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# From the markets of Chieri to the fairs of Lyon: tracing the mobility of the Pietraviva family from the 13th to 15th centuries

Si Antoine de Gondi, sieur du Perron, n'eût été qu'un gentilhomme du commun, eût-il pris alliance avec une personne aussi relevée que l'étoit Marie de Pierrevive, et par sa naissance et par la qualité qu'elle avoit de gouvernante des enfants de France?<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal de Retz, victim of “slander” and “lies” depicting the Gondi family, his Florentine ancestors, as “people of nothing”, was defended by his friend Pierre d’Hozier, the king’s genealogist.<sup>2</sup> In a brief opusculum aimed at re-establishing the nobility of the cardinal’s lineage, d’Hozier evoked the qualities of his grandmother, Marie-Christine de Pierrevive, married in 1516 to Antoine de Gondi, lord of Le Perron near Lyon. Nevertheless, if the genealogist insists on the functions and titles granted to the Gondi couple, it is because the reality is less flamboyant. When the Gondi family, originally from Florence, arrived in Lyon at the turn of the sixteenth century, they were merchant bankers. As for the Pierrevive family, they were originally from Piedmont and were known as spice merchants and apothecaries.<sup>3</sup> The reason for mentioning the Pierrevive here is not, however, to perpetuate criticism of the cardinal’s commoner origins, but because their path between Piedmont, Lyon, and, later, Paris encourages reflection on the driving forces and motivations behind geographical and social mobility.

When Marie-Christine’s father arrived in Lyon with his three brothers between 1470 and 1480, the Pierrevive were known only as wealthy spice merchants

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1 Suggested translation: “If Antoine de Gondi, lord of Le Perron, had only been a common gentleman, would he have made an alliance with a person as distinguished as Marie de Pierrevive, both by birth and by her position as governess of the children of France?” Quote taken from *Remarques sommaires sur la maison de Gondi par le sieur d’Hozier, gentilhomme ordinaire de la maison du roi, généalogiste de sa majesté et juge général des armes et blasons de France*, 1652. In *Œuvres du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. 9, Régis De Chantelauze (ed.). Paris: Hachette, 1887, 420–435.

2 Although signed by Pierre d’Hozier, Régis Chantelauze attributes the authorship of this opusculum to the cardinal himself. Whether or not the cardinal’s quill is hidden behind the name d’Hozier, the arguments put forward give an idea of how the cardinal could defend the nobility of his origins.

3 Amédée de Pierrevive is listed as an “espicier” in the consular deliberations of 1477, Archives Municipales de Lyon (hereafter AML), BB16, f°34v.

from Piedmont. Half a century later, they had established themselves as one of Lyon's most influential families, an achievement that was not so common among the mass of Italian merchants who frequented the city in the late Middle Ages. The Pierrevive family—or Pietraviva in Italian—was part of a wave of commercial migration that characterised the turn of the sixteenth century and which was directly linked to the resounding success of Lyon's trade fairs.<sup>4</sup>

This commercial mobility, particularly of Italians, has already been firmly established by a number of studies.<sup>5</sup> However, the Pierrevive dossier provides an opportunity to look at a number of aspects that are still not widely understood: on the one hand, while the presence of Florentines, Genoese, and Lucchese is attested and has been the subject of several studies, the settlement of Italians from other regions such as Piedmont is less well recognised, even though their presence is attested. On the other hand, while the high mobility of Italians in Lyon is already well known, a number of questions remain unanswered. Indeed, among the crowd of merchants who arrived, some decided to stay, to settle down, and put down roots in the city. What were their motivations? How did they settle? Can we talk about integration or even assimilation into their new environment? My research, which focuses on the mobility of the Pietraviva family in Lyon,<sup>6</sup> provides an opportunity to explore the example of a family of Piedmontese merchants who chose to settle in the region on a long-term basis, building a town house in the old town and buying estates in the surrounding countryside.

The Pietraviva family, whose earliest traces date back to the mid-thirteenth century, originated in Chieri, a medium-sized city belonging to the diocese of Turin and often cited alongside Asti for the culture of credit and usury it developed.<sup>7</sup> They belonged to the families of *populares* and were involved in the San

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4 The attractiveness of Lyon's fairs has been highlighted by the work of Marc Brésard. *Les foires de Lyon aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1914. More recently, Jacques Rossiaud portrayed Lyon during its golden century (1450–1550) as the “cité mercatrix.” See Jacques Rossiaud. *Lyon 1250–1550. Réalités et imaginaires d'une métropole*. Jean-Louis Gaulin, Susanne Rau (eds.). Lyon: Champ Vallon, 2012, 13–26.

5 Some of the earliest works on the subject include Richard Gascon. *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520–environs de 1580)*. Paris: Mouton, 1971, 2 vols; Françoise Bayard. *Les Bonvisi, marchands banquiers à Lyon, 1575–1629*. Lyon: Annales E.C.S., 1964; Jacqueline Boucher. *Présence italienne à Lyon à la Renaissance: du milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Lyon: Editions Lugd, 1994.

6 This article is based on research carried out for a Master's thesis at the École Normale Supérieure de Lyon, under the supervision of Jean-Louis Gaulin.

7 This aspect is discussed at further length in note 21.

Giorgio society, whose aim was to organise their defence against the noble families.<sup>8</sup> By trading and taking out loans, they became richer and increased their wealth. During the fourteenth century, they probably specialised in the spice trade and medicine, and gradually entered the service of the princes of Savoy. This was a period of significant social advancement, as they acquired new properties and new responsibilities. This favourable climate seems to have lasted throughout the fifteenth century. The mobility to Lyon, which can be dated back to the 1470s, appears to have been motivated by economic ambitions, in the context of the development of Lyon's trade fairs. In the second-largest city of the French kingdom, the four Pietraviva brothers—whose surname was simply translated to Pierrevive<sup>9</sup>—integrated and built a new life for themselves.

However, far from imagining their arrival in France as the necessary outcome of their career or the teleological culmination of a strategy of upward social mobility, and not wishing to add another chapter to the “*France italienne*,”<sup>10</sup> the interest was to retrace their itinerary from the town of Chieri in Piedmont and understand how social advancement, mobility, and professionalisation fit together. In other words, the main aim is to examine the motivations and driving forces behind the mobility of the Pietraviva family. This research is part of a historiographical renewal of the notion of mobility, spurred in particular by the work of Sandro Carocci and Sergio Tognetti.<sup>11</sup>

In order to retrace the Pietraviva family's history and reconstruct the main stages of their mobility, different types of sources need to be consulted. As there are no traces left of the Pietraviva family archives, it is necessary to deal with records produced by external actors and scattered across several archive depositories. In particular, these are records left by their notaries or the various municipal or princely administrations they frequented. For the thirteenth and first half

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8 The *Societas Populi* of Chieri, dedicated to San Giorgio, was probably founded in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Around 1250, it drew up its own statutes, which have been published in full. See Gino Borghesio, Bartolomeo Valimberti (eds.). *Statuta et capitula societatis Sancti Georgii seu populi Chariensis*. vol. 2, Turin: Regia Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1940. To date, there has been no study of the San Giorgio society in Chieri, or of popular societies in Piedmont in general, but I would like to mention Umberto Delmastro's ongoing thesis, “Il Popolo del Principe. Società di popolo e stato sabauda nel secolo XIV,” under the supervision of Jean-Louis Gaulin and Federica Cengarle (Pisa, Scuola Normale di Pisa).

9 There are several variants of their name: Pietraviva, Peraviva, or Petraviva on the Italian side, and Pierrevive or Pierre Vive on the French side.

10 Jean-François Dubost. *La France italienne XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Aubier, 1997.

11 See Sandro Carocci (ed.). *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2010; Sergio Tognetti, Lorenzo Tanzini (eds.). *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo italiano*. Rome: Viella, 2016.

of the fourteenth century, the sources are mainly the work of the town of Chieri and are therefore kept at the *Archivio Storico del Comune di Chieri*.<sup>12</sup> For the second half of the fourteenth century, sources produced by the Savoyard administration are also included, the Piedmont part of which is held by the *Archivio di Stato di Torino*.<sup>13</sup> Finally, for the last quarter of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, sources produced by the Lyon municipality, kept at the *Archives Municipales de Lyon*,<sup>14</sup> are important. The same applies to notarial sources kept mainly at the *Archives Départementales et métropolitaines du Rhône*.<sup>15</sup>

The fate of this particular family of Piedmontese merchants highlights the attractiveness of the Lyon fairs and the role they played in their mobility—a role of polarisation, which shows the circular relationship that exists between mobility and fairs. This short dossier also echoes a number of themes at the heart of the CoMOR programme: trade routes, goods and capital, commercial operations and partners, as well as commercial immigration, methods of integration into a new environment, and family or individual strategies. As a protean historical object, this case study brings together and condenses some of the issues at stake in this research programme.<sup>16</sup>

## Pietraviva at markets and fairs in Chieri

Let us look briefly at the context in which the Pietraviva family started out. Their hometown, Chieri, is a medium-sized commune in Piedmont, around fifteen kilometres south-east of Turin. From the point of view of networks and traffic, the

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<sup>12</sup> I have mainly consulted Chieri's *estimi* and the town's account books. See *Archivio Storico del Comune di Chieri* (hereafter ACC), art. 143, par. 1 and art. 137, par. 2, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>13</sup> The extensive holdings of the Savoy administration at the *Archivio di Stato di Torino* (hereafter AST) were analysed mainly on the basis of random samples—in particular, the archives of the Savoy Chamber of Accounts (inv. 38, f. 43: accounts of wax and spices for the hotel of the counts of Savoy; inv. 40, f. 1: accounts of the treasurers and general receivers for the prince of Achaëa), the Chamber of Accounts of Piedmont (accounts of castellanies, art. 27, par. 1, Chieri), and the accounts of the general treasury (inv. 16, *camerale Savoia*). I should also mention the valuable Biscaretti fonds, which contains numerous resources relating to Chieri, and the Chieri notaries' fonds (Giovanni Visca's registers).

<sup>14</sup> AML, mainly the *Nommées* (series CC), and consular deliberations (series BB).

<sup>15</sup> *Archives départementales et métropolitaines du Rhône* (hereafter ADMR). See in particular, the archives of notary Pierre Dorlin, ADMR, 1E2241.

<sup>16</sup> We have also been able to add a number of collections to the *Fairs in History* database: collections 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 55.

town benefited from its location on the *Via Francigena*. As the work of Giuseppe Sergi<sup>17</sup> has shown, Chieri was located on one of the main routes taken by the famous road, which was a definite advantage when it came to capturing the flow of people and goods travelling from Italy to France via the Alpine routes. These flows fed directly into the town's two main markets, held in *platea Beccharia* and *platea Mercadillo* respectively. The link between Chieri and the Alpine routes was accentuated by the town's decision to align itself politically with the county of Savoy, which was undergoing a period of rapid territorial expansion at the time.<sup>18</sup> Far from hindering its economic development, this new allegiance may even have led to positive economic dynamics. From 1422, two annual fairs were granted to Chieri by the Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII.<sup>19</sup> As a result, Chieri became a small commercial centre with an influence throughout Piedmont.

With a population of around 9,000 at the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>20</sup> Chieri was at that time more attractive than its neighbour Turin in terms of population and trade. However, as it did not have a bishop's see, it remained dependent on Turin. Nevertheless, it became an urban municipality with its own governing bodies.<sup>21</sup> Despite its modest size, it has gone down in history as having developed a major credit culture, reaching into every stratum of the population. Alongside Asti, it was even one of the towns where the famous "Lombards," who specialised in lending money and were present throughout Europe from the twelfth century onwards, originated.<sup>22</sup> Towns such as Asti and Chieri have benefited from the revival of studies on the Lombards, thanks to the impetus

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17 See the classical book by Giuseppe Sergi. *Chambéry a Torino fra X e XIII secolo*. Naples: Liguori, 1981, with map on p. 28.

18 The surrender of Chieri to Savoy took place in 1347. At that time, the town became part of the Piedmont apanage of the princes of Savoy-Achaea but maintained its autonomy and political institutions. On the territorial expansion of the county of Savoy, see Bernard Demotz. *Le comté de Savoie du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: pouvoir, château et État au Moyen âge*. Geneva: Slatkine, 2000.

19 Massimo Raviolo. *Chieri in fiera: da San Giuliano e Santa Basilissa a San Martino*. Chieri: EDITO, 2007. The privilege granted by Amadeus VIII established two annual fairs, held for ten days on Saint Julian's Day and Saint Martin's Day.

20 Figures estimated by Mirella Montanari in her paper *La popolazione di Chieri e del suo distretto alla fine del secolo XIII*. In *Demografia e società nell'Italia medievale (secoli IX–XIV)*. Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo, 1994.

21 In 1168, the Bishop of Turin granted the citizens of Chieri the right to hold assemblies and appoint consuls—political institutions that testify to the birth of the Commune.

22 On the Lombards of Asti and Chieri, particular mention should be made of Renato Bordone, Franco Spinelli (eds.). *Lombardi in Europa nel Medioevo*. Milan: F. Angeli, 2005; Ezio Claudio Pia. "Multam pecuniam, multa mala": i "Lombardi" astigiani e il mercato del credito nel Basso Medioevo. *Nuova rivista storica* 105 (2021): 33–62.

given by Renato Bordone in the 1980s, but many of the sources preserved in the *Archivio Storico del Comune di Chieri* remain largely unexplored to this day.

The town of Chieri has preserved a remarkable collection of *estimi*, numbering over fifty registers, drawn up between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. What is even more remarkable is that Chieri has one of the oldest *estimi* in Italy, dated 1253.<sup>23</sup> These *estimi* are useful in order to reconstruct the Pietraviva's land holdings: family possessions were declared and recorded in these registers, which were drawn up by the municipal authorities during major surveys to establish the tax base of taxpaying citizens. These lists of possessions, known as *denunciae*, were the first stage in the tax investigation. They are declarative and written in the first person. A study of the Pietraviva family's assets reveals the family's interests and strategies.

Of all the tax declarations issued by members of the Pietraviva family that we have been able to consult,<sup>24</sup> I will confine myself here to mentioning two—the first dated 1289 and the second 1365—in order to effectively highlight the strategies put in place by the family and their desire to move closer to the main trading centres in Chieri.

In 1289, Gribaudo Pietraviva's tax report tells us that the family chose to settle in the Gialdo district as early as the end of the thirteenth century, as shown on the first map below.<sup>25</sup> The family estate was located between the city's two main shopping streets (*ruata magistra* and *ruata repentita*), making it ideally situated in the heart of the business district. What's more, as Mirella Montanari points out, the choice of the Gialdo district was significant, as it was the economic heart of the town—the entire merchant elite owned property in this district.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> A complete edition has been published by Maria Clotilde Daviso di Charvensod (ed.). *I più antichi catasti del comune di Chieri (1253)*. Turin: Regia deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1939. More recently, it has been studied by Riccardo Rao. *Modalités d'enregistrement des informations dans les plus anciens estimi de l'Italie nord-occidentale du Duecento (Chieri et Pavie)*. In *L'enquête en questions: de la réalité à la "vérité" dans les modes de gouvernement, Moyen Âge–Temps modernes*, Anne Mailloux, Laure Verdon (eds.). Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2014, 173–183.

<sup>24</sup> In total, I found eight tax declarations between 1289 and 1579. See ACC, art. 143, par. 1, nos. 12, 16, 19, 24, 37, 44, 72, 78.

<sup>25</sup> Map generated from the Geoportale Piemonte website: <https://www.geoportale.piemonte.it/visregpigo/>. I would also like to thank Vincenzo Tedesco, archivist at the ACC, for his topographical information.

<sup>26</sup> The economic importance of the Gialdo district is recalled by Mirella Montanari. *Dalla terra al denaro: un caso esemplare, I de Villa di Chieri*. In *Lombardi in Europa*, Bordone, Spinelli (eds.), 196–206. Montanari also presents the distribution of activities by district in Chieri: the Albussano district was the artisan district, the Arene district was mainly occupied by small craftsmen, sala-

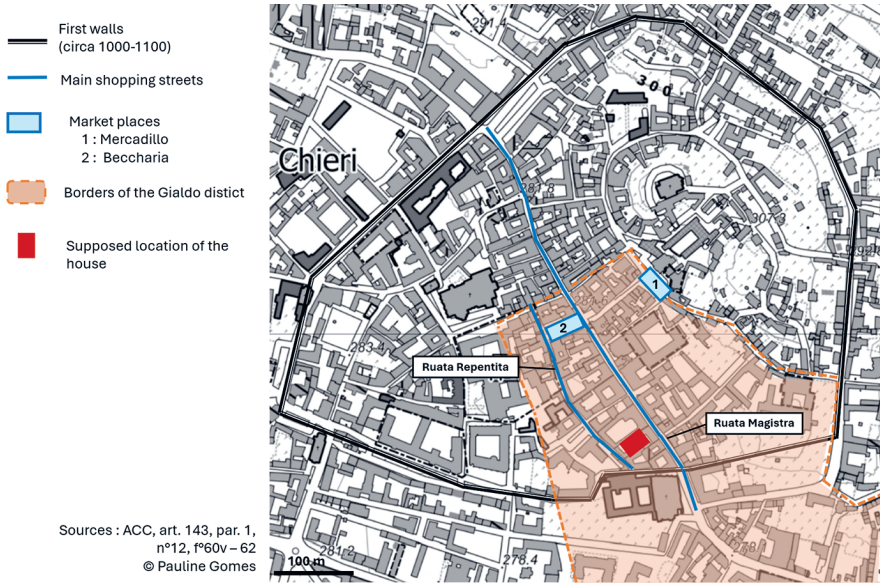
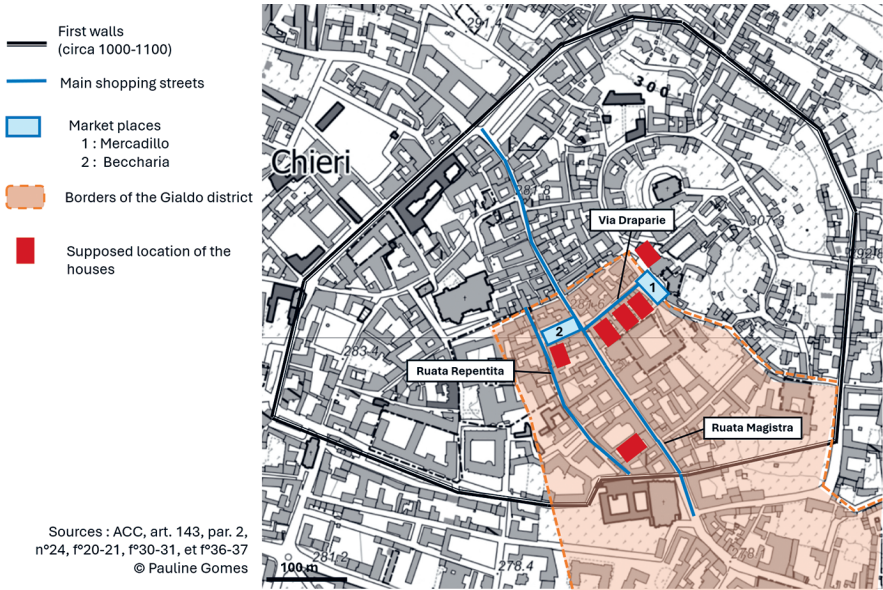


Fig. 1: Pietraviva holdings in Chieri according to the *estimo* of 1289.

However, the Pietraviva family's ambitions were not limited to a property in the Gialdo district, and the declarations made in 1365 by Amedeo, Sebastiano, and Giovanni de Pietraviva bear striking witness to this. As shown on the second map, the family experienced major economic and property growth from 1289 onwards. The possession of two shops, known as *apotheca*, testifies to the central role played by merchant activities in the rise of the Pietraviva family. The location of the properties is interesting, as in addition to the family home, which was already mentioned in the 1289 declaration, the Pietraviva family claimed to own several other houses, located in the immediate vicinity of the two market squares (*Beccharia* and *Mercadillo*) and along the *Via Draparie*, also known as the merchants' street. The development of their holdings in the city therefore reflects their desire to be as close to business as possible.

ried workers, seasonal workers, and farmers, while the Vairo district was mainly a residential area occupied by the town's wealthy families.



**Fig. 2:** Pietraviva holdings in Chieri according to the *estimo* of 1365.

It is difficult to be more precise about the nature of the Pietraviva's business in Chieri. Without family archives, account books, or correspondence, we can only speculate about the type of goods traded by the Pietraviva family at that time. The generic term *apotheca* does not in fact provide any information about the nature of the products sold. However, we do know with certainty that the family specialised in the spice trade from 1407 onwards, because one document describes the *apotheca* as a *spezieria*.<sup>27</sup> It is possible that the Pietraviva family had been trading in spices before then, as there were several doctors in the family as early as 1360,<sup>28</sup> and we know about the many interactions between medicine, the apothecary, and the spice trade. However, this hypothesis cannot yet be verified.

This specialisation in medicine and the spice trade may well have played a part in bringing the Pietraviva family closer to the princes of Savoy. Whatever the case, when the Pietraviva entered the service of the Prince of Achaea and the Count of Savoy, their activities took on a new dimension.

<sup>27</sup> Filippo Noberasco. *Le pergamene dell'archivio comunale di Savona. Atti e memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria*, vol. 2. Savona: Tipografia Savonese, 1940, 166.

<sup>28</sup> This aspect will be discussed in more detail in the following pages.

## Merchants in the service of princes: favours and privileges

The triptych of medical practice, the spice trade, and service to princes seems to have indeed been a winning combination. We have found evidence of at least four doctors among the Pietraviva between 1360 and 1480. The first of these, Michele di Pietraviva, practised in the years 1360–1380,<sup>29</sup> by which time he was already occasionally hiring out his services to Amadeus of Savoy-Achaea, Lord of Piedmont, and to Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy.<sup>30</sup> It therefore seems plausible that the Pietraviva family supplied the courts of the lords of Piedmont and the counts of Savoy with spices and various drugs, and even with medicines that they had made themselves. Indeed, although apothecaries were long scorned by doctors, seen as mere shopkeepers authorised only to dispense the doctor's prescriptions,<sup>31</sup> the pairing of apothecary and medicine nevertheless appears to have been very frequent and effective, especially if we bear in mind that the medical and dietary uses of spices were often complementary.<sup>32</sup>

The position acquired with the princes of Savoy went hand-in-hand with rewards and privileges that enabled the Pietraviva to increase their social prestige, their connections, and their ability to take actions. In other words, their proximity to the princes served to accelerate their social success, a fate shared by several other families in the Piedmontese elite who saw it as an opportunity for social

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<sup>29</sup> He is mentioned by Irma Naso. *Medici e strutture sanitarie nella società tardo-medievale: il Piemonte dei secoli XIV e XV*. Milan: F. Angeli, 1982, 207.

<sup>30</sup> Occasional traces of missions carried out by Michele di Pietraviva can be found in the accounts of the princes of Savoy. For example, on 22 September 1378, Michele came to Turin to treat the prince of Achaea, who was ill, and stayed there for two days. See AST, Sezioni riunite, Camera dei Conti di Savoia, inv. 40 accounts of the treasurers general of the princes of Achaea, roll 1, 1377–1381.

<sup>31</sup> Jean-Pierre Bénézet. *Pharmacie et médicament en Méditerranée occidentale (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Paris: H. Champion, 1999. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the two professions were quite distinct. Pharmacists did not have the right to practice medicine and were mainly responsible for dispensing prescriptions.

<sup>32</sup> In a grocer's or apothecary's shop, one would find a wide range of products, some of which were intended for food use and others for medical use. Medicines were sold alongside table spices, confectionery, sugar, oil, candles, and dispensary equipment. For more details, see Joseph Shatzmiller. *Herbs and drugs in medieval Provençal medicine*. In *Herbes, drogues et épices en Méditerranée: histoire, anthropologie, économie, du Moyen âge à nos jours*. Aix-en-Provence: Institut de recherches et d'études sur le monde arabe et musulman, 2014, 157–165.

advancement.<sup>33</sup> They rented out their services and often financed the princes, who were constantly in need of liquidity, which earned them rewards in the form of offices or fiefs and estates to manage.<sup>34</sup> The alliance between the princes of Savoy and this rising Piedmontese elite enabled these families to grow richer and experience a form of ennoblement, often described as *insignorimento*, which is well known to historiography.<sup>35</sup> The trajectory of the Pietraviva family is fully in line with this regional dynamic.

This is evidenced by a document drawn up in 1369 in the name of Count Amadeus VI.<sup>36</sup> This is an infeudation in favour of *magister* Michele di Pietraviva in exchange for a transfer of land. In reality, Michele appears to have been virtually expropriated from his lands, which consisted of a few *aree* and *ortorum* in Chieri, and which became the property of the Count. These areas and gardens were to be used to build a small fort next to the ramparts—the *castrum sancti Jacobi*. By way of compensation for this loss, Michele was granted usufruct of the fort, which was erected for the occasion as a *feudum franchum et nobilem*. For Michele, who was known at the time for his services as a doctor (hence the title of *magister* attached to his name), this document was the first milestone in a process of ennoblement and gradual aggregation into a class of officers and new nobles gravitating around power. He is also referred to here as *dilecto familiari et fideli nostro*, which already indicates a form of familiarity that suggests the possibility of entering the count's entourage.<sup>37</sup> For the Green Count, the interest was twofold: as well as securing the loyalty of a family that owed him its social standing,

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33 This is the case, for example, of the Provana family, which was studied in an article by Giulia Scarcia. *Élites del territorio piemontese e corte sabauda fra XIV e XV secolo*. In *L'affermarsi della corte sabauda. Dinastie, poteri, élites in Piemonte e Savoia fra tardo Medioevo e prima età moderna*, Paola Bianchi, Luisa Clotilde Gentile (eds.). Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 2006, 163–176. The Provana, originally from Carignano, lent a great deal of money to the princes of Savoy, which enabled them to obtain the administration of fiefs and castellanies as well as public offices.

34 This gave rise to a new class of officers whose social success was directly linked to the Savoys, as Guido Castelnuovo has shown in *Ufficiali e gentiluomini: la società politica sabauda nel tardo medioevo*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 1994.

35 Renato Bordone, Guido Castelnuovo, Gian Maria Varanini. *Le aristocrazie dai signori rurali al patriziato*. Rome: Editori Laterza, 2004., esp. 106–112 on *insignorimento*, the creation of lineages, and the invention of family traditions.

36 AST, sezione corte, Fondo Biscaretti, Mazzo 1, no. 35, transcript attached.

37 On the importance of the entourage and the treatment of *familiaris*, see Bernard Demotz. *Choix et représentations. L'entourage des comtes de Savoie du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. In *À l'ombre du Pouvoir: Les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, Jean-Louis Kupper, Alain Marchandisse (eds). Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2019, 267–276. In this type of documentation, the terms used are carefully chosen to reinforce the hierarchy between the prince and his subjects. On the subtlety of these formulas, see, for example, Florentin Briffaz. *Formuler la prééminence du*

it strengthened Chieri's defensive capacity. Against a tense military and political backdrop,<sup>38</sup> the counts sought to equip the towns of Piedmont with defensive military tools. We know for certain that the construction of the *castrum* was completed, as it appears under the name of "la Rochetta" on the engraving of an aerial view of Chieri in the *Theatrum Sabaudie* in 1682.<sup>39</sup>

In the light of all these factors, the rapprochement between the Pietraviva and the princes of Savoy can be seen as a springboard or accelerator in the family's mobility, both geographically and socially. The centre of gravity of their affairs shifted westwards, towards the Alps and beyond. This contact with the prince opened up new horizons for social advancement.

These strategies put in place by the Pietraviva—from practising medicine for the powerful to entering the "entourage" of princes—can be seen as "channels of mobility."<sup>40</sup> Subsequently (and this certainly constitutes a link or continuity in mobility), these same strategies were used in the service of the kings of France. In fact, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Pietraviva family drew closer to Charles VIII, and once again it was the practice of medicine that prompted this rapprochement. In the 1480s, Giovanni Michele di Pietraviva became the king's personal physician and adviser,<sup>41</sup> giving him a privileged position to supply the

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prince en Savoie (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles). In *La formule au Moyen Âge IV*, Elise Louvriot, Charles Garcia, Stephen Morrison (eds.). Turnhout: Brepols, 2021, 111–138.

**38** Roberto Biolzi. Les entreprises d'Amédée VI, entre aventures étrangères et guerres intestines (1355–1383). In *"J'ay grand envie de veoir assaillir": Guerre, guerriers et finances dans les États de Savoie à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2024, 73–86. The 1360s were a turbulent decade in Piedmont: firstly, because of the rebellion of the younger branch of the Savoy-Achaëa family, which was finally put down by the Green Count in 1368, and secondly, because companies of mercenaries criss-crossed the region as part of the conflicts between the Viscontis of Milan and the Marquises of Montferrat and Saluces. In this context of instability, Amadeus VI reasserted his authority.

**39** *Theatrum statuum Regiae Celsitudinis Sabaudie Ducis*, commonly abbreviated to *Theatrum Sabaudie*, is a collection of engravings depicting the States of the House of Savoy, first published in Turin in 1682. Ferruccio Ferrua identified the "*castrum Sancti Jacobi*" on the engraving of Chieri. See Ferruccio Ferrua. *La Chiesa e la confraternità di San Giacomo a Chieri*. Chieri: Chieri Edizione, 2008. The *castrum* therefore corresponds to the Rochetta fort (no. 27 on the map).

**40** This expression, borrowed from sociological vocabulary, is used by Sandro Carocci, who applies it to medieval societies. See Sandro Carocci. Introduzione: la mobilità sociale e la congiuntura del 1300: ipotesi, metodi di indagine, storiografia. In *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2010, 1–37.

**41** Ernest Wickersheimer, Guy Beaujouan. *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Âge*, vol. 2. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979, 450. Giovanni Michele's services likely earned him and his three brothers, Andrea, Nicoletto and Amedeo, ennoblement from Charles VIII in 1484: See Châtelet de Paris, Livres de couleur (1223–1604), Y//6/1, f°55 to 56v (online on [francearchives.gouv.fr](http://francearchives.gouv.fr)).

crown with drugs and other medicines, which they brought into the kingdom through their network of spice merchants.

In a way very similar to what I showed earlier with the princes of Savoy, this was an opportunity for the Pietraviva to benefit from certain privileges. King Charles VIII used his influence to intervene in a trade dispute that put the Pietraviva in a bad position. On 24 December 1486, in a letter to his “très aimé cousin le duc de Savoie,” he asked to return to “notre amé et feal conseillier et medecin ordinaire maistre Jehan Michel de Pierrevive, et à noz bien amez valetz de chambre ses frères,” seven bales of cloth belonging to them, having been seized by the Duke’s officers in Turin<sup>42</sup> and which the Pietraviva “avaient entencion [de] porter à Venise et les convertir en drogues et autres singulières choses pour notre plaisir, dont nous leur avions donné charge.”<sup>43</sup> These bales of cloth were not simply the property of the Pietraviva family; they were to be sold in Venice to buy spices with the proceeds, which were then to be imported into the kingdom via Lyon to fulfil an order placed directly by the king with his physician. This letter shows how the services provided to the king as advisor and physician were intertwined with the networks and issues involved in trade. If the services provided by the Pietraviva were appreciated by the princes, it was thanks to the complementary nature of their medical practice and the extent of their commercial network. The Pietraviva’s involvement in Lyon’s trade fairs helped to expand and strengthen this commercial network.

## Setting up in Lyon and extending the retail network

The first member of the family to arrive in the city in the 1470s was Amedeo (Amédée or Aymé in French) de Pierrevive.<sup>44</sup> He then enlisted the help of his three brothers, Andrea (André), Nicoletto (Nicolet), and Giovanni-Michele (Jean-Michel),

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<sup>42</sup> The letter mentions a certain Eustace Moreau, “voyeur ou conducteur” who “avait prins charge de mettre lesdictes bales sur la rivière du Pou.” Moreau is explicitly named as the culprit in the case, as he allegedly failed to pay certain “gabelles” (the nature of which is not specified), leading the officers to seize his load.

<sup>43</sup> A transcription of the letter can be found in Paul Pélicier and Bernard de Mandrot (eds.). *Lettres de Charles VIII, roi de France*, vol. 5. Paris: Renouard, 1905, 201–203.

<sup>44</sup> The use of the particle gradually became more widespread. Infrequent in Piedmontese sources from the thirteenth century, it became systematic in Lyonnaise sources from the fifteenth century.

the same doctor we have already mentioned.<sup>45</sup> A whole “branch” of the Pietraviva family therefore migrated to Lyon while retaining links with their homeland.<sup>46</sup> This mobility therefore seems to have been chosen, and there is nothing to suggest that it was the result of family conflict or political exile. Furthermore, the Pierre vive brothers’ mobility seems to have been planned from the outset for the medium to long term, as confirmed by their purchase of a “*tènement*” in the heart of the old town in the 1480s. This vast plot of land, at the corner of what is now rue Gadagne and montée du Garillon, was ideally located from a commercial point of view—in the heart of the business district, right next to the Change area and the Saône bridge. The Pierre vive family had the Maison de la Boissette—which had previously occupied the land—demolished and, within a few years, had a vast town house built. A brief description of this building can be found in Lyon’s fiscal documents (the *Nommées* of 1493):

Aymé de Pierre vive, espicier, tient une grande maison contenant plusieurs tènements et un grand jardin derrière en ladite ruelle joignant à la maison Michelet du Lard, les hoirs Germaine Gay et Martin Guillaume devers le matin, et la grande maison du Plat devers le vent et par dessus à la rue tirant de Saint-Barthelemy a Saint-Just devers soleil couchant et peut valoir par an IIIC lt.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The latter is somewhat of an exception as he seems to have spent little time in Lyon, alternating with Paris, where he pursued a variety of activities: in addition to his work as a doctor, he was appointed councillor to the Parliament of Paris and wrote at least one play.

<sup>46</sup> Without being able to consult their correspondence, the exact nature of the links between the Pierre vive of Lyon and the Pietraviva of Chieri is rather difficult to establish. It is known, however, that relations were maintained at least until the beginning of the sixteenth century, since Jean-Michel and Amédée stated in their respective wills (1495 and 1501) that they wished to be buried in the Pietraviva family chapel in Chieri, which is in the church of San Domenico, should they die “de là des mons,” that is, on the Italian side of the Alps. Conversely, if they died on the French side of the Alps, they wanted to be buried in their adopted homeland, in the church of Saint Paul in Lyon. This dual belonging or dual identity seems characteristic of a chosen mobility. Jean-Michel’s will is edited in Lorena Barale (ed.). *Testamenti chieresi del ’400*. Asti: Diffusione Immagine, 2011, E39, 379–383; Amédée’s will is edited by Claud Le Laboureur. *Les Mesures de l’Île-Barbe, par Claude Le Laboureur, ancien prévôt de cette abbaye. Nouvelle édition, avec supplément et tables*. G. Guigue and M.-C. Guigue (eds.). Lyon: Vitte et Perrussel, 1895, 578–579.

<sup>47</sup> AML, CC4, f°84. The *Nommées* of 1493, also known as the “great tax survey,” are very dense. The municipality’s aim was to carry out a major tax census in order to assess the assets of all Lyon’s taxpayers, with a view to establishing their tax base. This census was then used as the basis for establishing the size. For more details, see the analyses by Jacques Rossiaud. *Lyon 1250–1550. Réalités et imaginaires d’une métropole*, Jean-Louis Gaulin and Susanne Rau (eds.). Lyon: Champ Vallon, 2012, Part Three: “Taxation,” 119–189.

This extract provides not only topographical information to pinpoint the precise location of the property, but also a few descriptive elements to give an idea of the overall layout. The property consists of several buildings linked by an inner courtyard, forming a kind of urban island, similar to those described by Jacques Heers in the context of family clans or kin groups trying to protect and assert themselves in an urban environment.<sup>48</sup> Behind the habitable buildings is a large garden, which also represents a reserve of space for possible extensions.<sup>49</sup>

Over a period of fifteen years, the Pierrevive family managed not only to establish themselves in Lyon's economic, commercial, and political life,<sup>50</sup> but also to leave their mark on the urban landscape and topography. Indeed, their presence was so remarkable that the street in which their property is located is indicated as the "Rue Pierre Vive" on the scenographic plan of Lyon, which dates back to the 1550s.<sup>51</sup> In the following extract of the scenographic plan,<sup>52</sup> the *tènement* belonging to the Pierrevive family can be seen: located at the corner of rue du

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48 Jacques Heers. *Le Clan familial au Moyen Age: Etude sur les structures politiques et sociales des milieux urbains*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974. More recently, Marta Gravela wrote an essay about the urban roots of family groups. See Marta Gravela. Curie, fortresses and palaces: Family groups and urban space in late medieval Italy. In *La familia urbana. Matrimonio, parentesco y linaje en la Edad Media*, Jesús Á. Solórzano Telechea, Jelle Haemers, Christian Liddy (eds.). Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2021, 375–400.

49 Although these gardens are sometimes mentioned in the *Nommées*, here I refer mainly to the work of the group of archaeologists who investigated the history of the building. See Christine Becker, Isabelle Parron-Kontis, Sophie Savay-Guerraz (eds.). *Le Musée Gadagne: Archéologie et histoire au coeur d'un projet patrimonial à Lyon/The Musée Gadagne: Archaeology and history at the heart of a heritage project in Lyon*. Lyon: Alpara, 2006.

50 On the political front, it is worth mentioning the involvement of Nicolet de Pierrevive who sat on the city council for at least a year in 1508. Nicolet also obtained the position of ordinary collector of the king's estates in Lyon, which he then passed on to Antoine Gondi, his son-in-law.

51 AML, 2SAT3.

52 AML, Société de topographie historique de Lyon, 2SAT 6. This is a copy restored in the nineteenth century by Joanny Séon and François Dubouchet. This extract also shows the central location of the property, just a hundred metres from the Place du Change and the Saône bridge. For information on the plots of land occupied by the Pierrevive family, see Becker, Parron-Kontis, Savay-Guerraz, *Le Musée Gadagne*, 99–120. About the scenographic plan, see Rossiaud, *Lyon 1250–1550*, 61–116. On Lyon's urban landscape and topography more generally, see Bernard Gauthiez. *The production of urban space, temporality and spatiality: Lyons, 1500–1900*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.



**Fig. 3:** Extract of the scenographic map of Lyon around 1550: View of the right bank of the Saône, between the Saône bridge and the rue Saint Barthélémy.

Garillan and rue Pierre Vive, this is a very long plot of land, stretched out on the slopes, with a block of houses at the bottom and several terraces and gardens leading up to the imposing Belregard property at the top of the plot.

However, the marks of their presence were gradually erased by the Gadagne family, to whom they decided to sell their town house in 1545.<sup>53</sup> As a result, the property became known as the Hôtel Gadagne—a name it retains to this day.<sup>54</sup>

The mobility of the Pierrevive family in Lyon was probably guided by commercial motives,<sup>55</sup> possibly linked to the development of fairs which were flourishing at the time. Indeed, after several years of complaints, the Lyonnais obtained the creation of three fairs from Charles VII in 1444, followed by the addition of a fourth by Louis XI in 1463.<sup>56</sup> This commercial effervescence attracted merchants from all over Europe, particularly Italians, Tuscans, Genoese, Venetians, and, of course, Piedmontese. The Italian presence in Lyon has been the subject of a major bibliography—from the work of Richard Gascon<sup>57</sup> to more recent research by Agnès Pallini-Martin and Nadia Matringe on the major Florentine companies established in Lyon.<sup>58</sup> However, this historiography remains largely

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53 The deed of sale, kept at the ADMR (10G847, item no. 3), is dated 6 November 1545 and bears the hand seal of notary Pierre Dorlin, who seems to have been close to the Pierrevive family. The deed was partially edited in Becker, Parron-Kontis, Savay-Guerraz, *Le Musée Gadagne*, 118.

54 The Hôtel Gadagne is now home to the Lyon History Museum and the History of Puppetry Museum.

55 It is difficult—if not impossible—for the historian to know the real motivations of the merchants. While the Pierrevives' enterprise seems to us to have been guided primarily by economic ambitions, this is probably not how they perceived their actions or how they represented themselves in society. On the figure of the merchant in the Middle Ages and his place in the medieval economy, see Marco Tangheroni. *Le marchand italien: état de la question*. In *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 19<sup>e</sup> Congrès, Reims: SHMES éditions, 1992, 11–24; Peter Spufford. *Power and profit: the merchant in medieval Europe*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2002.

56 In fact, two fairs had already been established by the Dauphin Charles in 1420, before being suspended in 1425. Louis XI's act of 1463 rewarded the insistence of Lyon's municipal authorities over several decades. On the complex and eventful history of Lyon's fairs, refer to the aforementioned thesis by Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon*. See also Jean-Louis Gaulin, Susanne Rau. *Rétablissement de deux foires à Lyon (mai 1487)*. In *Lyon, entre empire et royaume, 843–1601. Textes et documents*, Alexis Charansonnet, Jean-Louis Gaulin, Pascale Mounier, Susanne Rau (eds.). Paris: Garnier, 2015, 523–528; Gisela Naegle. *Lyon se défend: délibérations, procès et foires à la fin du Moyen Âge*. In *Lyon 1312. Rattacher la ville au royaume?*, Alexis Charansonnet, Jean-Louis Gaulin, Xavier Hélary (eds.). Lyon: CIHAM éditions, 2020, 269–292.

57 Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 339–340. The author describes Lyon as an “Italian colony.”

58 Recent studies have focused on the establishment of major families or companies in Lyon. See Agnès Pallini-Martin. *L'installation d'une famille de marchands-banquiers florentins à Lyon au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Salviati*. In *Lyon vu/e d'ailleurs (1245–1800): Échanges, compétitions, perceptions*, Jean-Louis Gaulin, Susanne Rau (eds.). Lyon: PUL, 2009, 71–89; Sergio Tognetti. *I Gondi di Lione. Una banca d'affari fiorentina nella Francia del primo Cinquecento*. Florence: Leo

focused on the Tuscans, leaving aside the Piedmontese, who were nevertheless present, as the example of the Pierrevive family shows.

Like other merchant companies, the Pierrevive brothers probably arrived in Lyon with a large sum of money to invest and above all with a network of partners already established, enabling them to quickly set up an efficient and profitable goods import company. The Pierrevives imported large quantities of spices; in the case of pepper and ginger, this can be seen in the registers listing the spices entering Lyon and subject to a tax known as *grabelage*. These books, known as *garbeaux*, were preserved from 1500 onwards and list certain types of spices that entered the city to be sold at fairs.<sup>59</sup> For example, between the All Saints Fair in 1500 and the August Fair in 1501, the Pierrevive brothers brought 54 bales of pepper and 39 bales of ginger into Lyon.<sup>60</sup> These pepper and ginger imports were probably their main commercial activity in Lyon.

Apart from that, it seems difficult—if not impossible—to get an overview of what they imported, because in the absence of an account book, one can only study the spices that are subject to taxes and recorded in the *garbeau*. This information is more difficult to obtain for sugar and saffron, for instance, because these spices were not included in the *garbeau*. Nevertheless, we know from the Gondi account books in Lyon (studied by Sergio Tognetti) that the Pierrevives carried out several commercial transactions with the Gondi family involving large quantities of pepper, ginger, and saffron.<sup>61</sup> The Pierrevives must have also made a great deal of money from saffron, and in fact tried to grow it themselves in the Lyon countryside, as evidenced by the mention of a “*saffranière*” in the *Nommées* of 1518.<sup>62</sup>

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S. Olschki, 2013; Nadia Matringe. *La Banque en Renaissance: les Salviati et la place de Lyon au milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016.

59 According to Gascon, this tax has existed since the 1460s, but before 1500, it was probably leased to a private individual, which is why the registers have not been preserved. See Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine*, 40–41. The spices included in the *garbeau* are very varied: aniseed, cinnamon, coriander, cumin, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, etc. On the other hand, saffron, sugar, and alum, for example, seem to have been subject to a special regime.

60 AML, CC546, no. 26, f°1 to 4. The exact provenance of these goods is unknown.

61 Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*, 47–48. The Pierrevives were often mentioned in the Gondi account books. In other words, a true commercial partnership was established. For example, in 1519, the Gondi family joined forces with the Florentine Giuliano Davanzati, Nicolas de Pierrevive, and Jean Camus to import a cargo of saffron from southern Italy to Lyon, worth over 7,700 ecus.

62 AML, CC50, f°65v–66: the saffron farm, located “au territoire de Pitiot,” appears in Nicolet de Pierrevive’s declaration in 1518’s *Nommées*. According to Jacques Déniat, saffron was occasionally grown in the Lyonnais. As for the Pierrevives, they did not seem to have repeated the experiment. See Jacques Déniat. *Les Nommées des habitants de Lyon en 1446*. Lyon: A. Rey, 1930, 59

As this operation with the Gondi family shows, setting up in Lyon and taking part in the fairs enabled the Pierrevive family to enhance their network. The Lyon fairs were a meeting place for merchants from a wide range of backgrounds: the Pierrevives traded with families from Lyon,<sup>63</sup> but also formed alliances with major Florentine companies, such as the Salviati family<sup>64</sup> and the Gondi family mentioned above, with whom they set up a number of trading operations throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. In practical terms, the two families and their other associates shared investments, bought commodities from each other, lent each other money, and, above all, invested in a number of major operations to import spices. In 1517, for example, Gondi and Pierrevive shared equally a cargo of cinnamon, ginger, and smaller quantities of pepper and nutmeg. The order was placed by the Pierrevive family with a Genoese merchant, Bartolomeo Fornari.<sup>65</sup> The fact that several people invested in an operation not only reduced the risks in the event of failure, but also had the advantage of being a flexible and ephemeral form of association, which could be renewed or modified for each new operation.<sup>66</sup> Spices were mainly imported from Italy, from Genoa and Venice where the Pierrevives seemed to have representatives and partners. They could be imported by sea, entering the kingdom via the port of Marseille and then up the Rhône valley to Lyon.<sup>67</sup> Merchants also took the land route, crossing the Alps through the Duchy of Savoy and following the famous *Via Francigena* or *Strada di Francia*. According to

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63 These include Jean Camus and Florimond Rubys as well as the Thomassin family, who rented a room from Nicolet de Pierrevive in 1493.

64 We refer here to the work of Heinrich Lang, who made a meticulous study of the registers of the Salviati company kept in Pisa and who confirmed the presence of the Pierrevives on several occasions in these registers. See Heinrich Lang, *Wirtschaften als kulturelle Praxis. Die Florentiner Salviati und die Augsburger Welser auf den Märkten in Lyon (1507–1559)*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2019; Heinrich Lang, *Networks and Merchant Diasporas: Florentine Merchant Bankers in Lyon and in Antwerp in the Sixteenth Century*. In *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400–1800*, Andrea Caracausi, Christof Jeggle (eds.). London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014, 107–120.

65 Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*, 45–46.

66 Braudel proposed the term “participation” to term this very flexible type of association. See Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme: XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Vol. 2, *Les jeux de l'échange*. Paris: A. Colin, 1986, 127. Tognetti, on the other hand, speaks of a “joint venture,” allowing merchants to form a sort of “ante-litteram cartel.” See Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*, 40.

67 However, it is important to bear in mind the difficulties involved in bringing heavy goods convoys up to Lyon. According to Jacques Rossiaud, it was almost always necessary to use a traction system and the towpaths, which lay fallow and were altered by flooding. As a result, the long-distance pulls only took place during eight or nine months of the year (generally from March to November). See Jacques Rossiaud, *Le Rhône au Moyen Âge: histoire et représentation d'un fleuve européen*. Paris: Aubier, 2007, 214–220.

Sergio Tognetti, this was the case for saffron, for instance, which probably only travelled overland.<sup>68</sup>

The association between the Pierrevive and the Gondi family led to a true partnership with the marriage of Antoine Gondi and Marie-Christine de Pierrevive in 1516. This matrimonial alliance proved to be a success, and they even acquired a certain notoriety in Lyon in the 1420s: while Antoine de Gondi, who had become Lord of Le Perron, took on the role of representative of the Florentine nation,<sup>69</sup> his wife hosted a literary salon where she entertained fashionable poets.<sup>70</sup> The couple then moved closer to the French court through Catherine de Médicis, who struck up a lasting friendship with Marie-Christine de Pierrevive. They even went to live in Paris and remained in the entourage of the kings where they gradually acquired important functions,<sup>71</sup> which later enabled their descendants to rise to the highest echelons, following the example of Albert de Gondi, Marshal of Retz, and Jean-François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal of Retz. In any case, the lasting association between the Pierrevive and the Gondi families bears witness to the catalytic role that trade fairs could play: bringing together merchants from the major trading centres in the same area for specific periods of time, they encouraged contacts and associations.

## Conclusion

The Pietraviva family from Lyon, now known as the Pierrevives, provided a link between the markets in Chieri and the fairs in Lyon: their mobility formed a lively and complex link between these two commercial centres. This mobility, probably motivated by commercial ambitions, was certainly voluntary and planned from the outset for the medium to long term. The Lyon fairs attracted the Pietraviva family to Lyon for around seventy years, between 1470 and 1545,

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<sup>68</sup> Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*, 47–48.

<sup>69</sup> Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*, 27. Antonio Gondi was appointed consul of the Florentine nation in 1517.

<sup>70</sup> See Bernadette Angleraud, Anouk Delaigue, Isabelle Doré-Rivé, Fanny Giraudier, Monica Martinat, André Pelletier, Jacques Rossiaud, André Pelletier (eds.). *Women of Lyon*. Lyon: Editions lyonnaises d'art et d'histoire, 2016, 70–71, where Marie-Christine is described as a “Lyonnaise humanist of the Renaissance.”

<sup>71</sup> Marie-Hélène Jullien de Pommerol. *Albert de Gondi maréchal de Retz*. Geneva: Droz, 1953, 13–17. To cite just two particularly eloquent examples: in 1551, Marie-Christine de Pierrevive became the governess to the fourth child of Catherine de Médicis and Henri II, and Antoine Gondi became the King's *maitre d'hôtel* in 1559 (in which capacity he received 500 *livres* per year).

when most of the family left Lyon for new horizons in Paris.<sup>72</sup> At the same time, the influence of Lyon's fairs began to wane. But what about the Pierrevives' departure? Did they have a premonition of the impending decline of Lyon's fairs, or did they simply seize the new opportunities offered by the royal court? Or was there another reason—such as a commercial or political quarrel—that prompted them to sell their family home and leave the city? It is impossible to answer this question with any certainty at the moment, and further investigation is required.

Nevertheless, we can say that the Pierrevives' path became truly exceptional and remarkable during their time in Lyon: it was through these Lyonnaise encounters that they forged a different destiny from that of other Piedmontese families. To answer the question raised in the introduction, they managed to integrate into the Lyonnaise aristocracy through marriages and by taking part in local politics, but they remained foreigners nonetheless and it was as foreigners that they became close to the French court, through the friendship between Marie-Christine de Pierrevive and Catherine de Médicis. Up until that point, the Pietraviva/Pierrevive trajectory seemed fairly common. Indeed, as Renato Bordone's work on the Piedmontese aristocracy has shown,<sup>73</sup> many lineages experienced significant enrichment and a form of *insignorimento*, thanks in particular to a rapprochement with the princes of Savoy. The Pierrevive family provides the CoMOR project with a specific example of commercial mobility, whose main contribution is also its main limitation. On the one hand, the exceptionality of this trajectory shows the extent to which the actors, objects, and routes of trade can be nuanced and complex, but on the other, this exceptionality necessarily reflects a unique example that cannot be generalised. To go further, we would need to extend the research to other Piedmontese merchant families who have experienced some form of mobility in order to compare their paths and identify similarities and differences.<sup>74</sup>

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72 At least one of Nicolet de Pierrevive's sons remained in Lyon: in the 1560s, Thomas de Pierrevive was receiver of the hospital on the Rhône bridge.

73 Bordone, Castelnuovo, Varanini, *Le aristocrazie dai signori rurali al patriziato*.

74 This project is at the heart of my PhD thesis currently in progress, provisionally entitled "Mobilités professionnelles et dynamiques sociales. Les marchands piémontais dans la France du sud-est du XIII<sup>ème</sup> au XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle," under the supervision of Jean-Louis Gaulin (Lyon) and Marta Gravela (Turin).

## Appendix

Amadeus VI of Savoy grants a fief to Michael di Pietraviva for the construction of the Sancti Jacobi castle in Chieri, 26 May 1369, AST, Fondo Biscaretti, Mazzo 1, no. 35.

Nos Amedeus comes Sabaudie notum facimus universis quod, cum nos teneamus dilecto familiari et fideli nostro magistro Michele de Petraviva in certa pecunie quantitate occasione ejusdem sue aree et certorum ortorum acceptorum et conversorum in edificio et constructione castri nostri Querii nuper in porta Jalia incepti, volentes eidem de predictis dampnis debite compensare eidem magistro Michaeli infeudamus et in feudum franchum et nobilem damus omnia curtilia empta nostro nomine pro constructione nostri castri sancti Jacobi Querii ad habendum et tenendum et ipsis utendum et fruendum absque nostro et nostrorum impedimento. Quocumque donec quousque dictum nostrum castrum ibidem ceperimus construendum et eo tunc de dictis aree et ortis promictimus eidem satisfactione facere debite sicut decet. Datum Querii die XXVI maii anno domini millesimo CCCLXIX sub signo nostro secreto.

Per dominum relatione domini Francisco de Longocomba,<sup>75</sup>  
Jean Ravais.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Following Octave Morel's interpretation, this *extra sigillum* note means that the lord, Amadeus VI, was not present in person and sent François de Longecombe in his place. François de Longecombe belonged to a family of Savoyard nobles, the lords of Longecombe (Ain), who were close to the power of the count. See Octave Morel. "La mention 'per regem ad relacionem . . . ' inscrite sur le repli des actes royaux au XIVE siècle." *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 59:1 (1898): 73–80.

<sup>76</sup> This is not the Count's chancellor (in office between 1353 and 1362), but his bastard brother and namesake, Lord of Cramoisy in the Chablais region, whose ducal protocols between 1362 and 1393 have been preserved, which has led to some confusion. On the Ravais brothers, see Castelnuovo, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini*, 204–205; Andrea Calzolari, Rosana Cosentino. La prima attività contabile della cancelleria sabauda e l'organizzazione dell'ufficio a metà del secolo XIV. *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 92 (1994): 505–553, 537.

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