1320 Libra from Porta San Pietro shows the existence of a group of families among the popolo whose wealth certainly matched some of the nobles in this porta, and Sarah Blanshei's discussion of the same material comes to a similar conclusion[2].

Individual examples show that popolano possessions were generally more scattered. The 1361 assessment of Mansuetus q. Blaxi q. ser Ranaldi, one of the earliest recorded members of the Mansueti, displays two areas where land was held: one to the north-west of the town in Santa Lucia and the second to the south around San Martino de Ficu[3]. The family de Caccillibus held land

1. The total assessment ad grossam from five entries for the Barzi was 5,191 lib. See also the Boncagni: a total from three entries of ca. 4,225 lib. The assessment of Ninus Lelli domini Guidalotti alone was 6,105 lib. These figures far outstrip those of the families from Caterano or Montesperello, but are less than representatives of the more important Perugian noble families such as Franciscus domini Ugolini Archipresbyteri (ASP. Catasti XXIII f. 27r) with an original assessment of 6,243 lib. which was later reduced to 4,660 lib. although it increased again. The Montemelini assessment stood at over 10,000 lib.
2. MIRA G. 'L'estimo di Perugia dell'anno 1285' in Annali della Facolta di Scienze Politiche ed Economia e Commercio dell'Universita degli Studi di Perugia. n.s.IV 1955-6; GRUNDMAN 'La posizione economica' pp. 810-25 and BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp. 46 - 7.
3. ASP. Catasti XXXIV f. 257r - Mansuetus Blaxi q. ser Ranaldi, with an assessment of 227 lib., rising to 725.

in the three *villae* of Pitignano, San Valentino and Coliante[1]. The Merciari, represented by Gilius Martini Crescembene, had land all over the *contado*. Certain largish pieces were found at Mantignana and also at Pitignano, in the west and east of the *contado* respectively and some moderately valuable ones in the *villa* of Colle. He had considerable possessions in the immediate suburbs of Perugia; and at Torsciano he had half shares in land with his brother, Matheolus. Further possessions were held in the Chiugi[2]. The Boccoli also held land at various centres: immediately to the north of Perugia around Santa Cruce Villagemini, towards Petrula, Vitiano and Civitella d'Arno, further north almost at the edge of the non-noble core at Colle Saxi, further east into the Valdiponte sphere of influence at Solfagnano and at Montelabbate itself, including one piece of land held *ad libellum* from the monastery, and finally to the south at Sant' Angelo de Celle and then towards Assisi at Rosciano.[3] The lands of the Barzi were immediately to the north of the town in a fairly concentrated grouping, at Columella, Pieve Pagliati, Colle Ticche,

1. ASP. *Catasti* XXIII f. 147r Perus Hermannutii (514 *lib.* 10 *sol.* *ad grossam*) ff. 148r-v Nutius Hermannutii (724 lib. *ad grossam*). For Perus almost 75% of his holdings consist of two very large *tenimenta* in San Valentino Pitignano (1,050 and 2,560 *lib.*), both with vines. About 52% of his brother's lands were represented by large *tenimenta* in Pitignano and Candione.
2. ASP. *Catasti* XXIV ff. 72r - 75v (1,855 *lib.* increased to over 2,000). His most considerable *tenimenta* were at Mantignana and Pitignano, both of which areas we have seen associated with other families.
3. ASP. *Catasti* XVIII f. 17r Ceccarellus Ciutii de Boccolis (1,354 *lib.* *ad grossam*), f. 30r Iohanellus Ciutii Simonelli (549 *lib.* *ad grossam*) f. 43r Iohannes and Cola Restori Cole (735 *lib.*) and f. 53r Restorus Cole (1,800 *lib.*)

Colle Saxi and Pieve Ripa. At Civitella d'Arno they had not only land but also the rocca, which they later sold to Perugia. In none of these places, however, were they the only, and probably not even the major, landowners[1].

The Andreotti lands are described in the will of Angelus Leggerii and later in the catasto declaration of his daughter; this latter dates from the early fifteenth century, but the distribution of lands seems to reflect fairly accurately the situation outlined half a century earlier in the will. Surprisingly, the family had lands in the far south-east of the contado at Pacciano. Although there was a considerable number of these, they were mostly of relatively small value and the really big

1. ASP. Catasti XV ff. 89r, 96r, 111r, 268r and XX f. 281r. For the rocca of Civitella d'Arno see XV f. 96v: 'Item sextam partem unius castri sive rocche cum girone in qua girone sunt due ecclesiae Sancti Angeli et Sancti Iohannis cum sexta parte plurimum casalinorum turrium et platearum et carbonariorum pro indiviso cum Petro Gioli, Cecolo Ciutii et Filippo et Iohanni Paulutii positum in castro Arnis'. It was valued at 10 lib. only. The family was somewhat less wealthy and its possessions less widely spread than the Armanni and the Archipresbyteri, but otherwise there are marked resemblances between the two groups.

The division of the larger Barzi tenimenta, those worth over 1,000 lib., is as follows:

	Number of lands	Value in pounds
Villa Plebis Pagliatii	2	2,200 1,000
Civitella Arnis	2	1,500 1,500
Villa Plebis Ripe	5	2,000 1,100 2,000 1,700 1,465
Contrada Monteluce	1	1,345
Santa Maria Villagemini	1	2,200
Castrum Grifonis	1	1,050
Ramazzano	4	1,725 1,360 1,550 1,090
Villa Casolis	1	1,000

tenimenta were to be found in the vicinity of Perugia. Moreover, some of the land at Pacciano was described as infertile (sterile), a notarial practice rarely encountered in any other catasto entries and not even for those of the Ranieri at Pacciano itself[1].

Members of the Michelotti are among the few popolani studied whose lands extended a considerable distance from the town, in this case in the north-eastern part of the contado. They held land here at various centres, some of which coincided with areas of influence of the della Corgna, but it would be difficult to speak of any one district in which their landed interest predominated. Their later political manoeuvring over Vernazzano suggests, however, that they may have come to use this one particular landed base as a centre of power. Besides these holdings, they also had possessions scattered throughout a large number of different villae in the centre of the contado[2].

Of the Guidalotti, Ninus Lelli domini Guidalotti is a particularly interesting case. His taxable worth ad grossam was 6.105 pounds and he represented only one of the three branches

1. ASP. Catasti XXIV ff. 15v-20r - d. Cherubinus Armanni (1417) who had married one of the daughters of Angelus domini Legerii. For Angelus's will see ASP. Corp. Relig. Sopp. Santa Maria della Misericordia Pergamene sec. XIV no. 258. Apart from the lands at Pacciano, most were in Villa Nova, very near to Perugia.
2. ASP. Catasti XXXIV ff. 28r - 29r (Franciscus Nolfoli Iohanelli), ff. 87r-89v (Theus domini Peronis). ff. 54r, 57r, 81r, 85r - Robertus, Michelottus and Federicus, amongst whom Theus's inheritance was later divided. For their political involvement with Vernazzano ASP. Rif. XXXII f. 8v.

of the family by that date. His father, in 1320, was assessed for 2,000 pounds, and even allowing for a measure of devaluation and depreciation in the Perugian libra, this is still a fairly sizeable increase in wealth. The 1361 entry, therefore, must contain a number of recent acquisitions of land. A detailed breakdown of these possessions is found below[1], and their distribution on a map shows how dispersed they were.

1. See ASP. Catasti XI ff. 348r-355r:

	No. of lands	Value in pounds
Marsciano	15	4,378
Muricella and Montevibiano	16	4,470
Petraficta	9	774
Agello	9	2,745
Santa Savino	5	1,030
Calsciana	5	1,687
Pila	1	625
Contrada Veggi	2	1,800
Spedalicco	1	1,400
Colle Strada	2	160
Montefrondoso, Santa Solomei	17	8,890
Santa Mariano	2	280
Santa Feliciano	6	2,075
Santa Nicola de Celle	2	498
Santa Cristoforo de Celle	1	700
Civitella	4	1,630
Pitignana	9	600
Villa Santa Sebastiani	2	421
Villa Santa Angeli de Agliano	1	210
Candione	1	1,050
Santa Martino de Ficu	1	1,350
Coliante	1	520
Monte Petriolo	3	370
Villa Campi	1	65
Santa Egidio de Colle	1	200
Suburbs P.E.	1	4,000
Suburbs P.S.	1	1,200
Suburbs P.S.P.	1	200
Suburbs P.S.A.	1	500

It has been noted that noble families held land in a variety of localities, stretching across a wider general area, and that in certain cases villae and castles definitely fell under the influence of one particular family. This is rare in the centre of the contado. If a family held land in one particular spot here, they would usually find themselves associated with other families and interests. The Boncambi, whose entry suggests that for them Mantignana was a very important centre, had to share this interest with at least the Ranieri and the cathedral chapter; other popolani have been noted with land there too. Although the Boncambi possessed and fortified a rocca here, they also had to face at least one challenge to their rights by a member of the Ranieri in 1370[1]. Moreover, Mantignana is already some distance from the town. In short, therefore, it was much more difficult to divide up the centre of the contado into family zones in the same way as was possible for the periphery. In the former the mosaic of possession was far more intricate and less clear-cut.

This pattern of land-distribution at Perugia possibly goes some considerable way towards explaining why it was that the town contrived to maintain such a degree of independence, surrounded

1. ASP. Catasti XXIII f. 130r - Iacobutius Paulutii Boncagni (623 lib. 10 sol. ad grossam) held all his land but one piece in Mantignana. See also ASP. Catasti XXXIV ff. 95v-99r for the really large family assessments. For the Ranieri and Mantignana see above p.339: for the cathedral chapter the lease books passim

as it was, on at least three sides, by a ring of land where its lesser citizens were the main proprietors and where the fragmentation of property was such as to exclude any overwhelming interests within striking distance of the town - except for the Tiber valley and the region around Ponte San Giovanni, whence the final danger was to come as the Baglioni consolidated their possessions and control here through papal grant in the fifteenth century. But earlier, in the mid-fourteenth century, the situation then makes the political balance between town and countryside in the communal era, such as it has been outlined above, seem entirely plausible.

MAP II(a). THE EXERCISE OF PRIVATE JURISDICTION AFTER 1250



1. Montegualandro
2. Valiana
3. Pierle
4. Castro Novo

Transferred from margraves with jurisdiction.

5. Raschi

Margraves - area extends across Niccone creek into contado of Città di Castello (Sorbello, Rasina Monte S. Maria etc.)

6. Monte Verzano.
7. Poggio Aquilone
8. Marsciano

Counts of Marsciano - area extends into contado of Orvieto (Porrano Montegiove etc.)

9. Colcurano

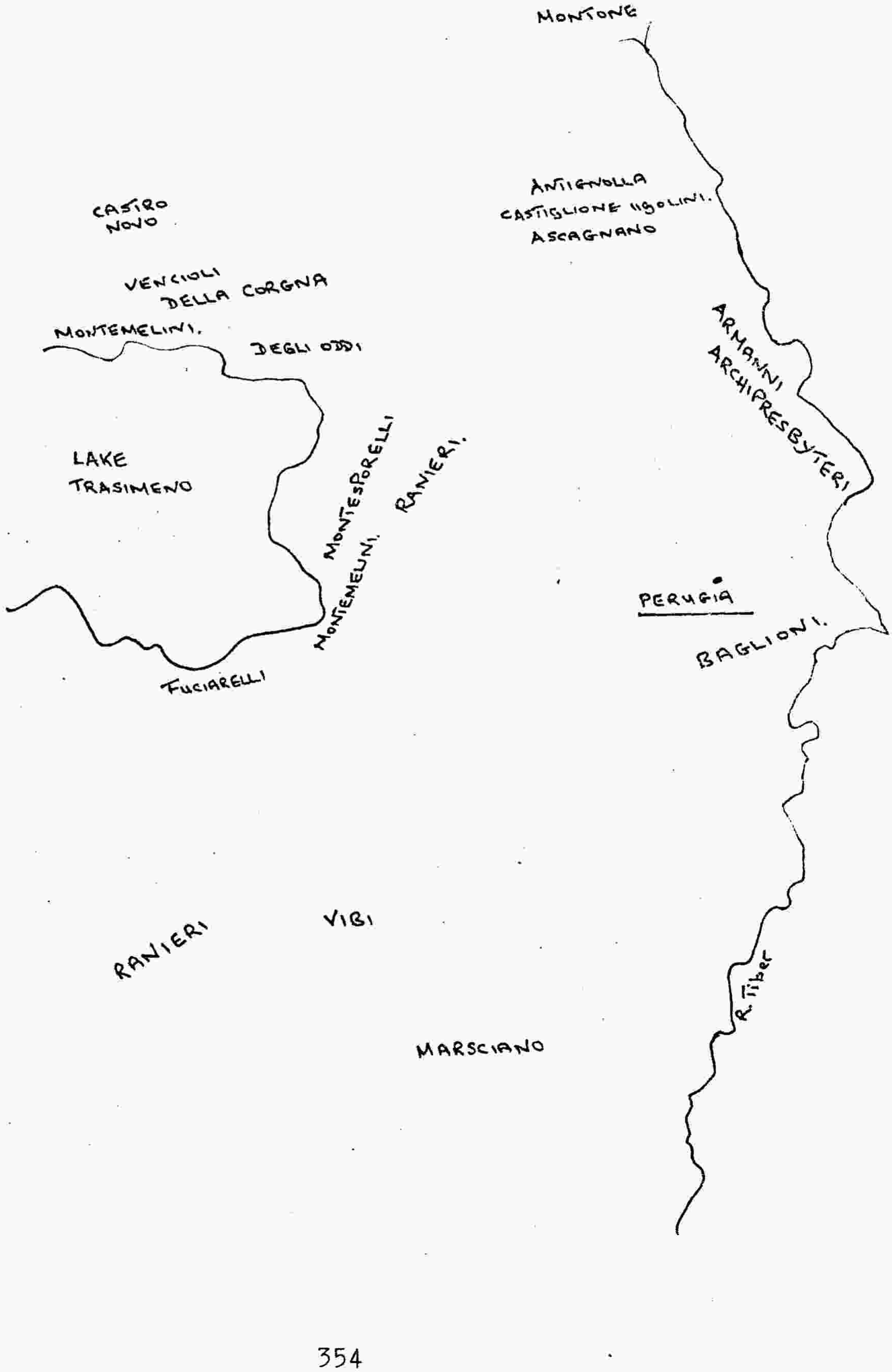
Area extends into contado of Gubbio

MAP II(b). PRIVATE PEDAGIUM RIGHTS IN 1279.



1. Passignano
2. Vernazzano
3. Castro Novo
4. Montalera
5. Agello
6 Piagario
7. Casalina.
8 Marsciano
9. Diruta
10. Montebello
11. Carpina.

MAP III. DISTRIBUTION OF NOBLE LANDS IN THE PERUGIAN CONTADO ca.1350



MAP IV(a). POPOLANI LANDHOLDING ca.1350: THE BOCCOLI AND THE DE CACCILIBUS.



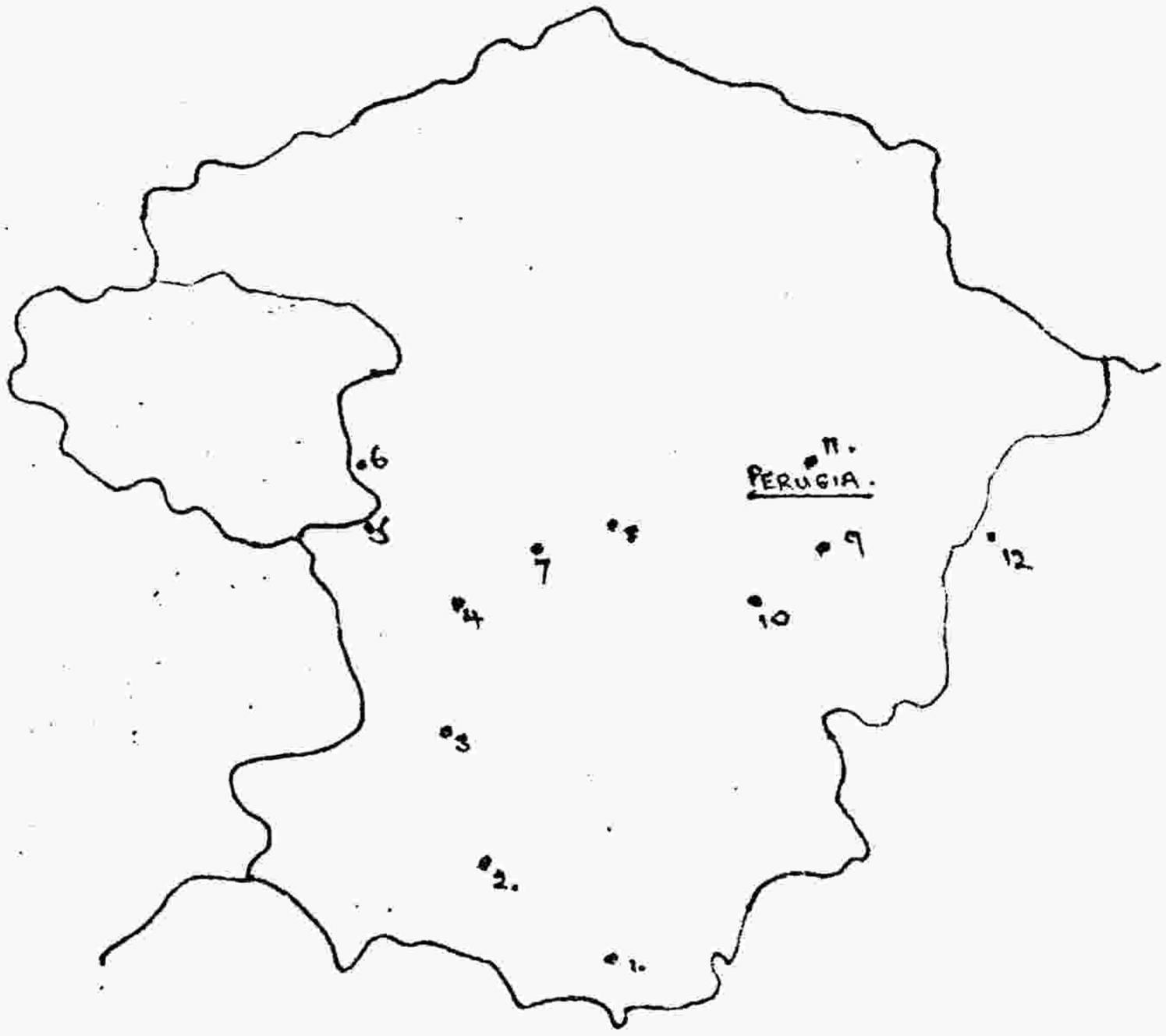
DE CACCILIBUS

A Pitigrano
B Colianre
C San Valentino

BOCCOLI

1. Civitella
2. Solfagnano
3. Petrula.
4. Santa Cruce Villagemini.

MAP IV(b). POPOLANI LANDHOLDING ca.1350: THE GUIDALOTTI



1. Marsciano
2. Muricella, Montevibiano
3. Petrafietta
4. Agello
5. San Savino
6. San Feliciano
7 Montefrondoso
8 Coliante
9. Sant'Angelo de Agliano
10 San Cristoforo de Celle
11. Perugian Suburbs
12 Ospedalicco.

CHAPTER VI. THE GROWTH OF AN URBAN OLIGARCHY.

It is not intended in this final chapter to trace in detail either the political circumstances of the period or the prosopography of local families at this date. Either task would itself be a vast enterprise. Instead, attention will be directed to the changes which took place in the definition and composition of the nobility and to the way in which these changes fitted into wider political and social developments. In part, therefore, this is a study of the process of ennoblement; it is concerned, too, with the changing relations of town and countryside in so far as they reflect both practical politics and the mentality and consciousness of the noble class.

The tortuous outline of political history at this stage is characterised by two things: the increasingly effective papal hold upon central Italy and, within Perugia, the oscillations in power between two groups, labelled by contemporaries and historians alike as nobles (gentiluomini) and raspanti[1]. The latter were presumed

1. For the period in general see FOP M.P. Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa. Relations with Urban V have been studied in detail, if entirely from the point of view of the papacy in BALAN P. La ribellione di Perugia nel 1368 e la sua sottomissione nel 1370. (Rome 1880); for the edition of the pact of 1370 see MEZZANOTTE F. 'La Pace di Bologna tra Perugia e Urbano V.' BU.LXXIV pt. i. (1977) pp.117-74.

to represent the popolo grasso, but in fact these divisions were by no means clear-cut and were certainly less distinct than they had been a century previously. These two leading characteristics are closely intertwined and culminated in the submission of Perugia to Martin IV in 1424.

Whilst Perugia remained relatively unscathed by the activity of Albornoz, the years 1368-70, which ended in the submission at Bologna to Urban IV, made serious inroads into local independence. In 1373, Gerard du Puy was appointed papal governor, but his pretensions caused a revolt in 1376; he was ejected and hostilities between pope and commune were resumed[1]. This period, with its need for coherent and united action in the face of papal claims, coincided with the repeal of the anti-magnate legislation, the re-admission of many of the families exiled after the 1361 plot and the permission accorded to the nobles to take any office within the commune and to be enrolled in the guilds[2]. In response to this provision, the Mercanzia compiled a new register of members in February 1377. Most of those named were still practising merchants, but also included were members of the Armanni, Archipresbyteri, Montemelini, Ranieri, Baglioni, degli

1. See DUPRÉ THESEIDER E. 'La rivolta di Perugia nel 1375 contro l'abbate di Monmaggiore ed i suoi precedenti politici'. BU. XXXV (1938) pp.69-166.
2. See above p. 72 and ASP. Rif. XXIV ff. 18r-19v (14 Jan. 1376).

Oddi, Coppoli, della Corgna, Crispolti, Acerbi and the nobles of Ramazzano[1]. For the last-named this is possibly the first time that a member of the family occupied a significant office in the internal administration of the commune. Moreover, the number of guild priors was increased from ten to twelve; three of these posts were specifically reserved for the nobility[2].

This apparent unity did not last long. In February 1378, lists of citizens exiled for conspiracy were being

1. For the early registers which consist entirely of practising merchants see Archivio della Mercanzia.Matricole I ff.33r-37r (1323); ff.63r-67r (1345; II ff.31r-33v (1356). Intervening pages list the additions to membership made between each major compilation. The guild was divided into three: the Mercanzia Grossa, Mercanzia Merciarie and the Mercanzia Pannorum Lini (henceforward abbreviated as M.G., M.M. and M.P.L.). For the guild in general see MIRA G. 'Aspetti dell'organizzazione corporativa in Perugia nel XIV secolo' in Economia e Storia VI/iii 366-98. See Matricole II f.46r for the decision to compile a new register, ff. 54r-63r for the actual list. Noble names included were as follows: for Porta Sant'angelo d. Bartolomeus domini Felicini of the Armanni, d. Franciscus domini Ugolini of the Archipresbyteri (both for the M.G.); for Porta Sole d. Tiberutius domini Francisci and Tomassius of the Montemelini (M.G.), d. Ranerius Simonis and Ludovicus Mascii domini Iohannis from the Ranieri (M.G.) and Franciscus Tascioli of Ramazzano (M.M.); for Porta San Pietro Paulutius Acerbi (M.M.) and d. Oddo Balionis of the Baglioni. Three further members of the Baglioni were admitted in 1384. Nobles in Porta Eburnea were Rusticus Francisci domini Andree and Iacobus domini Guidonis of Montemelino (M.M.), Ugolinus domini Crispolti. For Porta Santa Susanna were d. Oddo domini Symonis degli Oddi, d. Guido domini Phylippi de Cornia (M.G.) and Nicolaus Angeli of the Benedictoli (M.P.L.).
2. See, for example, the lists in ASP. Rif.XXV f.1r (Dec. 1376/Jan. 1377), f.32r (Feb./March 1377), f.119r (June/July 1377) and in ASP. Offici II f.3v, 6v, 9v.

compiled once again[1]. All the guilty were to have their names cancelled from the guild registers, the number of guild priors was reduced to ten, and those elected seem to have been exclusively citizens involved in commerce and trade[2]. The nobles' right to hold certain local podestàships in alternate terms was henceforward to cease[3]. In 1384, which is traditionally described as the beginning of a subsequent period of noble control, the nobles were again allowed to enter the guilds in order, so the rubric ran, that they might enjoy all Perugian honours and benefits[4]. But only gradually did they come to have a monopoly of seats in the priorate. The nobles did not merely enter the two most prestigious guilds, the Mercanzia and the Cambio; for instance, in May 1385, Pandolfus domini Oddonis Baglioni was prior for the butchers' guild, and some years later he also held the post of treasurer within the guild itself[5].

During this decade Perugia, with its numerous exiles led by the Michelotti, was a permanent thorn in the flesh to Boniface IX. In 1392-3 there were various papal attempts

1. ASP. Rif.XXVI ff.49v-50r, 117r-118v.
2. ASP. Rif.XXVI f.127v. For the priorate after this date see Riformanze and Offici passim ad ann.
3. ASP. Rif.XXVI f.286v (30 Sep. 1378).
4. ASP. Rif.XXXII f.55v (31 March 1384).
5. ASP. Rif.XXXIII f.96r, XXXVI f.130v. See also XXXIX f.145r - among the priors of March 1393 Gualfredutius domini Oddonis bovaterius, a member of the degli Oddi.

at reconciliation, but even that of 19 May 1393 was of very short-lived success[1]. According to the terms of this agreement, two thousand exiles (raspanti) were to be allowed to return, and the priorate was to be divided equally between five gentiluomini and five raspanti. In the course of the following months, however, Pandolfo and Pellino Baglioni were murdered, the pope fled to Assisi in disgust and, on August 3, Biordo Michelotti entered Perugia alone and in triumph. The ensuing years are held to have been a period of noble exile, and this is certainly how they were viewed in 1416 according to Braccio's decrees[2]. It is extremely difficult to piece together the detailed membership and motivations of factional groups in Perugia at this time, but it is likely, however, that they were not at all so clearly divided along class lines as contemporary and later writers suggest.

A guild register for the Mercanzia, for instance, was compiled in 1403, at the height of the period of noble exile. It contains, nonetheless, a number of noble names. In Porta Sole there were listed: Tomassius domini Francisci de Montemelino, Contutius Nicolai de Ramazzano (d.1412), Borgarutius Nicolai Ponis de Ranieris (d.1415) and Guaspar Nicolai de Montesporello. In 1416 and 1417, corresponding

1. See ESCH A. Bonifaz IX und der Kirchenstaat.(Tübingen 1969) pp. 109-118, 279-84, 325-31, 414-20.
2. ASP. Miscellanea LIV f.15v.

to the immediate aftermath of Braccio's victory, there was a further influx of nobles: those who had been in exile in the intervening years. This pattern is repeated for the four other porte[1].

From 1393 to 1424, Perugia passed under the domination of four successive lords. First was Biordo Michelotti, until he was murdered in March 1398 by Francesco Guidalotti[2]; then followed the Visconti overlordship from January 1400[3]. From this date Boniface IX gave his support to the Perugian exiles under Braccio Fortebracci, sending his brother, Gianello Tomacelli, against the town in October 1402. The lordship of Ladislau, from 1408 until his death in 1414, was little more than a nominal control[4], but that of Braccio, following upon his victory on 12 July at the battle of Sant'Egidio and the peace of Monte Morcino, was a much more weighty thing. He, like Biordo before him,

1. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole II f.66r,109-126v.
2. For Biordo see FRANCESCHINI G. 'Biordo Michelotti e la dedizione di Perugia al Duca di Milano' BU.XLV (1948) pp. 92-133 which outlines his whole career. In 1396 he was invested by the pope with the vicariates of Orvieto and Todi. Also FABRETTI A. Biografie dei Capitani Venturieri dell'Umbria. (Montepulciano 1842) I 25-56. For later corrections see ESCH op.cit. passim.
3. FRANCESCHINI G. 'La dedizione di Perugia a Gian Galeazzo Visconti di Milano' ASL XC (1963) pp.287-305. GOLDBRUNNER H.M. 'Die Übergabe Perugias an Giangaleazzo Visconti. (1400)' QFIAB XLII/III (1963) pp.285-369 and 'I rapporti tra Perugia e Milano alla fine del Trecento' VI Convegno Studi Umbri pp. 641-94.
4. For the agreement with Ladislau ASP. Miscellanea LIV ff.1r-8r, 9r-11r (7 Jan.1410)

endeavoured to use his position at Perugia to extend his authority over a greater part of Umbria. Biordo had held various papal vicariates at Todi and Orvieto, but Braccio was even more successful in carving out a rudimentary state, and he came to pose a serious threat to papal control in central Italy[1]. With his death and defeat at Aquila in 1424, Martin V was able to terminate these political upheavals by incorporating Perugia firmly within the frame work of papal government[2]. The administrative structure at Perugia, such as it had been determined by Braccio and Martin, was to form the background against which all future developments took place, and various of these developments reflect particularly upon the changing position of the nobility.

The eventual and definite inclusion of the nobles in the guilds followed the victory of Braccio in 1416. It seems

1. For Braccio see PARTNER P. The Papal State under Martin V. (London 1958) pp.30-79. FABRETTI Biografie I 107-277.
2. For the terms of the surrender to Martin V see FUMI L. Registri della Tesoreria Apostolica di Perugia e Umbria. (Perugia 1901) pp.xxx-xlix. Papal sovereignty was admitted and a papal vicar appointed; the priorate was confirmed and all the previous rights of priors, podestà, captain and other communal officials. The ordinances of Braccio and Oddo Fortebracci were also confirmed, together with the structure of the Perugian fiscal system. In 1424, the pope waived all claim to arbitrary taxation, but later he came to take 12,000 florins a year after communal officials had been paid. The introduction to the Registri contains an edition of other of Martin's bulls concerning Perugia. See also PARTNER The Papal State pp.171-6.

possible that even if certain nobles were members of the guilds before this date, few were actually elected to the priorate and other such offices during the early fifteenth century[1]. By December 1416 this situation had changed. By then Gentilhomo domini Francisci of the Archipresbyteri was consul of the Mercanzia and Baglione Andree Baglioni was auditor of the Cambio[2]. The priors of January/February 1417 included Fioravante degli Oddi for the guild of innkeepers[3]. In the following years the practice became established and fairly widespread, although non-noble names appear to have remained in the majority. Usually, however, there was at least one noble among the four consuls of the Mercanzia, and nobles appear as treasurers and priors for the lesser artisan guilds[4]. Moreover, contado families, who had previously been represented marginally or not at all in the life of the commune, came to take their part in such activities. In 1422, the official in charge of the

1. ASP. Offici VI passim for the years 1406-18.
2. ibid. f.87v.
3. ibid. f.88v.
4. ASP. Offici VII passim for the years 1418-31. For example, f.1r Iohannes domini Crispolti among the merchant consuls and Guido Petronis of Ramazzano as treasurer for the innkeepers; f.22v Polidorus Pellini Cucchi Baglioni as treasurer for the tailors, Sinibaldus Petri of Ramazzano for the innkeepers; f.23v Guido Pauli of Montesporello among the priors of July/August 1422 for the bovacterii, f.26v Nellus Pandolfi Baglioni as prior representing the butchers in Jan./Feb. 1423. The Armanni, Coppoli, Montesporelli, Signorelli, degli Oddi and Ranieri all furnished consuls for the Mercanzia. Members of the Crispolti were among the merchant consuls, the auditores Cambii and the mattress makers (f.1r,83v). Members of the Bigazzini are also in evidence (ff.69v, 22v) with Uguitio Iacobi, count of Petroia as camerarius artis cappelorum lani and prior for the tailors.

communal archive was Andreas Ludovici of Flumine. In 1428, Gregorius domini Rogerii of Antignolla was consul of the Mercanzia and Franciscus of Montefrondoso held the same position in 1431[1]. In all three cases, this seems to have marked the commencement of a new involvement; the counts of Antignolla, particularly, came to play a considerable role in communal affairs.

A decade after Braccio's victory, the first restrictive step was taken to enhance the dignity of the Mercanzia. An order of 1427 prohibited the future admission to office in the guild to anyone practising a trade not deemed to be 'honourable'[2]. This, of course, would have no bearing on those who exercised no trade at all, and there is little to suggest that most of the nobles who became guild members so as to obtain political representation in the priorate were actually involved in trade of any sort. Gentlemanly

1. ibid.ff.24v, 63r, 83v. The father of Ludovicus of Flumine had been prior in 1377 (ASP. Offici II f.16v), but there is no other record of the family's having held office.
2. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole II f.102v (1427) 'Quod mercatores operantes artem non honorabilem non debeant gaudere aliquo officio. Item che qualunche descripto e da scrivere in la matricula de la mercantia eij quali exerceteno o exercetassero per la venire alcuna arte non mercantesca ne honorevole ala mercantia al giudicio dey signor consoglie che per li tempi fossero non possiano ne debbiano avere alcuno officio in la dicta arte per veruno modo. E quisto non sentenda per chi non exercetasse arte veruna. Pena a chi glie desse alcuno offitio contra el presente ordeno libre XXV per ciascuno'. See also ASP. Miscellanea LIV f.14v.

leisure was to be perfectly acceptable, but the practice of the 'vile arts' was not.

The matricole themselves tell the same story. Throughout the course of the fifteenth century there was a real numerical decline in those names entered for the Mercanzia. The matricola of 1323 contained the names of at least 260-270 persons, arranged here under the three divisions of the guild rather than under porte. The rate at which new members were admitted appears to have been fairly rapid, too. For the Mercanzia Grossa more than ten new names were added in 1324. The 1356 matricola is somewhat smaller, containing about 160 names, including about ten merchants from other towns. But the 1377 register is more comprehensive. This is arranged under porte, with a total of at least 350-400 members in that year. It is not always clear when the later additions commence, but for Porta San Pietro, where the detail is more complete, the figures are as follows: 45 in 1377 and 33 additions between 1378 and 1400. For Porta Sole there seem to have been 47 names before 1384 and then 35 additions in the years before the end of the century.

From 1420 this figure is considerably reduced. Taking thirty years as the average life of a generation, there is a turnover of about twenty per generation per porta, and thus a total membership of the Mercanzia of less than a

hundred. The table below shows an approximate numerical breakdown of membership by decades. This shows a further depletion in numbers by the sixteenth century when membership became even more exclusive[1]. Moreover, the change in the nature of the Mercanzia was even more radical than a cursory glance at these figures would suggest. For when the guild was opened up to members of the old knightly nobility, these latter came to constitute at least half of the additions made at any point in the fifteenth century. Most of the others belonged to that type of merchant family which also held offices such as that of captain of the contado, intermarried with the old Perugian families and whose ennoblement was often under way by the early fifteenth

1. For the matricole themselves see above p.359 n.1. The following charts membership by decades.

	P.S.	P.S.P.	P.S.A.	P.S.S.	P.E.
Initial number	35	31	43	30	27
Additions					
1401-10	6	8	8	11	6
1411-20	13	14	11	11	11
1421-30	6	11	17	7	12
1431-40	3	9	4	10	6
1441-50	5	5	5	4	6
1451-60	10	12	8	8	8
1461-70	6	3	4	9	10
1471-80	4	2	4	6	8
1481-90	11	10	10	8	4
1491-1500	8		6	8	9
1501-10	2		9	10	5
1511-20	4		0	3	7
1521-30	4	2	6	0	4
1531-40	7	4	3	4	5
1541-50	3	3	1	2	3

Figures for Porta San Pietro are not available for three decades.

century[1]. There was little room for newcomers. Thus, the foundations were being laid for the decree of 1670 which finally closed the Mercanzia and the Cambio by requiring that all newly-admitted members should have had either an ancestor in the guild or two hundred years of proven nobility[2].

The turbulent political circumstances of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries revealed clearly, however, that there continued to be a distinction between the greater territorial families and the lesser nobility, whose development and definition has been assigned to a later period. Only the former possessed the sort of political weight which allowed them to enter into independent treaties with Perugia, in which they appear virtually as equals. For example, following upon the revolt against Gerard du Puy, Perugia allied itself with a considerable number of the greater Umbrian families. In April 1377, the counts of Marsciano came to an agreement for themselves,

1. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole II f.100r shows that of the five additions in Porta Sole 1441-50 two were members of the Ranieri, one of the Baglioni, one of the clan from Caterano (Ansidei) and the fifth a member of the Barzi.
2. Matricula illustrissimi Collegii Nobilium vulgo detta Mercanzia. (Perugia 1704) p.1 '..... non provera chiarment di havere avuto almeno un ascendente, o transversale della sua famiglia in questo nobilissimo collegio, e in defetto di questo requisito, non preovera autenticamente di havere ducento anni di nobilta della sua famiglia paterna'.

all their possessions and castles[1]. In May of the same year the marquises of Monte Santa Maria did likewise[2]. A further series of agreements ensued in 1378: the counts of Migliano in February[3], the counts of Coldimedio in June[4], and count Ugolino of Montemarte and his brother in September[5]. A council resolution of 1379 shows that the nobles of Baschi were also considered as Perugia's allies[6].

Two other alliances were made in 1378, and these were with families of a slightly different type. Both had gained political control and pre-eminence in a smaller commune at an earlier date. This raised them to a position of political autonomy that, otherwise, only the more ancient Umbrian families possessed. On 23 July, Bernardus Georgii and Rodulfus domini Fidesmiri of Camerino were admitted to the

1. ASP. Rif.XXV f.80v (10 April 1377). The Marsciano sphere of influence included Monte Giove, Parrano, Monte Leone, Montegabiano, Brandeto, Carriolo, the monasteries of Monte Orvetano and Acqualta, all of which were in the contado of Orvieto, together with the rights which they possessed in Migliano, Poggio Aquilone and Civitella in the Perugian contado. (ibid. ff.85v-87r for the actual terms and f.103r for the declaration in agreement by the consortes).
2. ibid. ff.100v-101r (8 May 1377)
3. ASP. Rif. XXVI ff.64v-65r (20 Feb.1378)
4. ibid. ff.191v-193r (5 June 1378)
5. ibid. ff.272v-273r (7 Sep.1378). The alliance was made to include 'subditi, commendati, colligati et adhaerentes et seguaces et maxime terrae Scitoni, castri Salcis, castri Fabbri, castri Montis Gabbioni, castri Corbasii, castri Ripe, castri Verani, castri Tignani, castri Pruodi, castri Massarie'.
6. ASP. Rif. XXVII f.6r (11 Jan.1379) - they received ambassadors from Perugia to settle an internal dispute among members of the family.

alliance headed by Perugia; the aid which they were promised seems to have been directed particularly against other members of their family, who were described as rebels against Perugia[1]. Conrad Trinci, as standard-bearer of Foligno, came to an agreement for himself, the commune and a number of local castles on 20 September[2].

Perugia seems to have encouraged both these types of family towards a more active interest in the town. Often, they had been considered citizens in a juridical sense for more than a century, but their participation and presence in the town remained entirely negligible. Now, in contrast to the situation a century earlier when the commune had attempted to compel nobles to purchase houses in the town, it preferred to make donations of property. The marquises of Civitella and of Monte Santa Maria benefited in this way, as did the Ubaldini della Carda and the counts of Coldimedio[3]. Similarly, Perugian citizenship was

1. ASP. Rif.XXVI f.221v (23 July 1378) - Note the considerable number of times the political alliances and changes of the period reveal different branches of the same family on opposing sides.
2. ibid.f.276v (20 Sep.); f.279v (22 Sep.); ff.282v-85r (26 Sep.). The Trinci placed under Perugian protection for four years Nocera, Gualdo, Spello, Cannara, Gualdo Cattanei and a number of fortilitia.
3. For the donation to the marquises of Monte Santa Maria of a house in Porta Sole (S.Lucia) see ASP Rif.XXVII f.240r (30 Oct. 1379); the marquises of Civitella, the Ubaldini and the counts of Coldimedio in XXX ff.231v-232v (26 Dec. 1382) for services to the status popolaris. See above p. 289 for the Camerino donations.

conferred on individuals who had previously been assimilated in a rather vague manner to the citizen body. In 1378 such a grant was made to the counts of Migliano, together with a gift of property[1]. Some such grants were entirely new, as was that made to Conrad Trinci in 1388 for his part in the regaining of Cannara[2]. Six years later he sold Cannara to Perugia for 10,500 florins, receiving land worth 3,000 florins in the Chiugi and one of the rebels' houses in Perugia[3].

A minor, but interesting, notarial practice from this period casts light on the process of clarification which took place in the commune's conception of the relationship between contado nobility and citizenship. All those members of the nobility who bore surnames were referred to, whenever they appeared in the notarial records, by their forenames, usually but not always in conjunction with their surnames, and then followed by the name of the porta and parish in which they resided, as, for example: 'nobilis vir Ludovicus Guidarelli de Balionibus portae Sancti Petri parochiae Sancti Donati'[4]. And this, in fact, corresponds

1. ASP. Rif. XXVI ff.64v-65r (20 Feb. 1378).
2. ASP. Rif. XXXVI f. 161v.
3. ASP. Rif. CLXXXV ff.159v (21 Sep.1394) - the sale of 'terra Cannare, arx, comitatus, territorium et districtus iuribus et pertinentiis suis proprio usque in tertiam generationem'.
4. ASP. Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Protocolli XX f.32v (7 March 1387).

to general usage for all ordinary Perugian citizens, including the most humble. For those who continued to be described by reference to their *contado* castle - and they remained a considerable number - the Perugian notaries used to place the formula *civis perusinus* after the individual's name and before that of the *porta* and parish[1]. This reference to the urban parish, found in a large number of such cases, makes it unlikely that the sole purpose of the formula was to distinguish a noble with a *contado* toponymnic from a simple *comitatensis*. It would appear, therefore, that the intention was to emphasize the quality of citizenship of those nobles who were otherwise, in terms of vocabulary, more closely associated with the countryside. The use of the surname seems to have taken on a particular 'urban' connotation, and the growing sensitivity of Perugia to the content of citizenship required that this fact be explicitly stated, if it were not already clear from other elements of an individual's name.

A corollary of this is to be found in those *contado* families who abandoned the use of the *contado* toponymnic, replacing it by a surname. In some cases this merely

1. ASP. *Notarile* (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) *Protocolli* XCIV f.138r (5 Sep.1437): 'nobilis domina domina Clara condam Ludovici de Flumine civis Perusii'. *Notarile* (ser Donato di Angeluccio) *Protocolli* LX f.22v (7 Nov.1407): 'nobilis et egregius vir Raynerius quondam domini Tiberii de nobilibus de Monte Melino civis perusinus Porte Solis parochiae Sancti Andree'.

involved a slight conversion of the toponymnic - Montesporelli, for example, instead of de Montesporello. In other cases the change was more substantial. An instance of this is furnished by the Libro Rosso family from Caterano. At least one branch was transformed into the Ansidei, apparently taking their name from Ansideus Simonis, alive in the early fifteenth century, the point in time when the family's involvement with the commune first came to light. Another branch took the surname Benencase, a forename already used by members of the consorzerie in 1333[1]. According to a marginal note in the riformanze, the counts of Coldimedio also adopted a surname - that of Comitoli - at some point after the end of the fourteenth century[2].

The greater involvement in urban life which came with the admission of the nobility to the guilds affected the latter's position in the countryside as much as it did their role in the town. One particularly notable aspect of this is the complete reversal of communal policy towards the

1. FABRETTI Documenti I 117-8 (P.S.S.); see also above pp. 341-2. For Ansideus Simonis see ASP. Notarile (ser Mariano di Luca di Nino) Protocolli CXV f.49r (1423). In general see ANSIDEI P. Degli antichi signori e conti di Caterano. (1883). There is no need to believe all that the author recounts, a good deal of which, particularly for the early centuries, is manifest nonsense; but the later existence of a common heraldic device is highly suggestive, and the partial genealogical reconstructions possible from the fourteenth century seem to support such a theory.
2. ASP. Rif. XXVI f.191v. Compare also FORTINI Vita Nuova II 410.

communanze. Concessions for long periods to individual citizens begin to appear. The first instance of this has been noted above for Valiana in 1361. The nobles of Montepulciano were still in possession in March 1378 when, subsequent to the February conspiracy, all grants of the communanze were revoked; exceptions were made for Valiana and for Città della Pieve, held by Nerutius Oddi and his brothers. On December 11, however, the nobles of Montepulciano rebelled, too and were expropriated[1]. These revocations suggest that a number of the communanze had been given to individual families between 1361 and 1378. As a result of the expropriations, the new party in control at Perugia was able to reward its supporters, and among these especially the family of Oddo Baglioni, whose exertions pro statu popolari were particulary commended. On 23 April he was given Renabianca and Bucarello, and on 10 September he, together with his sons, Giovanni and Pandolfo, received the fortilitium of Petrignana in the contado of Assisi. They were to guard it at their own expense, but if necessary, the commune would resume control for strategic reasons, returning the castle to the Baglioni with the onset of peace[2].

1. See above p. 100; ASP. Rif.XXVI f.104r (30 March 1378), f.351v (11 Dec. 1378).
2. ibid. ff.12v-127r, 273v.

Changed political circumstances robbed this branch of the Baglioni of its gains. By 1382, Perugia again elected its own guard for Petrignana, and Renabianca was among the areas put up for annual sale[1]. In 1383, together with the castle of Montecchio, it was donated to the exiles from Assisi for the duration of the war against Guglielmo of Assisi[2]. But later in the same month, following the reconciliation between members of the Baglioni and the Ranieri and their recall from exile, Renabianca was given back to Oddo for life, and he was also elected prior of the hospital of Colle[3]. The Ranieri received the pedagium lacis at the same time. In 1382, Montalera was granted for three generations to Nicola Peri Cole[4]. Three years later, however, the sons of Franciscus Bettoli Coppoli submitted a petition claiming that they had also been granted an interest in the communanze here[5]; almost contemporaneously, Fuciarellus Calutii and Andreas Iohannis bought the fruits of these lands for five years. Evidence of this latter purchase comes from a petition made in 1388 which also

1. ASP. Rif. XXX ff.29v, 143v (22 Feb., 30 Sep. 1382).
2. For the submission of Montecchio to Perugia see ASP. Rif.XXX ff.103r-105r (29 June 1382). The agreement with the Assisi exiles is in XXXII ff. 28r-30r (3 March 1384).
3. ASP. Rif. XXXII ff. 52v-53r (29 March 1384) for the two concessions; f.59v (6 April 1384) for the re-admission of d. Oddo domini Balionis and d. Bartolomeus domini Felicini of the Armanni; ff.257r-258v (22 Sep.1384) for the reconciliation between Baglioni and Ranieri.
4. ASP. Rif. XXX f.163r (7 Oct. 1382).
5. ASP. Rif. XXXIII ff.118r-v (7 June 1385).

brought to the commune's attention the fact that the toll dues from Lake Trasimeno, which had previously formed part of the communanze of Montalera, had been given separately to dominus Ranerius Simonis of the Ranieri, as outlined above[1].

The practice of such grants was continued by the papacy. At some date between 1424 and 1434, Perugia made over to the pope the possession and complete control of the Chiugi, the individual postae of which are described in the 1389 statute[2]. After this date Perugia needed papal permission to do such things as build bridges there, and the decision whether or not to farm out the postae depended on the financial needs of the apostolic treasury[3]. Several bulls have been preserved showing papal concessions within the Chiugi to members of the Perugian nobility. In 1434, Eugenius IV allowed Polidor Baglioni to hold Vaiano and Castiglione del Lago for an annual payment of 50 florins and in 1435 Agamemnon degli Archipresbyteri was given Santo Fattucchio for a decade for 50 florins annually. In 1448 Guido degli Oddi received half the profits of the grazing

1. ASP. Rif.XXXVI ff.34v-35r (9 March 1388)
2. See the list edited in DONATI GUERRIERI M.G. Lo Stato di Castiglione del Lago e i della Corgna.(Perugia 1972) pp.65-6.
3. ASP. Diplomatico Bolle, brevi, diplome II P.12 c.12 n.191 (15 July 1454). Nicholas V permits the construction of a bridge near the tower of Beccatiquello. Bolle, brevi, diplome II P1 c.13 n.270 (11 Jan.1462) Pius II regrets that he cannot confirm the concession of poste in the Chiugi to commune because he is short of money.

and pasturing rights throughout the Chiugi[1].

Thus, the communanze returned to the position which they had occupied in the early thirteenth century, when donations were made by the commune to individual members of the nobility. Probably, the main advantage to the recipient was financial, but in certain cases, such as in the concession of Petrignana to the Baglioni, the strategic and political importance in relation to the family's own rural possessions should also be borne in mind. Moreover, it was in areas such as the Chiugi that the popes later began to make important and long-term grants in the form of fiefs like Laviano and Castiglione del Lago.

This period also witnessed considerable attempts to fortify the contado[2]. In all such activities, there appears to have been a new willingness to entrust areas to the local nobility, and there developed a degree of involvement

1. ASP. Diplomatico Bolle, brevi, diplome II P.3 c.12 n.84 (2 Nov.1434); P.9 c.12 n.96 (26 Oct.1435) and DONATI GUERRIERI Lo Stato di Castiglione p.62 (20 May 1448).
2. See for example ASP. Rif.XXX f.51r - the fortification of Vernazzano. XLI f.47r - Preggio received 300 florins to build more walls; ibid. f.71v - the construction of a cassarum at Torsciano. CLXXV f.31v (27 Feb.1383) - the men of Peretula were exempted from contributing to the re-fortification of the villae of Ponte Feliciano. Montelegualteri and Spedalicchio so that they might instead fortify the 'palatium quod fuit olim Boccolorum' in Peretula itself. The latter part of the fourteenth century is the period in which the term fortilitium appears and becomes common in the Perugian sources.

by noble families with the affairs of local communities which does not come to light in previous communal documentation. When Perugia delegated control, this was not done in a haphazard fashion. Quite naturally, families who already had a particularly strong interest in the areas in question were often given command or confirmed in de facto control by the town. On more than one occasion, for example, the Montemelini, were given custody of Preggio: in 1385 Tomassius domini Francisci of Montemelino, who already held half of the palatium seu fortilitium of Montegualandro after a division with his brother Tiberutius, offered to guard it in honour of Perugia[1]. This is exactly what one would expect - the resurgence of of a strength which had never been destroyed and one which might now co-operate more closely with the commune. The case of Montalera is equally telling. It was to members of the Fuciarelli that custody of the castle went in 1385, the family who had originally sold it to Perugia at the end of the thirteenth century[2].

The actual task of re-fortification was undertaken at Agello by Filippus Neri of Montemelino on delegation from Perugia[3], whilst Iacobus Vectoli domini Gualfredutii

1. ASP. Rif. XXIX f.228r; XL f.48r; XXXIII f.109v.
2. ASP. Rif. XXXIII f. 124v (15 June 1385)
3. ASP. Rif. XXXVI ff. 19v-20r (23 Feb.1388).

Baglioni was elected by the men of the villa of San Martino in Campo as official in charge of the community's defence[1]. Furthermore, instances begin to appear of nobles being asked to settle disputes between villae in the contado; for example, in 1428 Tancredolus Karoli of the Ranieri was elected arbiter by the two villae of Panicale and Panicarola[2].

This is merely indicative of a relationship that was to be formalised through the office of captain of the contado, introduced in July 1428 and destined to endure until the mid-sixteenth century when it was replaced by that of the contado vicariate. It has generally been treated as a prime example of the extension of papal control within the communal administration, since it represented the first time at Perugia that fines for infringement of regulations were to be paid to the papal treasury. This constituted, however, only half of the significance of the office[3].

1. ASP. Notarile (ser Francesco di Angelino di Paolo) Protocolli XXXVII ff.43v-45v (23 May 1389) and f.45v his ordinances. The expenses of the fortification were to be paid by the men of the villa.Two thirds of this was to be assessed on the libra basis; of the remaining third, a half was to be raised on a hearth assessment and a half 'pro pede et ad pedem casaleni'. The inhabitants were forbidden to sell their casalena or houses without first offering them for sale to the commune.
2. ASP. Notarile (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) Protocolli XCV ff. 144v-146r (29 Feb.1428).
3. For the statutes of the captains of the contado see FABRETTI Documenti I 131-80 (taken from the riformanze); also ASP. Statuti XX. For discussion of this office in the light of papal administration see PARTNER The Papal State pp.175-6.

There were to be five captains, one for each porta, and each was to serve for a period of six months. During this time the captains were to reside in their respective contado areas, requiring express permission to return to Perugia. They were to have five notaries from Perugia or the contado,and six famuli who were to come from elsewhere, unless it could be proved they had already spent a year in the personal service of the captain. The latter had jurisdiction over all crimes not involving the shedding of blood and control over the movement of comitatenses in the countryside. They were to be accorded the same degree of respect that would be due to the podestà of Perugia, and penalties for those who offended against them would be the same as for offences against the podestà. The ordinances of Sinibaldo of Ramazzano, captain of the contado for Porta Santa Susanna from 1438 to 1439, are extant. He selected Agello as the seat of his tribunal and deputed eight vicars to oversee sub-groupings of castles under his authority. At the head of his orders was a prohibition against blasphemy, and there followed rubrics forbidding playing at dice, introducing arms into the contado, exporting grain, receiving Perugian rebels, creating disorder, undertaking work on feast-days and damaging property[1].

1. ASP. Miscellanea LIX ff.1r-3v. Appended to the volume is a papal ordinance of 1487 (f.22r) commanding the captains to capture any rebels against Perugia and the Church as well as other criminals.

In this way, the local contado officials obtained an overseer who was almost invariably a member of one of the greater Perugian families, and very often one of the nobility; and such families gained a fairly continous right to authority within the contado. In the early fifteenth century, the office was chiefly the preserve of the traditional noble families, but among the newer families represented were the Boccoli, Mansueti, Nardutii[1]. A member of the Baglioni usually held office at least once a year, and sometimes twice, generally for Porta San Pietro, but, on occasions, also for Porta Eburnea. Neither of these, in fact, corresponded to the area where the Baglioni had the greatest concentration of their rural property, since the contado area to which

1. See, for example, the first holder published in FABRETTI Documenti I 125, 153. Also the lists for the 1430's and 1440's in ASP. Offici VIII and IX. The Ranieri, for instance, were represented as follows from 1435-50, always for Porta Sole: in ASP. Offici VIII f.30v Tancredus domini Ranerii (Nov.1438), f.53r Tancred (April 1439), f.79v Guerrerius (April 1442), f.83r Tancredutius (Nov. 1442); IX f.20v Guerrerius (April 1446), f.31v d.Tancredus (April 1447), f.50r Costantinius Rogerii (April 1449), f.64v Marinellus Taddei (1450), f.85r Burgarutius (Oct. 1452).
Representatives of the newer families tend to appear less frequently. The same two decades are considered. For the Scotti VIII f.37v Brunellus de Scottis (P.S.A. Oct.1444); for the Coromani VIII f.55v Riccius (P.S. Nov.1439), f.101r Marcus (P.S. April 1444), IX f.25v Antonius (P.S. Nov. 1446). f.115v Paulus Antonii (P.S. Oct. 1455); for the Boccoli VIII f.60r Ugolinus (P.S. Oct.1440); for the Mansueti VIII f.23r Raynaldus Mansueti (P.E. Oct. 1435), IX Petrus Paili (P.E. Oct. 1446), f.103r (P.E. Oct.1454).

they were appointed depended upon the urban porta in which they were domiciled[1]. For certain of the families, such as the Armanni, to whom was entrusted the contado of Porta Sant'Angelo, the two coincided[2].

Half a century later, in May 1494, a committee considered a proposal made by Rodulfus Signorelli. In view of the substantial contribution which the captains made to the preservation of peace and order, it was considered wrong that entirely unsuitable persons should be elected to this office. Because of an outbreak of pestilence, such unsuitable elections seem to have been made. A proposal was accepted: to limit all future elections to a list of families specifically drawn up for this purpose. The list is divided almost equally between members of the older nobility and 'new' families. It omits certain of the Libro Rosso families. There is nothing to suggest that those

1. Within a space of five years the Baglioni representation equalled that of the Ranieri for a period four times as long. See ASP. Offici VIII f.26r Ludovicus (P.S.P. April 1436), f.30r Marioctus (P.S.P. Oct.1436), f.39v Polidorus (P.E. Oct. 1437), f.43v Nellus replaced by Pandolfus (P.S.P. April 1438), f.60r Ludovicus (P.S.P. April 1440), f.68r Marioctus (P.S.P. April 1441) f.79v Balionus Fortere (P.S.P. April 1442, f.83r Maffutius Boccomionis (P.S.P. Oct. 1442), f. 96r Braccii (P.S.P. Oct. 1443), f.74r d. Polidorus (P.E. Oct. 1441).

2. ASP. Offici VIII f.43v d. Baldassar (April 1438),f.83r Baldassar Cherubini (Oct.1442), IX f.10r Galeactus Felcini (April 1445) and f.54r (Oct. 1449) - all members of the Armanni and elected as captains for Porta Sant'Angelo. Lists of contado castles and villae under their respective porte are to be found in FABRETTI Documenti I 125-32 for 1420's. An earlier list from 1399 is in ASP. Rif.XLIV ff.140ff.

named here were deemed to constitute the Perugian nobility, but it does demonstrate how an oligarchy had formed from the fusion of different elements[1].

Within this context, therefore, it is not surprising that the attitudes which underlay the relations between town and local nobility underwent a fundamental change in

1. ASP. Rif.CXXII ff.87v-88r (14 May 1494).
The division into old and new families is as follows:

P.S.P.	Baglioni	Cinagli
	Vibi	Voleviani
	Graziani	Ghiberti
	Coppoli	Baldeschi
P.S.S.	della Corgna	Alesandri
	Antignolla	Gelomie
	Ramazzani	Sciri
	degli Oddi	Alfani
	Bigazzini	Piccinini
	Biordo de Fioravanti (degli Oddi)	
	Counts of Marsciano	
	Montesporelli	
P.S.	Montemelini	Peruzzoli
	Ranieri	Barzi
	Ascagnani	Thei
		ser Monaldi
		Coromani
P.S.A.	Armanni	Scotti
	Archipresbyteri	Narducci
	Oddi Novelli	Ranaldi
	Pellini (?)	
P.E.	Signorelli	Perighi
	Crispolti	Mansueti
		Fumagioli
		Ranaldoli
		Chiavelli
		Boncambi
		Bontempi

the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. As had been the case before, Perugia continued to honour incumbent or deceased podestà and visiting dignitaries. The visit of the emperor Sigismund in 1433 demonstrates the traditions of hospitality which the town preserved in these things. Festivities and banqueting went on for three days, and the total cost was reckoned at 1,409 florins, 9 soldi and 4 pence[1]. A new departure, however, was the practice of honouring distinguished Perugian citizens. Probably the first instance was the knighting of Leggerius Nicholutti Andreotti in 1363[2], but at this date such ceremonies remained unusual. In 1393 the commune offered the belt of knighthood to Biordo Michelotti, but this was the only one of a number of benefits and rewards bestowed upon him which Biordo chose to decline[3].

With Braccio, any such activity falls appropriately

1. See the 'Diario di Antonio dei Veghi' in FABRETTI A. Cronache della citta di Perugia (Turin 1887) II 11-2. This is an eye-witness account, including Antonio's personal judgement on the Emperor.
2. See above p.101.
3. The council deliberations are edited in RONCETTI M. 'Un inventario dell'archivio privato della famiglia Michelotti' BU.LXVII (1970) pp.55-64. 'Quod Beordus efficiatur miles populi Perusii. In primis quod prefatus Beordus possit et valeat honore militatis cinguli ad eius beneplacitum insigniri, et effici miles populi Perusii et quod arma comunis localie et insignia quelibet opportuna expensis comunis Perusii pro honore dicti comunis'. (22 Aug. 1393). Other honours included a grant of the communanze, immunity from tax payment, appointment to the office of captain general of the commune. He accepted all 'salvo quod de militari cingulo assumendo'.

into the patterns of conduct associated with the signorie. It is not particularly surprising to find that in 1421 Perugia celebrated the birth of Braccio's son, Carlo[1], and it is also clear that after his death, Braccio remained a figure whose memory did honour to the commune and to whose memory Perugia paid its deepest respects. In April 1432, Braccio's nephew, Niccolo, petitioned the pope to be allowed to bring to Perugia from Rome his uncle's bones. Perugia elected five citizens to make suitable arrangements and set aside a thousand florins to cover expenses[2]. Braccio's bones were brought to San Costanzo late at night, the customary time for such ceremonies to begin. All the religious orders took part and bells tolled from all the town's churches. An important role was accorded to the carrying of standards bearing different costs of arms, and Braccio's bones arrived covered by 'un palio imperiale de brocato d'oro el campo roscio'. The following day, Sunday, after the lying-in-state at San Domenico, the covering was changed, now combining the arms of Braccio with those of Perugia. Similarly, in the procession for the final deposition, the two different standards were borne[3].

1. Diario del Graziani p.283
2. ASP. Rif.LXIX ff.44r-v, 53r (1,12 April 1432) where he is referred to with the words 'excelsis et magnanimus quondam princeps'.
3. Diario del Graziani pp.360-1 'con uno palio de velluto azurro e brocato con le bande d'intorno con lo griffone e col montone'.

The early history of heraldry at Perugia is fairly obscure. The first references date from the beginning of

From then, funerals of leading citizens became occasions for more general involvement. The death of Benedetto Guidalotti, bishop of Recanati and founder of the Sapienza Nuova, was such a moment. Arriving in Perugia in June 1428 and staying at Ponte San Giovanni, he was visited by the bishop of Perugia, local nobles and other representatives of the commune. He died on 8 August and

the fourteenth century. In the sonnet of Borscia of Perugia, describing the murder of Oddo degli Oddi in 1330, the latter is mentioned as follows:

Oy me dolente, che faran colloro
ch'eran seguaci alla terribel fera?
Surge, risguarda ch'orn'om si dispera!
Ov'e l'orato campo con l'accuro?

Prof. Ugolini, who first drew attention to this, points out that the lion was the heraldic emblem of the degli Oddi and that their colours were blue upon a gold background (UGOLINI 'L'Abbazia di San Pietro' pp. 132-3 and p.150 n.32). The sonnet is taken from Cod. Vat. Barb. 4036. Further examples come from the Florentine archives; here are records from 1343 and 1346 which portray the coats-of-arms of two Perugian podestà of the city: Iohannes, marquis of Monte Santa Maria and Guido Fortebracci of Montone. (Il Notariato a Perugia pp.212-3). The Barzi catasto entry of 1361 has a small heraldic shield traced at the head of the page in a pen and hand identical to those which made the written entries. (ASP. Catasti XX f.281r - the entry for Perus Gioli de Barsis). It was not until the fifteenth century, however that various families are represented in the catasti with elaborately-drawn and coloured coats-of-arms accompanying their names. (For example, ASP. Catasti XI where the use of heraldic devices extends some way down the social scale - f.27r Laurentius Iohannis Petrutii, f.37r Ugolinus domini Iacobi domini Ugolini domini Iohannis domini Pelloli, whose ancestor is in the Libro Rosso, f.100, 102 Benedictus Iohannis mercator, f.232r Simon Geminis artium et mediciniae doctor (1481), f.248 Sebastianus Sebastiani de Balleonibus, f.391, 400 members of the Baldeschi).

Perugia was aware from a fairly early date of the problems thrown up by the wearing of insignia of rival political figures; legislation of 1286/7 forbade the wearing of coats-of-arms of Charles Martel, Peter of Aragon and Rudolf of Habsburg. (GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p.217; ASP. Rif.XI ff.38-39v.)

was buried in the Guidalotti family chapel in San Domenico, but the chronicle account reveals that the commune played its part, too, ensuring a funeral of considerable and civic proportions[1].

But it was the funeral of Malatesta Baglioni in 1437 which indicated most remarkably the direction in which things were developing - or, at least, how they were developing for the Baglioni, the growth of whose power in the commune, combined with the extension of their authority in the contado, is one of the key aspects of Perugian history at this date[2]. The involvement on this occasion of contado areas in the ceremonies at Perugia was something quite unprecedented. Malatesta died at Spello in January. Again, it is the chronicle of Graziani which records that

1. Diario del Graziani p.333. 'E fulli fatto grande onore; e fu fatto el corotto li in piedi de la piazza, et fuorci vestiti molti homini e donne de nero, e attorno alla bara 38 paia de torchie grosse e 20 torchietti'.
2. The rise of the Baglioni merits a study in its own right. We have already noted their predominance in the office of captain of the contado, and the riformanze show that they were also active as priors and counsellors. There are more than a few suggestions that, at the end of the fourteenth century, different branches of the family allied with different political factions within the town. Particularly interesting throughout the whole period are those instances of Baglioni holding office in or being otherwise involved with areas between Perugia and Assisi which were later to be granted them by the papacy and which served as the base of their power. For example, in 1389 Pandulfus domini Oddonis was podestà of Spello (ASP. Rif.XXXVII f. 147v). They also developed an interest in the hospital of Colle which was situated here (ASP. Notarile Protocolli XXI f.26r mentions a Baglioni prior here and CVIII (Jan.1432) shows they held land ad cotimmum from the hospital.)

Spello, Cannara and Bastia, which he had held in papal grant, immediately recognised his son, Braccio, as overlord. On the night of 26 January, at 10 o'clock, Malatesta's body was brought to Perugia. Many citizens, as well as the Baglioni family itself, were waiting to meet the coffin at the town gates. Throughout all the ensuing proceedings the inhabitants of the three contado areas subject to Baglioni control played their part. They were among those who accompanied the coffin to Malatesta's house; on February 5 they had a role in the commune's final respects:

> Doppo pranzo fu posta la ditta cassa in piazza avanti S. Sidero, a per tutta la città cavalcarono li suoi famigli vestiti di nero, et un solo armato di armi .... con bandiere e stendardi, e li cavalli erano tutti coperti, e stridevono dolendosi molto forte; et in prima si portava un famiglio vestito di negro, et il cavallo roscio, col'occhio in uno stendardo, e questo fu del comune di Spello: e poi un altro famiglio vestito e coverto con un cavallo portava uno stendardo di Canara con il campo roscio con un grifone bianco con una canna fra le branche; il terzo armato ad armi scoperte, tutti gli altri dietro vestiti, con bandiere, e cavalli coperti con le armi loro, et andavano per la città e borghi piangendo e stridendo. E poi si comincio il corotto: prima li contadini di Colle e del Ponte San Giovanne, poi quelli della Bastia, poi di Canara e poi gli Spellani, et erano vestiti de nero et azurino da 30.[1]

The commune also came to be involved in ceremonies of welcome for the wives of its more illustrious citizens. In 1437, when Braccio Baglioni's intended spouse, Teoderina

1. 'Diario di Antonio dei Veghi' pp. 17-19; Diario del Graziani pp.411-4.

Fieschi of Genoa, came in the company of many Genoese to meet her husband, a considerable number of Perugians also travelled as far as Pisa to meet her[1].

The intertwining of the personal lives of local nobles and the course of civic affairs is even more tellingly revealed in two episodes from Città di Castello. When, in 1410, a son was born to Braccio Fortebracci, four representatives of the commune stood sponsor in the baptism ceremony 'ad conservandum et augendum amicitiam, ymo divinam parentelam contrahendum cum strenuo viro Braccio'[2]. Council minutes refer to Oddo as the commune's godson (figlioccio) both then and six years later in a presentation made by the town to Braccio to preserve his good will[3]. The second incident occurred several years later: when, in 1417, Giovanni Chorazzo, marquis of Monte Santa Maria, made his will, he stipulated that Città di Castello was to act as guardian of his children until they reached the age of thirty, freeing the commune from the obligation of making an inventory of his possessions. His heirs were commanded to be obedient to the town upon pain of losing their portion of the inheritance, and if all his heirs were to die without issue, his possessions were to pass entirely to Città di Castello[4].

1. 'Diario di Antonio dei Veghi' p.19.
2. ASCANI Montone pp. 64, 91-2 n.42.
3. ibid. p.93 n.56
4. Archivio Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello vol.III 659-67 (Bandini L.)

Another factor which influenced the relationships between town and individual was the entry of various Perugian citizens upon the larger scene of general Italian history, particularly in their role as *condottieri*. In the case of the Michelotti this resulted in the disguised *signoria* of Biordo, and with Braccio in an open recognition of his overlordship. After Braccio's death, such relationships had to be assimilated into the framework of local oligarchy and papal government. The history of the Piccinini in the fifteenth century reveals their ambigous position as local citizens and protagonists of wider and more important political events. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there was no-one who played a comparable role[1].

The origins of the family are obscure. Some local historians have placed them among the Perugian trading classes, and it was certainly their military expertise that was instrumental in their rise to honour and power. As *condottiere* in the service of Florence, the Visconti and the papacy, Niccolo Piccinini occupied a position in which Perugia was obliged to him, both militarily and financially on a massive scale[2]. He came to acquire various illustrious

1. Activity as *podestà* was irregular and not of the same independence. Other political and military activity, such as that of the Baglioni in Umbria in the 1320's, did not extend much beyond the region itself.
2. For his career and that of his son see FABRETTI *Biografie* II 5-157. *Diario del Graziani* p.382 for the year 1434 which records that to date the commune had paid 16,000 florins to Nicolò.

titles and dignities. In 1440, writing to his second-in-command at Perugia, he signed himself as 'Nicolaus Piccini vicecomes, marchio, comes et ducalis locumtenens et capitaneus generalis',and in 1442, he received from Alfonso of Aragon, to whom he was now Aragoniae vicecomes marchio et comes, the right to incorporate the royal Aragonese coat-of-arms in his own[1]. In that year, the whole of Perugia witnessed a spectacle in his honour. The pope, whose habit it was to make Christmas gifts to his captains-general, delegated to the bishop of Perugia the task of presenting Niccolo with a fur hat worth seven hundred ducats, lined with ermine and decorated with a dove of pearls to represent the Holy Spirit, and a sword, also decorated with jewels and gold and worth two hundred ducats. They were carried through the length of Perugia, the cap by dominus Tancred Ranieri and the sword by dominus Agamemnon of the Archipresbyteri, before they were taken to Niccolo at Assisi[2].

Individual tributes such as these are, in fact, very much a comment upon the changing political position of Perugia and upon its civic consciousness. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, it retained a considerable independence in many walks of life, but it was an

1. ASP Copiari di Privilegi, Bolle, Brevi e Lettere. II f.4r-v. The Perugian notary, in transcribing the letter, gives to Niccolo the honorary title of excelsis.
2. Diario del Graziani pp.418-9.

independence based upon a certain regional isolation and provincialism. In some areas of civic experience - in the scholars summoned to teach in the *studio*, in artists such as Giovanni Pisano entrusted with the town's most prized monuments - this may have been the period in which Perugia turned more readily to external masters. But the establishment by Perugian families of networks of relationships, which stretched across the whole peninsula, and the way in which individuals might now gain experience and enhance their social position through activity outside the commune itself, are both to be associated with a later period. They are, of course, not specifically Perugian developments. *Condottieri* and mercenary groups were to be found throughout the whole of Italy, but they had a fundamental and specific effect upon Perugian attitudes. Social changes were no longer effected almost exclusively by the internal regional structure. Other external and miscellaneous factors had to be taken into account. Perhaps this made it easier for new elements to be assimilated to the upper reaches of society and for the concept of nobility to be extended and enlarged.

In spite of this tendency for noble and civic consciousness to become increasingly intertwined and for the nobility to develop more interests and responsibility in the government of the commune, there is no question at Perugia, at least not in the early fifteenth century, that the nobility and the holding of office were co-terminous. There was, as

yet, no communal office governed by a definite legal exclusiveness, nor did the holding of any office, in itself, confer a tradition of nobility. This is very different from the situation outlined for the Veneto at this date and even earlier. Bartolo of Sassoferrato referred to the fact that at Venice counsellors were recognised as being noble, whilst at Perugia this was not the case. The serrata of various north eastern Italian towns, which limited access to certain of the greater offices and was instrumental in maintaining a closed social dignity, is foreign to Perugia. Here, there was no hereditary office of any sort. The nearest equivalent was the apparent admission, perhaps an extension of the principle accepted at an earlier date for the offices of podestà and captain, that if an individual proved unable, either though absence or decease, to fulfil his duties, his place might be taken by another member of the family[1].

1. SHEEDY Bartolus on social conditions p.123. For the Veneto see particularly VENTURA A. Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500. (Bari 1964). At Padua, for example, he traces the development of the idea that certain offices constituted part of a family's patrimony. (pp.52-92) By 1338, the consiglio maggiore was a closed body: 'libere possint substituere per se aut suam procuratorem quemcumque alium voluerunt idoneum civem Padue'. (p.18). If a man died intestate, the right passed to his next of kin. For the nearest equivalent at Perugia see ASP Offici VIII f.33r (31 July 1437) where Alexander Carduccioli was replaced as sindicator potestatis by his brother, Niccolaus; f.48v - April 1439 the absent sapiens studii, Rodulfus Fabrutii Signorelli was replaced by his brother, Gentile; ibid.IX f. 50r - Carolus Cinagle was to take the place of Cinalus Ugolini as captain of the contado.

It is possible that this situation underwent some modification in the course of the fifteenth century. In 1494 there is mention of Perugia's government as 'status papalis et nobilium', and all the counsellors present for the decision to limit eligibility for the office of captain of the _contado_ were described as _nobiles cives_[1]. This process is something which only a far closer study of the fifteenth century could reveal in detail. But the state of affairs in the early decades of the fifteenth century suggests that the reduction of the problem of nobility and ennoblement to the question of civic nobility is not permissible at Perugia and that other factors were also important. Autonomous changes within the noble class and its conception of itself should be investigated.

Certainly, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the concept of nobility at Perugia as being defined by knightly descent had lost appreciable ground. It never comes to light in the way that it had a century earlier. The idea of knighthood itself seems to have been assimilated in part to a classical ideal. This was the period in which _eques_ came to be synonymous with _miles_ as a title of honour, bearing with it a dignity entirely absent in

1. ASP. _Rif._ CXXII f.87v. Compare VENTURA _Nobiltà e popolo_ p.89 n.111 (1442) which refers to the formula 'spectabiles milites, egregii doctores et nobiles cives' as a common one in fifteenth-century Padua, apparently equating _nobilitas_ and _civilitas_.

earlier use of equites in Perugian administrative documents[1]. Presumably, this was part of the same recurrence to classical antiquity which gives us Agamemnons, Julius Caesars and the like among the leading families in the fifteenth century. The tendency continued for an individual's taking of knighthood to become a rarer and more splendid thing.

Thus, there were very few knights in the early fifteenth century. For most of them the occasion of their dubbing can be associated with some important turning point in their lives or with particular public ceremonies. On the third day of his stay at Perugia, the emperor Sigismund heard mass at Monte Morcino and then knighted Agamemnon degli Archipresbyteri, the illegitimate son of Iacobus domini Francisci[2]. In the same year, Polidor Baglioni was knighted at the papal court[3], and two years later Tancred de Raneriis was dubbed immediately before commencing his term of office as prior[4]. The ceremony took place in the priors' palace at mass, and was attended by many of the chief Perugian citizens. The chronicler makes special mention of the part played by 'messer Francesco de

1. See above p.107 for a rare usage in the early fourteenth century. For the fifteenth century ASP. Notarile (ser Bartolomeo di Ranaldo di Giovanni) Protocolli CCL f.20r - the will of 'generosus eques insignis civis dominus Agamemnon quondam Iacobi de Archipresbyteris'.
2. 'Diario di Antonio dei Veghi' p.12
3. Diario del Graziani p.368
4. ibid.p.392

Copoglie, messer Gulino, messer Agamemnone, messer Polidore, messer Gregorio'. The last-named was a member of the comital family from Antignolla. The actual occasions of the knighting of Agamemnon and Polidor have been recounted above. Who Ugolino was is unclear. Francesco Coppoli was probably knighted just before his marriage[1]. It seems likely that these persons were accorded a special part in the ceremony precisely because they were themselves knights and that they were also the only knights in Perugia at the time; other names do not come to light in the archival sources. The number of knights, therefore, had been even more radically diminished in the course of a century, and the circumstances of individual knighthoods were even more newsworthy than previously.

By this date, too, knightly traditions of jousting were very much a part of communal life, and it is possible that they became even more aristocratic and sophisticated at this later date. There seem to have been two slightly different types of forerunner. The first was the ludi of the knights, a constant topic of debate in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There was divided opinion whether they should be permitted at all and especially upon the feast of Sant'Ercolano. Measures were

1. ASP Notarile (ser Pietro Paolo di Nino) Protocolli CI f.lr.

also taken to confine such activity to a certain area of the town, the so-called campo battaglia, prohibiting the use of the main square[1]. The nature and tone of these resolutions suggest a lack of order and polish, almost a determination upon violence and bloodshed. The second prototype of the fifteenth-century Perugian joust were the earlier tournaments sponsored by the commune for the celebration of visiting princes and popes. There are very few details about these, but there are distinct suggestions that their ethos differed from that of subsequent centuries. A condemnation of 1260 refers to an injury sustained by dominus Uguitio of Città di Castello who came to Perugia to do honour to the previous podestà, dominus Raynaldus de Brunaforte 'eo tempore quod multi de militibus et popularibus eiusdem cititatis ludum faciebant in honorem civitatis Perusii'[2]. Other terse chronicle references to such spectacles in the early fourteenth century usually conclude with the remark that the jousters received so much

1. ASP Rif. VI ff.40r-v, 46r-47v - the ludi were suspended, ff.68v-70r - they were permitted, but measures were taken to prevent any slaughter; ff.93v-94v further regulations were passed to ensure safety. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p.63 n.138 records that in 1283 Feolus Libriocti supported theholding of the ludi by the milites and domicelli during the feast of Sant'Ercolano. Cf. ASP Statuti XII f.30v XII/ii rub.29 (bis): 'De equis non ludentibus in vigilia Sancti Herculani'. In addition of 1314 forbade the entering of the main square by persons bearing arms for the ludus armatorum and confined the jousting to the campo battaglia. f.66v
2. ASP Rif. IV f.421v.

money each from the commune[1].

This contrasts with the fifteenth century picture. Then, participation appears to have been much more socially exclusive. The event itself involved far fewer persons. It was more definitely a pageant, a contest which attracted nobles from a considerable radius, and the chroniclers do not emphasize how much each participant received, but what the trophy of victory was, and who won. The themes of such occasions were emulation and glory. Thus, in 1437, the newly-elected rector of the Perugian studio, messer Giapeco of Spoleto, sponsored a tournament, giving as prizes eight lengths (braccia) of blue velvet and ten of red. The number of jousters was limited to six; two of these were members of the Signorelli and one of the Montemelini[2]. In 1441, for the marriage of Costantino di Rugiero Ranieri at Città della Pieve to a daughter of the Farnese, a tournament was held in which the victor, count Guido of Urbino, received twelve lengths of blue velvet[3]. In 1444 the rector of the

1. Annali e cronaca p.203 - for the visit of the duke of Calabria on 30 june 1326: 'Giocarce ad onore de la sua venuta lxxv giocatore; avero de la camora del comuna e per ciascuno de loro fiorini iiij'. A similar tournament was held on 3 July for the Prince of Morea: 'Giocaro ad honore de la sua venuta xxv cavaliere: avvero de la camora del comuno per ciascuno de loro fiorini iiij'. In 1327 each of the fifty who took part in a tournament in honour of cardinal Orsini received four florins. (p.212).
2. Diario del Graziani p.419.
3. 'Diario di Antonio dei Veghi' p.25.

Sapienza again commanded a tournament; the first prize, a length of blue velvet, went to a squire (scuderio) of the count of Urbino and the second, a helmet, to Bonifazio di messer Ibo, a member of the Coppoli[1].

Did knighthood ennoble? We have noted the claim of Bartolo in the mid-fourteenth century that at Perugia, the knight was noble; but this may refer to those of proven knightly descent such as were registered in the Libro Rosso rather than to individual later creations. In fact, it would seem that the posthumous knighting of Leggerius Nicholutii Andreotti was the first time a popolano had been dubbed, and it does not seem to have had any profound effect upon the way in which his descendants were regarded. His son, for example, never seems to have been accorded the title of nobilis.

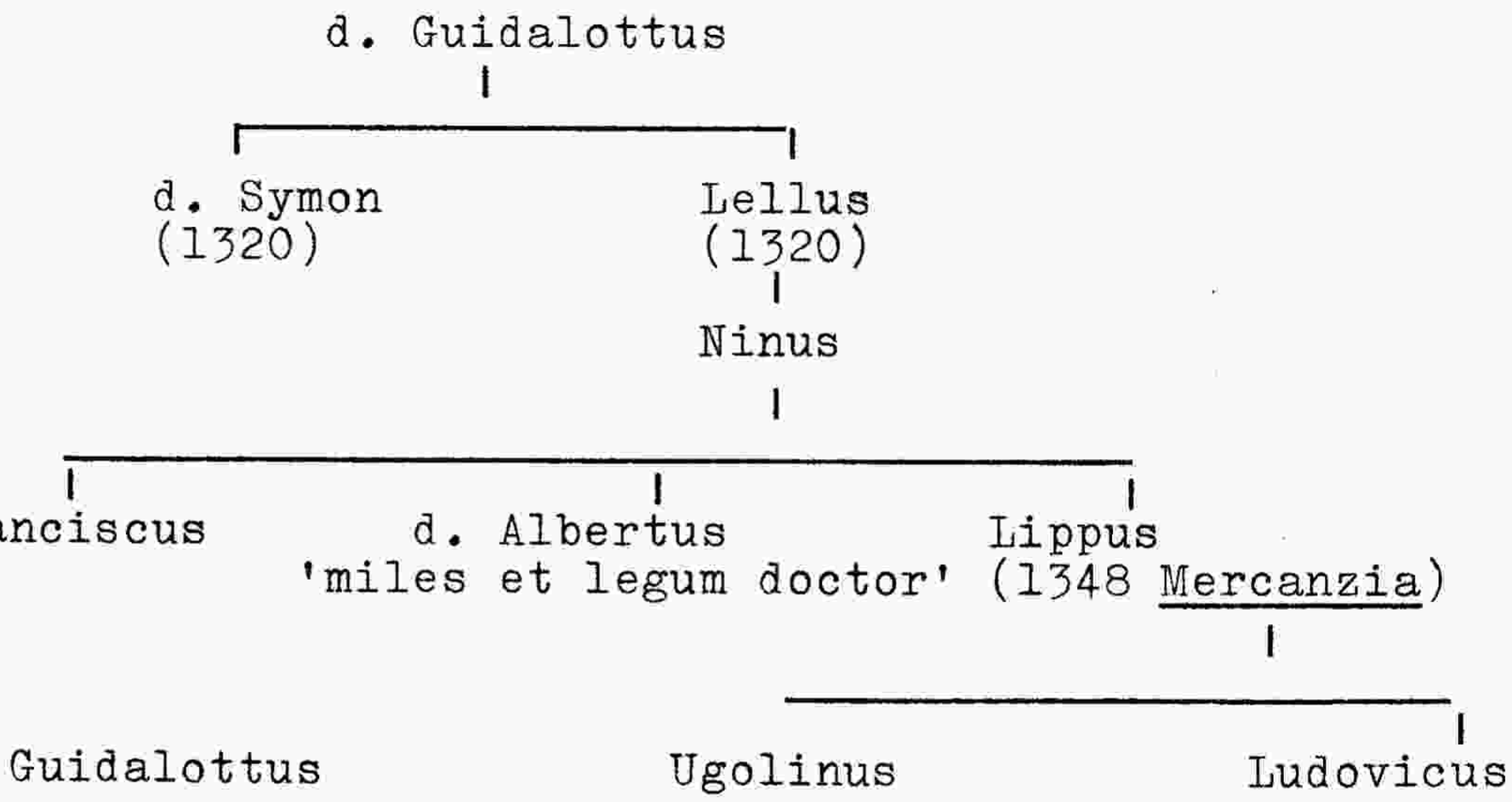
Another case history is provided by the Guidalotti. They can be traced back to the mid-thirteenth century and to dominus Guidalottus iudex who played an active part in communal affairs[2]. His two sons, dominus Symon and Lellus, appear in the 1320 libra[3], and the legal traditions of the

1. ibid. p.28
2. ASP Somm. II f.80v (Somm. CXXXI) - witness in 1253; I f.110v (Somm.XXXVI) Guidalottus iudex (1259). See also ALTICOZZI Risposta Apologetica pp.199-201; ANSIDEI Reg.Ref. p.147.
3. ASP. Libra II f.4r (P.S.P. S.Lucia) D. Simon was assessed for 1,000 lib., including a podere in the contado of Assisi, and Lellus for 400 lib.

family seem to have kept its members at some distance from the Mercanzia for some time. Lippus Nini Lelli was the first to be registered in their membership lists[1]. Two of his brothers, Franciscus and dominus Albertus, were both prominent figures in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Albertus was a doctor of the law; he was also dubbed knight. Among his official positions at Perugia were those of ambassador, prior as representative of the Mercanzia, civis super unione to deal with internal order at times of hostilities. In 1380 he was captain of the people at Florence. On many of these occasions the notary chose to describe him as nobilis miles or egregius legum doctor ac nobilis et potens miles[2]. Knighthood seems to

1. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole. I f.71r.
2. ASP Rif. XXIX f.84r, XXXIV f.88v, XXXVII f.21r, XXXVIII f.24v.

The family tree is as follows:



have conferred a personal ennoblement, but at this time it does not seem to have extended to other members of the Guidalotti household. His brother, Franciscus, for instance, received nothing more than the designation *prudens*, and a council decision of 1388 to elect three officials for the conduct of war envisaged 'unus nobilis et duo popolares'. The noble was dominus Bartolomeus domini Felicini of the Armanni, and Franciscus Nini was among the *popolani*[1].

In his will, dated 14 October 1382, he again received the title of *nobilis miles*. It is clear that at this point dominus Albertus had only one daughter, Tomassa, to whom he left a dowry of 600 florins. An equivalent sum was to go to any daughter born after the will was drawn up. He was still hoping for male heirs, but stipulated that, should none be born to him, Ugolinus and Ludovicus Lippi were to inherit; if they repudiated the inheritance, it was to pass to the hospital of the *Mercanzia*[2]. Sons were born to him later. In 1419 a notarial document records the sale of a *camera* by dominus Albertus domini Alberti Nini with the

1. ASP *Rif.* XXXVI f.87r.
2. ASP *Notarile* (ser Massolo di Pellolo) *Protocolli* VII ff.2r-3r. (14 Oct.1382). He was to be buried in the Dominican church of San Stefano. There are a number of pious and charitable bequests, including a donation of books to the Dominicans, a chalice to the Servites, the usufruct of a piece of land which he held in common with his brother to the hospital of the *Mercanzia* for eight years, 60 florins for the repair of the parish church of Santa Lucia, 50 *lib.* to San Lorenzo and 100 *lib.* to Monteripido.

agreement of his brother, Benedictus[1]. He seems also to have had another daughter. The will of nobilis et egregia domina Ysabetta filia quondam domini Alberti Nini de Guidalottis dates from 1434. The fact that she is called nobilis can only derive from her father's knightly dignity, since her husband was a member of one of the other non-noble families of lawyers prominent in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Perugia[2]. This reflects in some measure upon the position of women. If the dignity of a woman was in doubt, she would tend to take either that of her husband or father, whichever was the greater.

Thus the knightly title became even rarer; the fate of the comital title, however, was very different. Before this period, the titles of margrave/marquis and count belonged in Umbria to families of considerable antiquity and the title itself, having become hereditary, was accorded to all members of the family. Unlike knighthood, to be a count was neither a personal dignity, nor one that could be acquired. There were, it seems, no such new

1. ASP Notarile (ser Mariano di Luca di Nino) Protocolli CIV f.X. (1419)
2. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) Protocolli XCIV f. 224r (1434). She was the wife of Bartolomeus domini Honofri Bartolini. She wished to be buried in the Guidalotti family chapel, left all her personal chattels to her husband and the rest of her wealth to the Sapienza Nuova in which the Guidalotti had a particular interest, one of the family having been the founder.

creations in thirteenth and fourteenth century Umbria. At Perugia two particular factors were connected with the diffusion of this title in the late Middle Ages: the granting of countships palatinate and the development of papal enfeofments[1].

However, a certain degradation of the comital dignity seems already to have taken place by the mid-fourteenth century, if the assertion of Bartolo is true that a doctor of law might become a count after having taught for twenty years. This again makes of countship a personal honour, although it is an interesting commentary upon the role of the legal profession as a possible fount of nobility.

During this period there were very few concessions of papal fiefs within the Perugian territory itself. In other parts of Umbria, powers and jurisdictions had been granted to individual nobles during the fourteenth century[2].

1. The comital title in general needs further study for the whole of medieval Italy. For the Malatesta, Philip Jones recounts the instance of one branch of the family acquiring the title in the thirteenth century through an inheritance. (JONES Malatesta of Rimini pp.36-7). If this is really what happened, the situation is quite different from that in Umbria. At Perugia, the designation of the family from Compresseto as comites in the Libro Rosso is a little puzzling; they are not similarly described elsewhere. Also, the family from Antignolla, who appear in fifteenth century documents with the comital title, do not receive it earlier, and it is difficult to discover the circumstances of its assumption. In general, however, the absence of new creations ca. 1180-1400 and the later spate of creations seem quite clear.
2. ANTONELLI M. 'Di alcune infeudazioni nell'Umbria nella seconda metà del secolo XIV' BU XIII (1907) pp.219-30, XIV (1909) pp.581-91.

The first grant within the Perugian sphere was that of Montone to the Fortebracci in 1410[1]. The papal diploma allied the privileges and immunities of counts of the Lateran palace, largely similar to those of counts palatinate, with this particular territorial concession[2]. Other Perugian families gained similar titles. The degli Oddi came to be counts of Laviano by the mid-fifteenth century[3]. In 1439 the title comes was applied in a notarial document to one of the Ranieri[4], and this seems to reflect the fact that Eugenius IV had raised Pacciano Vecchio to a comital fief for Tancredus Ranieri[5]. Early

1. MAGHERINI GRAZIANI G. 'Investitura di Montone a favore dei Fortebracci BU. III (1898) p.383 'Decrevimus quod castrum ipsum deinceps ac perpetuu comitatus Montonis nuncuparetur'.
2. ibid. p.384 'Costituimus et etiam ordinamus vosque ac natos filios descendentes et posteros comites dicti comitatus existere voluimus, et sic deinceps ab omnibus censeri et nominari ac nuncupari et posse ac debere gaudere omnibus et singulis emolumentibus commodi, honoribus, immunitatibus ac privilegiis et exemptionibus que tam Laterensis Palatii quam aliis comitibus concedi a sede apostolica consueverunt'. Compare also ASP Miscellanea LIV f.21v where his son is described as 'Oddo de Fortebraccis comes Rocche Contrate'.
3. The family's influence in the area at the end of the fourteenth century is demonstrated by a council deliberation of 1377 (ASP Rif. XXV f.27r). DEGLI ODDI S. Cenni storici della famiglia degli Oddi. (Perugia 1977) p.31. The date of the original concession is unknown even to the family, but it is usually placed in the mid-fifteenth century possibly under pope Nicholas V (1447-75).
4. ASP Notarile (ser Francesco di Niccolo) Protocolli CXXXIV f.97r (1439). In a sale of 150 salme of grain to 'spectabilis miles et comes Tancredus olim Caroli di Raneriis de Perusio'.
5. FOP M.P. 'Spoglio documentario del 'De Claritate Perusinorum' BU. LXXII/ii (1975) p.126

fifteenth century listings of the senators of Rome refer to Ruggerius comes de Antignolla in 1410-11, Felicinus de Hermannis comes Montis Iuliani in 1413 and to Cecco Baglioni in 1431 as count of Castel Piero and Graffignano[1]. The Montemelini appear as counts of Resche and by the close of the century the Vencioli had acquired the countships of Agello and San Valentino[2]. Similarly, titles of marquis went both to the Baglioni for their lands between Perugia and Assisi[3] and to the della Corgna. For them the final concession came from Pius IV in 1563 in a grant to Ascanio della Corgna which included Chiusi and Castiglione del Lago, Città della Pieve, however, was eventually excluded[4]. Although in most of these cases a countship, once created, remained in the family for centuries and had a territorial connotation, there were occasions when it appears more as a personal dignity and one which might be reduced or taken away entirely. This happened to the Fortebracci concession which, in 1431, was changed from that of an autonomous county to that of a temporary three-year grant to Carlo Fortebracci[5].

1. SALIMEI A. Senatori e statuti di Roma nel Medioevo (Rome 1935) I 163, 166, 178.
2. VENCIOLI G. Lettera in conto della famiglia Vencioli scritta dal d. Pietro Canneti camaldolese.(Macerata 1719) pp.7-8.
3. DE BAGLION L. Perouse et les Baglioni. (Paris 1909) pp.487-93, 535.
4. DONATI GUERRIERI Lo Stato di Castiglione del Lago pp.66-7, 146, 156-60.
5. ASP Copiari di Privilegi, Bolle, Brevi e Lettere I f.57r.

The second thing which contributed to the inflation of the comital title was the development of the countship palatinate. Julius Ficker has demonstrated that the extension of this office dated from the time of the emperor Charles IV. There were earlier instances of the title's use; both the Ildebrandeschi in the twelfth century and the Guidi in the thirteenth had it. For them, however, it appears to have been largely honorific, bearing with it no specific rights and privileges[1]. Similarly, some of the rights which came to constitute an essential part of the countship palatinate had appeared individually before. Legitimisation and the creation of notaries are cases in point. In thirteenth century documents the Avvocati of Lucca figure with both the title of comites palatini and the right to make notaries. Besides these, a number of optional rights came to accompany the dignity of count palatinate in the later Middle Ages, such as the right to confer academic honours or knighthood, to confirm wills or to emancipate minors[2].

1. FICKER J. Forschungen zur Reichs und Rechtsgeschichte. (Aalen 1961 2 ed.) II 68 for the Aldebrandeschi in 1163 there is use of the term comes palatinus, and in 1195 of quondam comitis Ildebrandini palatini. This usage, however, alternated with the more simple comes de Tiscia.
2. ibid.pp.75-9. The counts of Lomello descended from Otto, who in 1014 was the last count palatinate. Although they make no mention of this title in the twelfth century, they still possessed the right to create notaries, which they exercised as far afield as Piacenza where they certainly had no other comital rights. See pp.94-102 for earlier instances of the right to legitimise and a discussion of the extension of this right.

Any understanding of the origins of this office has been much complicated by the widespread existence of later forgeries. It is, anyway, perhaps too much to expect of imperial rights and privileges that they should follow a straightforward progression. It is also another question - and one that requires more attention than it has received - how far the wording of such privileges reflects the reality of medieval Italy or how much they correspond to a stereotyped formula put out by the imperial chancery. A problem which must be approached from the standpoint of individual towns, however, is the actual impact and reception of these grants within their local setting. The emperor claimed with considerable verbosity that he was the sole fount of honours and dignities, but in Italy there was no immediate hierarchical structure within which he might operate comparable to that found in Germany. Thus, it is important to inquire to whom such privileges were given, at what rate and with what effect within the local Perugian context.

The first concessions at Perugia date from the 1350's and are indeed associated with Charles IV. The beneficiaries were Leggerius Nicholutii Andreotti, and Teus domini Michelotti[1]; Bartolo of Sassoferrato also received

1. For the privileges: that to Leggerius is edited in Il Notariato a Perugia pp.47-51, that to Bartolo in FICKER Forschungen IV 538. The privilege for the Michelotti is recorded in ASP Diplomatico VI P.9 c.34 n.119.

a privilege, although not strictly one of countship palatinate[1]. These men were the most active figures in Perugian dealings with the Emperor, and the concessions were doubtless a reward for political aid. They were all popolani; the privileges to the Michelotti and Andreotti describe their recipients as nobilis, although this is certainly not how they were regarded in Perugia at the time. There are the usual clauses, authorising the legitimisation of bastards and the creation of notaries. Leggerius and Bartolo were created familiares of the Emperor, and Bartolo also received the power to emancipate minors[2].

In the Andreotti and the Michelotti we encounter merchant families undergoing a considerable social rise. The Michelotti can be traced back to the latter part of the thirteenth century, when their first identifiable member, Michelottus Siginolfi, was elected to the consiglio maggiore in 1277. He was also registered in the 1285 libra for 2,800 lib. and he appeared as witness to the Perugian

1. Charles was indebted to Leggerius for the sum of 1,000 florins. See ZIMMERMAN F. Acta Karoli IV imperatoris inedita. (Innsbruck 1891) pp.71-2 (30 May 1355) - a letter from Charles to the priors of Florence commanding payment to 'nobilis vir Leggerius Nicolutii de Andriocttis civis perusinus et familiaris noster dilectus'.
2. For Leggerius see p.407 above; for Bartolo FICKER Forschungen IV 537 'in consiliarum et familarem domesticum commensalem nostrum assumimus'.

alliance with Camerino in 1288[1]. Of his three sons, dominus Perus was a judge, Iohanellus and Arloctus were both merchants and prominent members of the popolo. Iohanellus was massarius in 1299, guild consul three times and prior at least four times before 1320. On more than one occasion his position gave rise to some controversy. In 1312, the subsequent priorate cancelled some of the provisions made under his leadership, and in 1320 he rescinded all the legislation passed by his predecessors[2]. Arloctus was less conspicuous, but was also among the guild consuls and priors[3]. Together with their nephews, Ceccolus domini Peronis and his brothers, they are registered in the 1320 libra, each for an equal sum of 1,700 lib.[4].

Iohanellus continued to take part in the important political activities of the commune. In 1325 he was among the ambassadors sent to Tuscany to discuss the taglia, and his son, Michelutius, was appointed captain and standard-bearer of the Perugian troops sent in support of the Orsini[5]. The sons of Iohanellus and Arloctus appear in the

1. BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 p.108 no.68 with his libra assessment of 2,800 lib. The Camerino alliance is ASP Diplomatico V P.12 c.31 n.541.
2. ASP Rif. XII f.205v. He was consul in Jan.1287, May 1293, March 1299 (BLANSHEI op.cit. pp.115-6. For the priorate pp. 117-21, and for his controversial position p.66 n.175.
3. He was consul in 1295 (BLANSHEI op.cit. p.116)
4. ASP. Libra II ff.6v,9r.
5. ASP Rif. XVII f.210r.

membership lists of the Mercanzia[1], but the little evidence that there is from this period suggests that during this generation it was the sons of dominus Perus who were more influential. When, in 1325, the commune resolved that the office of counsellor to the Tuscan taglia should rotate between popolani and nobles, it was Ceccolinus who was first elected to represent the popolo. In the following year he replaced the marquis Guido at the head of the Guelf exiles from Città di Castello. He was ambassador to Florence in 1343 to discuss the Petramala and Arezzo. His brother, Teus, was among those delegated in 1344 to make the Florentine/Sienese/Perugian alliance. In 1351 Ceccolinus followed in the steps of Leggerius Nicholutii as one of the first non-noble Perugians to be captain of Orvieto, an office previously reserved to members of the comital family of Marsciano, the degli Oddi, the Vencioli and similar families, when a local appointment was made[2].

The Andreotti history runs along similar lines. Their first documented member was Andrioctus Leggerii, merchant and guild consul on several occasions. In the Montemarte

1. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole. I f.33v Iohanellus Michelotti (1323), f.57v Petrus quondam Iohanelli Michelotti, f.59r Perus quondam Arloctoli Michelotti (1345); f.71r Arloctolus quondam Arloctoli Michelotti (1348).
2. ANSIDEI. V. DEGLI AZZI G. Regesto di documenti del secolo XIV relativi a Città di Castello BU. VI (1900) pp.453, 491, 503. DEGLI AZZI Le Relazioni I 32 (no.105); II 76 (no.303); PARDI 'Serie dei supremi magistrati' p.393.

purchase of 1290 he acted as middle-man in contracting the necessary Florentine loan of 4,800 pounds for the commune[1]. He was still alive in 1307, by which time his son, Nicholutius, had already entered upon his political career; the latter was massarius in 1298, and consul for the Mercanzia in 1296[2]. However, it was the third generation and Leggerius Nicholutii who really established the family's fortunes. His curriculum vitae is impressive. He was podestà of Spoleto on Perugia's behalf in 1327. He was despatched to John of Bohemia together with one of the Ubaldini and a local cavalry group in 1337 and was the Perugian representative at the peace negotiations with Arezzo and Florence. He held a similar post in 1344 for the alliance with Siena and Florence, and he was sent as podestà to Anghiari after its recovery by Perugia in 1347. In 1348, he was captain of the people at Orvieto, and in 1351 prior and standard-bearer at Perugia. He treated for peace with Cortona in 1353, and 1354 Charles IV appealed to him to persuade Perugia to move against Faenza. His relations with Charles IV and his murder and posthumous

1. BLANSHEI op.cit. pp.115. He was consul in 1286 and in October 1292, also in February 1298 as mercator for Porta Sole. see ASP Rif. XII. f.122r. For the Montemarte sale ASP Diplomatico V P.13 c.31 n.557,559.
2. BLANSHEI op.cit. p.116. He was consul for Porta Sole in September 1296; for election as massarius ASP Rif.XII f.174 r (27 Sep.1298).

knighting in 1363 have already been traced[1].

The origins of Bartolo are obscure, but it is clear that he had nothing to do with the magnate family from Sassofarrato registered in the Libro Rosso[2]. Speculation among historians about the family to which he belonged are for the most part anachronistic and bear little relation to the social situation of the mid-fourteenth century. It is probable that he was born of middling landowners with nothing in particular to distinguish them from a mass of other such families. After taking his doctorate at Bologna in 1334, at the age of twenty, he served as ambassador to Todi in 1336, advocate general of the rector of the March of Ancona; he taught at Pisa from 1339 and was established at the Perugian university by 1343, where he remained until death in 1357, serving also as legal advisor to the commune[3].

1. Diario del Graziani pp. 93,118; DEGLI AZZI Le Relazioni II 77 no.304 (1344); PARDI 'Serie dei supremi magistrati' p. 393 (1348); ASP Rif. XXIII f.145r (1351); Diario del Graziani p.169 (1353); FOP Il Comune di Perugia e la Chiesa pp.29, 45, 48. See also pp.101, 374 above.
2. FABRETTI Documenti I 104 - the entry for Brodarius of Sassoferrato. GRUNDMAN The Popolo at Perugia p.293.
3. For a summary see F. Calasso in Dizionazio Biografico degli Italiani VI 640-669. Local antiquarians have placed Bartolo in three different families: the Alfani, the Severi and the Bentivogli. The first of these is the correct one, but no reference is found to the surname before the fifteenth century. Bartolo appears to have been the capostipite of this family which took its surname from his son.

Another series of creations of counts palatinate occurred in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries under the emperors Wenceslas and Sigismund. In 1397, Wenceslas honoured Filippus Putii Baglioni in this way, and half a century later, in 1469, another of the Baglioni received a similar privilege from Frederick III[1]. Other privileges went to non-noble families such as the Mansueti and the Boncambi[2]. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to the situation in the mid-fourteenth century, the newly-created counts now tended to make reference to this dignity in official documents, other than those which specifically regarded the exercising of their rights to make notaries and to legitimise. Earlier, the Michelotti and Andreotti had rarely stressed their comital dignity.

The Mansueti may have considered their privilege of 1433 as being in some way a source of ennoblement. The family can be traced back to a catasto entry of 1361: Mansuetus quondam Blaxi quondam ser Ranaldi[3]. Its members seem to have continued this tradition of legal practice. Dominus Franciscus Mansueti was one of the leading judges in the early fifteenth century and his son, dominus Mansuetus, was represented in the priorate. Other members

1. Il Notariato a Perugia pp.51-4, 67.
2. op.cit. pp.61-5.
3. ASP Catasti XXXIV f.257v.

played a role of some considerable political importance. Ranaldus Mansueti, to whom the privilege was addressed, was prior in 1430, 1435 and 1449; Petrus Paul Mansueti was prior and also captain of the contado for Porta Eburnea in 1444[1]. In a series of notarial acts from the 1450's concerning the sale of the third part of a casamentum in Porta Eburnea various members of the family received the attribute nobilis[2]. About the same time, they changed their surname from the less imposing de Bonreposis to the, presumably, more acceptable de Mansuetis[3]. Thus, the years surrounding their reception of the imperial privilege coincided with other efforts to give more honour to the family.

The history of the Boncambi can be traced in greater detail. They too, received a privilege in 1433. It was copied into a volume of Perugian privileges and bulls in 1497 during the priorate of Marco Boncambi, with a preamble which emphasized that it enhanced not only the dignity of the family but also that of the town[4]. Attempts have been

1. ASP Rif. ad ann. for lists of priors; for captains of the contado see above p. 381 n.1.
2. ASP Notarile (ser Angelo di Tommasso del Conte) Protocolli CCXXXVIII ff.94r,95,100v (28 Jan.1456): 'nobilis invenis Amerigus condam domini Francisci de Mansuetis'; 'voluntate nobilis viri Petri Pauli Mansueti'; 'nobilis vir Guidantonius quondam Ranaldi Mansueti de Mansuetis'.
3. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) Protocolli XCVI f.89v (4 Oct.1433) - Ranaldus Mansueti de Bonreposis; f.89v he is referred to as mercator.
4. ASP Copiari di Privilegi, Bolle, Breve e Lettere IV f.119r-v, edited in Il Notariato a Perugia pp.55-8.

made to associate them with one of the entries in the Libro Rosso - that of Bartutius Pelloli domini Sinibaldi[1]. This is probably because he appears under Porta Eburnea, the porta in which most members of the Boncambi were registered later, and because Bartutius was a name held by other members of the Boncambi in the early fourteenth century. It is much more likely, however, that they were of mercantile origin and belonged to the popolo. A considerable number of individuals in the priorate of the 1310's and 1320's had either the forename or the patronymnic Boncagnus. It was a common enough name, and it is difficult to tell which, if any, belonged to our particular family[2].

The 1361 catasto, besides making specific reference to the mercantile activities of the family, mentions among its number the fratres et filii olim Boncagni Bartuti. One of these sons was Marcus, whose wife's assessment is also included, and whose will shows that he had a brother, Angelus. Other members recorded in 1363 were Bartolomeus olim Boncagni Bartutii and Iacobus Paulutii Boncagni[3].

1. ANSIDEI V. Memorie sulla famiglia Boncambi (Perugia 1903) p.11.
2. See, for example, the lists in BLANSHEI Perugia 1260-1340 pp.115-21. Some of these were definitely merchants, for instance, Cola Boniscagni who, in 1285, was owed by the commune (ASP Diplomatico V P.10 c.30 no.487).
3. ASP Catasti XXIII f.130r, XXXIV f.114r.

Angelus Boncagni figures in the registers of the Mercanzia, both in 1356 when only bona fide merchants were included and also in 1377, when other members of the family also appear[1].

The will of Marcus Boncagni is dated 1393. It mentions his wife, Anna Martini Bontempi. He left a dowry of three hundred florins to his daughter, Battista. For the rest, his heirs were his two sons. Should they both die without male issue, the inheritance was to pass to his great-nephews. He was to be buried in Perugia in his chapel at Sant'Agostino, and daily offices were to be said for a year. Should all the male line from his side of the family die out, his wealth was to pass to the chapel in the rocca near Mantignana which his brother, Angelus, had built[2]. Thus, as has been noted elsewhere, the family was developing a particular tradition of residence within this region of the contado.

Marriage alliances at this date and from the early fifteenth century show the Boncambi intermarrying with other rising popolo grasso families, especially the

1. Archivio della Mercanzia. Matricole. I f.32v Angelus Boncagni, f.35v Munaldolus Boncagni (1323); II f.33r Ricchus Francisci Bartutii Boncagni, f.60v Antonius Angeli Boncagni, Marcus Boncagni.
2. ASP Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Protocolli XXII ff.32r-34v (1 Sep.1393).

Bontempi and the Guidalotti, and also with established noble families at Perugia, such as the Baglioni and the Ranieri[1]. By the mid-fifteenth century a definite prestige surrounded the figure of Boncambio. It was he who was created count palatinate, and in 1445 on the occasion of his being elected podestà of Florence, he was knighted by the papal legate at Perugia. In 1451, he held the position of senator of Rome, and his daughter, Anna, married a Roman aristocrat, Stefano Porcari[2]. Boncambio's will, dated 1454, emphasizes the other side of the family's life: its continued involvement with trade. He enjoined his sons, Marco, Paolo and Fiorboncambi, to keep a common household for twenty years. Marco and Fiorboncambi were to respect Paolo's judgement in all things and Fiorboncambi was to be given sufficient money to cover his studies in civil and canon law. Moreover, these three brothers were to maintain common interests with their cousins (?),Fioravante and Giovanni, for at least ten years, unless their

1. For the wife of Marcus Boncagni see above. Her will is in ASP Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Protocolli XXIII ff.134v-133r (14 June 1435) - the will of nobilis et egregia domina Monaldesca Cialli de Ballionibus, Marco's widow. She was to be buried in San Lorenzo in her father's tomb; her heir was her daughter, Maddalena.
ASP Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Bastardelli XII f. Glottus Nicole Ponis Ranieri was married to Andrea Marci Boncagni.
2. See the entry by V. Fanelli in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani II 665-7. He is consistently described as miles et comes palatinus in the later years. See, for example, ASP Catasti XXIV f.2r (1447) magnificus et generosus miles et comes Boncambius de Boncambiis. ANSIDEI Memorie p.26 for the Porcari marriage.

uncle, Guaspar, should sanction an earlier division[1]. This practice is in distinct contrast to those of all the other noble wills consulted from this period; much earlier in the twelfth century at Genoa, it had been particularly associated with business and trading interests[2]. That the family continued as practising merchants is shown very clearly in a document of 1457 in which Giovanni Boncambi operated in partnership with Cristiano Bevignate in the cloth trade[3].

The later history of the Andreotti, although it is somewhat truncated owing to the failure of the male line, reveals much that is typical of these newer families. Already, by the second half of the fourteenth century, an alliance had been made with one of the most important of Umbrian noble families, that of the marquises of Monte Santa Maria. The will of Angelus, dated 4 November 1399, names his wife as Cia Guidonis, associates her with various of his charitable bequests and assigns a considerable amount of land and a number of houses to her. The will, as a whole, is a long and interesting document; it reveals most emphatically Angelus's particular brand of piety, and its bequests are legion. They range from numerous offerings

1. ASP Notarile (ser Bartolomeo di Rainaldo di Giovanni) Protocolli CCLII ff. 3v-4v.
2. HUGHES 'Struttura familiare' p.951
3. ANSIDEI Memorie p.27.

of wax candles, the despatch of a horseman in pilgrimge to Compostella, the feeding of a hundred and fifty 'pauperes Christi' and the donation of fifty florins to provide habits for the religious, to the more elaborate plans set out for the development and embellishment of a family chapel in his parish church of San Fiorenzo. A second altar was to be erected, a number of wall paintings executed and masses said. The will mentions two daughters and two sons. There was already some concern over the disappearance of Antonio; should he not re-appear, he was to be considered dead and his part of the inheritance was to pass to his brother, Legedoctus[1]. The later transfer of a far larger part of the inheritance to Angelus's two daughters, Linora and Leonarda, and to their husbands, suggests that the male line had failed completely by the second decade of the fifteenth century[2]. The Andreotti seem to have remained, to a large extent, a 'nuclear family' which never managed to establish itself as a dynasty; in general, however, the survival rates of both knightly and new mercantile families seems to have been much better.

Thus, the period under review shows certain tendencies common to both types of family. There was intermarriage on a very considerable scale between the two groups. Moreover,

1. ASP Corp. Relig. Sopp. S.Maria della Misericordia Pergamene sec. XIV. no.258.
2. ASP Catasti XXIII f.15v.

even members of the more ancient territorial aristocracy took wives or husbands from among the rising mercantile families. Besides the case of Angelus domini Legerii, there are later examples. In 1429, Caterina Angelini Lelli of the Boccoli is recorded as being married to a member of the Todi branch of the counts of Coldimedio, and in 1446 Michelina, the daughter of Iacobus Bigazzini of the counts of Coccorano, was described as the widow of Petrus Sciri[1]. Another important development in the field of marriage alliances was the taking of wives from among the greater Italian families outside of Umbria. The Baglioni and the Michelotti were pioneers here in the last decades of the fourteenth century, and the practice was to become more widespread[2]. Among other things, this helped to contribute to the development of a network of relations which extended beyond Umbria. In the case of the Baglioni, a branch moved to France in the late fourteenth century. The establishment of branches of Perugian families in other Italian towns did not occur on any considerable scale until the mid-fifteenth century at the earliest[3].

Private chapels, which are not mentioned in the

1. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) Protocolli XCII f.35r-v;
2. FRANCESCHINI 'Biordo Michelotti e la dedizione' pp. 111-13; ANSIDEI V. 'Ricordi nuziali di casa Baglioni' BU. XIV (1908) pp.105-36.
3. For the different branches of the degli Oddi in Parma, Padua and Ferrara see DEGLI ODDI S. Cenni storici pp.63-78.

Perugian sources before the end of the fourteenth century, are another area in which knightly and mercantile families developed along much the same lines. The tomb of the Barzi, if not a specific reference to a chapel, was mentioned in 1386 in San Francesco al Prato[1], but the first sure description of a chapel dates from 1395 and regards the Michelotti chapel in the same church. Bianca, the daughter of Arloctus Arloctoli and the widow of Pandolfus Baglioni, declared her wish to be buried there. In 1399, Lippa Nicolai Dinoli made a similar request in her will. She mentions the fact that her mother and brother were already buried there and she left 25 florins for the execution of paintings from the life of Christ. There are further references to the Michelotti chapel in 1406, but in 1426 mention is made of members of the family being buried in San Domenico[2].

This latter church was particularly associated with the Guidalotti, the site of whose chapel is still recalled in the present-day church, even if its art treasures have been removed[3]. San Francesco was to become the pantheon of

1. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Pellolo) Protocolli VII f.27v Iohanna, daughter of Ceccolus Ciutii Barzi stipulated that she should be buried in her father's tomb here.
2. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Pellolo) Protocolli VII ff. 86v-87v; ibid. f.100r; (ser Cola Bartolini) XXIV f.45r.
3. ASP Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Protocolli XXIV f.224r - the will of Ysabetta, daughter of Albertus Nini who, in 1434, demanded burial in San Domenico 'in capella Sancti Nicolai in qua sunt sepulture sui patris et aliorum de domo de Guidalottis'.

the Perugians; at this date there were already references to the Vencioli chapel there and to that of the Ranieri[1]. The latter also possessed another chapel in San Lorenzo[2]. Various of the newer families, however, seem to have gravitated about Sant'Agostino; here there are notices for the Merciari, the Sciri and the Boncambi[3].

The invention of glorious family pasts cannot be traced this early at Perugia. At Foligno, however, the Chronicle of the Merganti offers an example of just this type of thing, a practice which was to become common during the Renaissance. This family chronicle dates from 1421 and was begun by Ludovico di Antonio Merganti, whose father had, in 1388, married a daughter of the Trinci family. Whilst nothing is known of the origins of the Merganti, by the late fourteenth century many members were doctors of the law, and it seems reasonable to presume that their increased importance, coupled with the Trinci alliance, encouraged

1. ibid. f.17r for the Vencioli - in 1402 Pellina Angelelli, wife of Ludovicus Vencioli, requested burial there and left 25 florins for its improvement; her daughter, Margherita, spoke of burial 'in capella de Venciolis, qua capella est capitulum predicti conventus in sepultura suorum antiquorum iuxta altare predictae capellae'. For the Ranieri ibid. f. 193r-v.
2. ASP Notarile (ser Massarello di Brunaccio) Protocolli XCIV f.83r (1434) - Rogerius q. Costantii requested burial here in the chapel of St. John.
3. ASP Notarile (ser Cola Bartolini) Protocolli XXIV f.216r - Crescembene Nicholutii Puctioli of the Merciari is to be buried in his father's tomb (1437); (ser Mariano di Luca di Nino) Protocolli XCV f. 13r - mention for the Sciri of burial in the chapel of San Nicolo.

them to set about weaving a fantasy about the family's origins[1]. We do not know whether they were a professional and mercantile family or whether they had earlier rural and knightly traditions, but it is clear that the story which they tell is an invention, since it contains many anachronistic elements. Most interesting, however, is the fact that those items upon which most stress is laid are precisely those which, at Perugia, were already or were to become important points of reference for old and new families in elaborating their illustrious descent.

According to Antonio, the Merganti involvement at Foligno could be traced back to the era of Otto III and to a cousin of the emperor, a count Mazzeo. An anachronistic description is given of the election of Otto, recounting the participation of the seven Electoral Princes, something which dates only from the later Middle Ages. Mazzeo's personal history is related next: he married the eldest daughter of Conrad Trinci, was appointed vicar for Church and Empire of Foligno, Nocera and Trevi; he received a privilege, couched in the terminology of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, referring to 'comes Mazzeo de Mergantibus de Germania noster consanguineus' and describing the family's alleged coat-of-arms[2]. Later,

1. FALOCI PULIGNANI M. 'La Cronaca dei Merganti' BU. XXXII (1935) p.212.
2. ibid. pp.218-221.

in recognition of campaigns which he was supposed to have undertaken against the Infidel, he received another privilege. This one allowed him to combine the imperial eagle with his own coat-of-arms. It describes him with the words 'comes, hero et tribunus cohortis Nobilium sacri imperii'[1]. Reference was made in the first privilege to Mazzeo as comes et palatinus, presumably an attempt to establish an early holding of the dignity of count palatinate. In the salutation given in the so-called letters of Gregory V and Silvester II, Mazzeo is addressed thus: 'dilecto filio nobili Mazzeo de Mergantibus viro et comiti palatino militi Sancte Romane Ecclesie et Domicello nostro'[2].

These privileges can be nothing but forgeries. Their terminology is quite out of place for the tenth century but incorporates elements which date from the later Middle Ages. Noteworthy are the emphasis on descent from the German emperors, the reference to Roman Republican features and the play that is made with countships palatinate and coats-of-arms. In various ways, these things have already come to light quite legitimately as part of a new consciousness of nobility in late medieval Perugia; they are also the stuff of which all later Perugian antiquarian inventories are made - the supposed Roman ancestry of the Vibi,

1. ibid. pp.222-3.
2. ibid. pp.224-5.

for instance, or the descent of the Baglioni from a cousin of Frederick Barbarossa[1]. At this point our studies have come full circle. The mass of antiquarian documents which up to now have provided the foundation for studies of Perugian nobility can be seen as the culmination of century-long developments, and their various emphases can be placed within a clearer context. The civic nobility of the modern era has its origins in the Middle Ages - either in the earlier formation of the knightly class or in the later growth of an urban oligarchy.

By the early Renaissance, the definition of nobility pronounced in the anti-magnate legislation had ceased to be valid. Whilst there seem to have been no hard and fast rules governing the procedures of ennoblement at Perugia around 1400, both the dignity of knighthood and that of the countship palatinate were viewed as pointers towards a family's social position. The fact that imperial privileges were limited either to members of the old Libro Rosso families or to those mercantile and professional families who were gradually being assimilated to the charmed circle of the Perugian oligarchy suggests that such concessions retained the power to add glory and lustre

1. BALEONUS ASTUR I Baglioni p.20 speaks of Ballio/Vallio a Roman general mentioned by St. Ambrose and seeks to associate the della Corgna with one, Cornelius. The Vibi were linked to Ciaio Vibi and the colony he set up after the destruction of Perugia by Octavianus.

to a family's name. At the same time, the title of count entered upon that process of transformation which was to make of it by the modern era the most common title of nobility in the region.

Particular attention should be paid to the chronology of these changes. For example, the social overtones placed on the privilege of countship palatinate in the mid-fifteenth century seem to have been different from those associated with the emperor Charles IV, although the actual terms of the privilege had in no way changed. At the later date, local families began to be preoccupied with the question of their 'nobility' and seem to have been inclined to endow with special powers privileges which, some fifty years earlier, were passed over more quietly. In other words, the idea of ennoblement was in the air in the mid-fifteenth century, and newer families were more concerned to establish their theoretical rights to the use of the title of nobilis. Whilst this title came to be applied in notarial documents to families which were not represented in the Libro Rosso, it continued to have a restricted usage and considerable prestige.

It should also be borne in mind that the question raised here is not that of the ennoblement of a number of individual families but the ennoblement of a new section of Perugian society - the professional/mercantile element

that had accumulated wealth, developed pretensions and intermarried with some of the oldest families in the region, adopting various of their interests and *mores*. Much the same had happened earlier, when knightly descent came to bring with it traditions of nobility. In contrast to both these periods, the fourteenth century was one in which the question of ennoblement and the definition of noble status was not a real issue at all, having been settled by about 1280. On the contrary, it seems to have been an age in which the foundations were laid for the assimilation of these newer elements to form the civic oligarchy and nobility that we associate with the Renaissance period and beyond. The wealth accumulated and the political weight exercised by certain representatives of the professional and mercantile classes in the mid-fourteenth century illustrates this well. The process, however, was one of assimilation, not supplantation; the strength and influence of the older families remained tenacious throughout.

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(B) Fondo Gardone

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(C) Giudiziario

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Although, in building up a picture of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Perugia, all the notarial volumes listed above have been helpful, the three notaries who provide most of the evidence directly incorporated in the final chapter are Cola Bartolini, Massarello di Brunaccio and Massarello di Pellolo.

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