

The Family Consciousness in Medieval Genoa

The Case of the Lomellini

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1. Introduction

The Genoese medieval family is famous for its distinctive feature, with its special name 'albergo'. It is said that 'albergo' was composed of a large number of members and that it had a very strong ties. Some historical scholars discussed the issue from different viewpoints regarding its large scale and strong solidarity: cohesion, unit of imposition, patronage to neighbors, feudal character etc.¹ But most of their reasoning is not based on historical data. In relation to each 'albergo', most of few studies are only superficial,² and its inner structure is not yet clear. Did the medieval Genoese family really have many members and strong ties? In this paper, I will discuss, through the example of the Lomellini family, an aspect of the Genoese merchants' solidarity and consciousness of the family, by analyzing historical sources: testaments.³

In the Lomellini family, I focused on the Napoleone Lomellini and his children. The Lomellini was a noble family originally from Lombardy.⁴ In the end of the 12th century, their name appears in Genoese records. Through the 13th century we can find the public activities of several members of the family in Genoese records, but they were not impressive.⁵ On the

1 About the historiography and the sources on 'albergo', see Yoko Kamenaga, *Chusei Jenova Shonin no Ie*, (In Japanese)Tokyo, 2001, pp. 27-70. Here, I treat the articles and books written by J. Heers, E. Grendi, E. Poleggi, M. Balard etc. In particular, I criticized the following: J. Heers, *Gènes au XV^e siècle. Activité, économique et problèmes sociaux*, Paris, 1961; idem, *Le clan familial au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1974; idem, 'Consorterie et Alberghi à Gènes: la ville et la Campagne', *La storia dei Genovesi*, 9, 1989; E. Grendi, 'Profilo storico degli alberghi genovesi', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 87, 1975; idem, 'Problemi di storia degli alberghi genovesi', 1, 1981;

2 For example, N.L. de Franchi, 'L'Albergo De Franchi dalla fondazione alla riforma Doria (1393-1528)', *La storia dei Genovesi*, 1, 1981.

3 As the study analyzing the Genoese testaments, see S. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984.

4 About the genealogy of the Lomellini, N. Battilana, *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili di Genova*, Genova, 1825-33, rist. Bologna, 1971, Famiglia Lomellini; ASG, manoscritti 495, p. 72(65v)-p. 110(80r)

5 A. Olivieri, *Serie dei consoli del comune di Genova*, Genova, 1861, rist. Bologna, 1971, p. 247-248; BCB. A. Della Cella, *Famiglie di Genova antiche e moderne, estinte e viventi, nobili e popolani*, manoscritti cartulari del sec. XIX-XX, vol. 2, pp. 751-752 pp. 247-248.

other hand, through the 14th century, this family enhanced its economic and political status.⁶ The most famous figure of the family in this century was Napoleone Lomellini. He was a member of the ‘anziani’ and was known as ‘multum dives et magnus mercator a very rich and important merchant’.⁷ Perhaps his father would be common, not a rich merchant, so it is assumed that Napoleone became successful by himself rather than inheriting property from his father. Napoleone had three brothers and one sister. He married twice and had 20 children.⁸

He left his last will in four separate acts produced by a notary named Pietro de Grotta. (dated 1387/5/29, 1387/6/15, 1399/11/24, 14). The original manuscripts were unfortunately lost, but their most likely accurate transcripts survive.⁹ Next, we will analyze them and make clear what Napoleone, who made a fortune and got high status only in his lifetime, thought and was conscious about later in his life.

2. Execution of testament

A. The executor

Here we will discuss the executors of his testament. Napoleone ordered in his first testament that the half of the interest from his quota of public debt should be used every year either for the purchase of a new quota of Genoese, and of other commune’s public debt, or property in Genoese ruling territory (*districtus*). Napoleone also indicates the other half of the interest from his quota of public debt should be used for the aid to the poor.¹⁰ He left the executive power of how to distribute the interests to his wife Teodora for her entire life.¹¹ After her death, the right was transferred to three of his adult sons, in the order of their age, who stayed then in Genoa and were able to execute it. The decision of execution was made in accordance to two votes out of three.¹² This accordance system was also applied to the selection of a deacon *capellanus* who held masses everyday for the salvation of the souls of

6 This family raised up its political status with taking the side of Robert D’ Anjou, king of Napoli, and with getting the privileges, titles and offices in the kingdom; G. Petti Balbi, *Simon Boccanegra e la Genova del ‘300*, Genova, 1991, pp. 175-176.

7 About the official status of Napoleone, see BCB. A. Della Cella, *Famiglie di Genova...*, vol.2, 753, B. Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis : Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, New Haven, 1976, p. 194.

8 About the children of Napoleone, see n. 3. and n. 8

9 BCB. Sala di conservazione, m. r. v. 1. 48, *Fondazione Napoleone Lomellini e documenti sua famiglia*; BCB. Sala di conservazione, m. r. v. 3. 19, *Atti notarili relativi a Napoleone, a Carlo Lomellini e ai discendenti*, 17v-21r; *Atto di fondazione della colonna o dispensa od elemosina eretta dal Magnifico q. Napoleone Lomellino, il 29 Maggio 1387, Genova, 1879.*

His first will is a type of ‘elemosina’, the secondo is ‘testamentum’, the third and the fourth are ‘codicillus’. We cannot decide the years of Napoleone’s birth and death, At least he acted in 1343 and he died before the 10 th October in 1401.

10 *Atto di fondazione della colonna...*, p. 4.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

Napoleone, his parents, his wife Teodora and his children.¹³

Particularly, about the distribution of the other half of the interest from his quota of public debt for the aid to the poor, Napoleone indicated the order of the executors more in detail: 1. Napoleone, 2. His wife Teodora, 3, his sons. And after their death, the sons of his sons. After their death, the sons of them. This type continues. By doing so, Napoleone left the right of execution to his male line descendants.¹⁴ The system of the accord by two-thirds of 3 male-line adult descendants in the order of age who reside in Genoa was adopted again. Here we can see it in a more specific way. For example,(1) ‘if the 3 sons of a generation were not found, fill the vacancy with the sons of the next generation’. (2)Another example:If the three do not reach an agreement, suspend the decision and wait for the accordance of the two. (3) Regarding the affairs executed every year, if the two do not reach an accord and even after the four months suspension period, the right of execution transfers to the next 3 male-line descendants in the order of age after one year. This system was to be carried on eternally.¹⁵

The elaborate Napoleone gives further instructions on the selection of the executors for helping the poor. In case his male-line descendants become extinct, the special word ‘albergo’ appears in the text. After his male-line descendants are extinct, the executors are 3 male adults who were born from the his nearest patrilineal line in ‘albergo Lomellini’. After this line ceases, 3 male-adults in the order of age who were born from another patrilineal line in ‘albergo Lomellini’ would execute it. The procedures in case of disaccord in 3 persons are similar to the case of his sons.¹⁶ If the qualified in ‘albergo’ has died out, he indicates Diocesanus as executor. At that same time, he indicates that Presidentes Comunis Janue choose 4 Genoese nobles every year. And this total of 5 people (Diocesanus and 4 Genoese nobles) decided the execution by majority.¹⁷

Well, what can we find out about the family structure from these records?

(1) The status of wives is not low. Napoleone considers his wife Teodora as the most faithful executor of his last will about both the disposition of interest of public debt and charity.

(2) His sons get the right of execution after Teodora, Napoleone considered his many sons equally. He does not refer to the name of his each son, their age, and whether they were a legal or illegal son. He dreamt of the continuation by a counsel system of his sons in Genoa,

(3) After the death of his sons, at length the word in ‘albergo’ appears. But the content about the nearest patrilineal line and about another line is not concrete. In addition, he did not indicate the eternal execution by the patrilineal line in ‘albergo’. His concern concentrates on the lineage from himself at all events, not ‘albergo Lomellini’.

(4) The indication of the last executors makes us imagine the relationship of Diocesanus

13 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 14

15 *Ibid.*, p. 14

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

and of the four Genoese nobles.

B. Aid to the poor by the interest from public debt

In the middle ages the Genoese often bequeathed the interest from public debt to the poor.¹⁸ Napoleone indicated, as the role of the executor of his testament, the aid to the poor by the half of the interest from a part of his public debt in his first testament. The table 1 is the list of the poor to aid and the contents of the aid. We will find his consciousness about family in this source.

In 1-2, and 5 in table 1, Napoleone intends to give aid to his patrilineal male descendants for the reason of learning, job, and the expense of marriage. He arranges the conditions that they don't go to ruin by the guarantee of the minimum requirements.

In 3-4, the indication to wives and daughters of patrilineal male descendants are impressive as his view about the women in his family. The object of aid in 3 and 4 are the women who live a life under pretense of Lomellini as their surname. His wife was not an original member of the Lomellini, but Napoleone considers her as his family member as long as she calls herself Lomellini.

In 6, 7, and 8, he indicates the aid for his daughters and their children. We can remark on the limitation of the generation to aid. About the descendants from patrilineal line, there is no limitation of generation. But in regards to daughters and their children, who are his relative but don't succeed his surname, he limits his aid only to two generations, that is, whom he could see in his life.

After the above indication, the poor barely appear in 'albergo'. The concrete explanation of the poor in 'albergo' is not here, nor distinct. In addition, the case of aid was very limited and its sum was not good. He regards the children of his daughters who are not members of the Lomellini more important than the members of 'albergo'.

As we have seen the examples both in the case of executor and of the aid to the poor, Napoleone persists in his direct descendants at any rate. 'albergo' was not an important unit for him.

Here we also refer to the problem of the member to pray for spiritual salvation. In the testament of Napoleone, he indicates the people for whom to pray for salvation through the mass every day. They are Napoleone himself, his 'parens', his wife Teodora, and his children.¹⁹ For Napoleone, the people to pray for salvation is not 'albergo', but 'parens', that is, a smaller

18 About the attitude to public debt for Genoese, see Yoko KAMENAGA-ANZAI 'Attitudes Towards Public Debt in Medieval Genoa: the Lomellini Family', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 29, issue 4, 2003.

19 *Atto di fondazione della colonna.....*, p.8.

unit. Both in practical aid by money and in spiritual existence, the ‘albergo’ is not a important unit for Napoleone.

3. *The family base in the city walls and in the outskirts*

J. Heers points that the Genoese ‘albergo’ had influence over people in the outskirts of the city.²⁰ But he argues principally based on cases of primarily feudal families that had power in their home areas after emigration to Genoa. The Lomellini is not a family of this type. In addition, J. Heers offers only a few examples of actions by feudal families concerning their hometowns and is not interested in the internal structures of families or the relationship between the base within the city walls and the outskirts.

The Lomellini, originally a feudal family from Lumello in Lombardia, established bases both within the city walls and in the outskirts. In the outskirts were Fassolo (about three kilometers to the west of Palazzo Ducale) and Pegli (about seven kilometers to the west of Palazzo Ducale). Inside the city walls, the Lomellini had two bases: ‘contrata Banchi’ and ‘contrata Santa Agnese’.²¹ Here, we examine consciousness concerning the solidarity of family through the problems of burial and the possession of real estate.

A. Burial sites and family

In medieval testaments, the testator often refers to burial. Genova is famous for a type of family church known as ‘chesa gentilizia’.²² The Lomellini, who increased their power in Genoa towards the end of the 14th century, did not have their own ‘chiesa gentilizia’. Where did the members of this family want to be buried?

The table 2 shows the burial sites specified in their testaments. Popular burial sites for the Lomellini were the San Francesco Church of Genoa (mentioned 13 times) and the San Teodoro church of Fassolo (mentioned 11 times). What does this signify?

As a premise, we notice that the area dominated by the Lomellini was not divided into inside the city walls and the outskirts through the lineage of the family.²³ There are 44 units of the Lomellini in the ‘gabella possessionum’ (register of taxation on real estate) in the year 1414. At least 19 of the 44 members have real estate both in the city and the outskirts.²⁴ As an

20 J. Heers, ‘Consorterie...’, pp. 45-63.

21 About the Genoese city walls and the ‘contrata’ in relation to the Lomellini, see L. Grossi Bianchi ed E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo, Genova nei secoli X-XVI*, Genova, 1987, in particular, p. 60, 126, 176-177, 192.

22 About ‘chiesa gentilizia’, see L. Grossi-Bianchi ed E. Poleggi, *Op. cit.*, p. 54; M. Moresco, ‘La parrocchie gentilizie genovesi’ in *Scritti di Mattia Moresco*, Milano, 1959.

23 About the problem of the existence of many family base in the city walls and the mutual personal interchange of its members there and in outskirts, D. O. Hughes, ‘Kinsman and neighbors in Medieval Genoa’, in *The Medieval City*, eds. By H. A. Miskimin etc. New Haven and London, 1977, pp. 102-1034.

24 ASG. Antico Comune, 559. gabella possessionum, 1414, cc. 276r-287r.

example, Napoleone Lomellini, although having house and living in Fassolo, indicates as his burial site the San Francesco church of Genoa, which is inside the city walls.²⁵ The Lomellini associated in both areas.

We will return the issue of burial sites. It explains the characteristics of the San Francesco Church and San Teodoro Church. The mendicant order was preferred by the aristocracy rather than by merchants or artisans in Genoa.²⁶ The Lomellini were rich patrons of the San Francesco Church of Genoa in the 14th and 15th centuries.²⁷ Ansaldo and Napoleone Lomellini ordered that they be dressed in the clothes of the Franciscan friars for their burials.²⁸ The San Francesco Church of Genoa was the burial site linked with the Genoese aristocratic faith. In addition, this church was located bounding on 'contrata di Santa Agnese', that is, one of the base of the Lomellini. Consequently, this church would be familiar to them.

The San Teodoro Church of Fassolo was adjacent to the palace of Niccolo Lomellini quondam Napoleone. Niccolo's palace was adjacent to land with a collapsed palace dominated by Carlo Lomellini quondam Napoleone. Carlo's land was adjacent to the palace of the Tobia Lomellini and the above-mentioned collapsed palace.²⁹ As we can see, there are many properties owned by the Lomellini in the vicinity of the San Teodoro Church of Genoa. Congregation in a 'contrata' inside the city walls is known as one of the features of Genoese 'albergo'.³⁰ The Lomellini lived congregating also in the outskirts,³¹ and indicated the church adjacent to their property in the outskirts as a burial site.

We can conclude from this situation the following. The Lomellini, who expanded their power in the 14th century, did not form their 'chiesa gentilizza' like those who expanded in the 12th century. Their burial sites show the aristocratic faith near their base inside the city walls and the strong will to form their own area in the outskirts. The formation of 'chiesa gentilizza' in the 12th century was linked with the domination of the parish by powerful families in the period of birth of the city-state. On the other hand, the choice of church by the Lomellini shows the faith and the consciousness of the family in the 14th century.

In addition, the trend in choice of burial site by the Lomellini was not opposed by consciousness of family solidarity. The burial sites are concentrated at these two churches. With the two focuses inside the city walls and in the outskirts, the Lomellini had a less-strict but still tenacious consciousness of family.

25 see table 2.

26 L. Grossi-Bianchi ed E. Poleggi, *Op. cit.*, p. 123. G. Petti Balbi, 'La vita e la morte: riti e comportamenti nella Genova medievale', in *legislazione e società nell' Italia medievale: per il VII centenario degli statuti di Albenga (1288), atti del convegno, Albenga, 18-21 ottobre, 1988*, Bordighera, 1990, p. 435.

27 A. Bartarelli, *La cittadella francescana di Castelletto*, Genova, 1979?, p. 130.

28 ASG, notai antichi, 228, 8r; BCB, Fondazione....., 5r-v.

29 ASG. Antico Comune, 559. gabella possessionum, 1414, c. 276v, 277r, c. 278r, c. 283r.

30 L. Grossi-Bianchi ed E. Poleggi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 202-220.

31 About this viewpoint, J. Heers also indicated. But he offers no concrete evidence. J. Heers, *Gènes au XV^e siècle*. p. 571.

B. Burial sites at each churches and epigraphs.

Next, I will discuss the burial sites at each church. With regard to burial sites, we can often see phrases such as ‘the burial place of my husband or my father’, and there are few phrases that indicate the consciousness of grand family. Napoleone Lomellini specified that a chapel in the San Francesco church of Genoa should be purchased from profits on public debts in the future. He also ordered that this chapel should be common property of his patrilineal-line descendent in perpetuity.³² Napoleone hoped that his patrilineal-line descendants would preserve the chapel that he would buy based on his own faith.

There is another noteworthy phenomenon. Indications concerning tombstones show the consciousness of a grand family. Napoleone orders the emblem of the Lomellini to be carved in his tombstone, and Carlo Lomellini hoped for burial in his ancestral tomb.³³ The tombstone of Domenico (grandson of Napoleone) has orders concerning its ownership carved into it: the owner is, first, Domenico and his patrilineal-line descendants, and if this line should cease to exist, the nearest relatives in ‘albergo’ Lomellini.³⁴ This indicates that when considering how they will express themselves after death on their tombstones, the unit of the family or ‘albergo’ came to mind as their identities. The selection of the eternal executor of testaments from ‘family’ or ‘albergo’ was previously pointed out. From tombstones as well, we can reconsider the problem of the relationship between ‘eternity’ and ‘family’ or ‘albergo’.

C. The Real Estate of Napoleone

Now we return to the testament of Napoleone and analyze the relationship between the area inside the city walls and that in the outskirts. In his second and third testaments, there are 27 properties owned by Napoleone.³⁵ In addition, there is also an article concerning inheritance by division of his real estate after his death. In this article, there are 12 properties not found in his testament or that do not accord with the real estate in his testament.³⁶

It is important that all the properties were those that Napoleone purchased, not inherited from his father. Most such real estate indicated the name of previous owner. In the article, we do not find the name of his father in any indication of inheritance. Napoleone became rich for himself and bought these properties on his own.

We analyze the location of these properties. Of the 27 properties specified in his testaments, seven are in ‘carrubeo Lomellini’ (Lomellini path) in ‘contrata Banchi’, i.e., one of their family areas in the city walls, and 11 properties are in Fassolo in the outskirts. Five of the seven properties in ‘contrata Banchi’ are those that Napoleone bought from members of the

32 BCB. Fondazione...., 9v.

33 See Table 2.

34 A cura di S. Origone e C. Varaldo, *Corpus inscriptionum Medii Aevi Liguria II: Genova, Museo di S. Agostino*, Genova, 1983, p. 179, number 255.

35 BCB. Fondazione...., 6r-v, 7v, 9r0v, 9v, 11r-12v, 14v.

36 BCB. 10r-22r. The source shows that the original article was executed by notaio Matteo Oliva on 10th October in 1401. Some real estates in the testaments are not found in this article.

Lomellini, and the other two are those that were originally owned by Percivale Lomellini and were passed to Goffredo Panzano. Later, Napoleone bought them, so they too were originally of the Lomellini.

What can we conclude from this tendency? First, we can find a consciousness to maintain the family area. In Genoa, which is mountainous at the rear and stretches to the sea in the front, there are few flatlands and properties inside the city walls were fully occupied and precious. The Lomellini finally obtained power in the 14th century. Napoleone did not want to lose the family area.³⁷ He made prohibitions on almost all the properties he owned, preventing them from being sold, assigned, or mortgaged to anyone other than his patrilineal line descendants.³⁸ He does not order what was to happen if there were no patrilineal line descendants. On the contrary, he orders that if any of his patrilineal line descendants disobeys his wishes, the next person in line would acquire the property. Napoleone conserved his inheritance in his patrilineal line descendants thoroughly. We confirm that Napoleone focused only on his patrilineal descendants, not the whole of the Lomellini.

Next, we examine the properties in Fassolo in the outskirts that Napoleone bought. Unlike those in 'contrata Banchi', Napoleone bought only one of 11 properties in Fassolo from a member of the Lomellini even though the Lomellini appeared there starting in the 13th century.³⁹

What does this mean? As we have already seen, there are four Lomellini properties around the San Teodoro church in Fassolo. Three of the four owners were Napoleone's sons: Niccolo, Carlo and Goffredo. We can confirm that at least Carlo and Goffredo inherited the properties in Fassolo from Napoleone. Perhaps the properties that Napoleone bought in Fassolo seen in his testaments were near the San Teodoro Church. In addition, one property that Napoleone bought in Fassolo had a 'loggia' and he ordered that it should be common property among his patrilineal line descendants for many generations.⁴⁰ The 'loggia' is a kind of public space for family meetings or festivals and it plays a unifying role in the family.⁴¹ Napoleone, persisting in the traditional family area, created new family area using properties owned by his patrilineal line descendants.

4. Conclusion

In this article, principally analyzing the testaments, we analyzed the consciousness of family in the later middle ages in Genoa through the case of the Lomellini, in particular,

37 Napoleone bought the property in 'carrubeo Lomellini' possessed by another family, the De Mari (BCB. Fondazione....., 11r.)

38 BCB. Fondazione....., 12r.

39 BCB. Fondazione....., 11v. also see table 2.

40 BCB. Fondazione....., 12r.

41 D. O. Hughs, 'Domestic Ideals and Social Behavior: Evidence from Medieval Genoa', in *The Family in History*, ed. By C. E. Rosenberg, Philadelphia, 1975, p. 121.

Napoleone. We clarify that Napoleone persists in himself, his wife, his children, and his male-line descendants. Napoleone also shows the indication relating to the wider family consciousness, for example, the consciousness of 'albergo', but it is only the limited case and does not play an important role.

Certainly Napoleone had many children. But we notice that he persisted his eternal male-descendants. The relationship between these descendants is not linked by direct lines. In addition Napoleone does not seldom refer to his father. Through these his attitudes, we can deduce that he imaged the lineage whose founder was Napoleone. He is, conserving the base of the Lomellini, showing the preference to the members of the family, presenting the Genoese noble faith, forming the family area, and he reconstructed his own lineage. This should be an important point to consider what 'albergo' is. We need to reconsider the Genoese family image based on the stereotyped explanation of 'albergo'.

Table 1: Indication of the aid to the poors in the testament of Napoleone Lomellini

	person to aid	content of aid
1	men in the patrilineal line of the testator who will learn church law, civil law, or medicine	20-80F. to each, every year, 8years at length, within 200f. In total
2	men in the patrilineal line of the testator who attain their majority	25-80 to each, within 300L. With the agreement by more than 2/3of the executors , half money at wedding, the other half within 1 year after wedding
3	women in the partilineal line of the testator who will be nun	25-100L. to each when she become a nun. 300L. in total each year of life as nun
4	daughters and wives in the patrilineal line of the testator who do not marry nor remarry nor become nun,and who live a faithful life	25F. At most to each, every year, Within 200f. in total each year.
5	men in the patrilineal line of the testator who are poors or will make a voyage	25-100L, to each every year, within 500F. in total every year
6	daughters	25-100L. to each every year
7	sons of daughter	25-100L. to each every year
8	daughters of a daughter who want to marry or become nun	25-100L. to each when she marries or becomes a nun
9	the poors in albergo Lomellini, according the near relatives horizontally in order	5-50L. to each. But this is executed only in case that its interest leave over after the above distribution. With the agreement by more than 2persons/3 persons of the adult sons in order of age
10	female servants until they marry or become nun	5-50L. every year
11	the poors except albergo Lomellini	Within 25L. to each. Only in case that its interest leave over after the above distribution.

Atto di fondazione...pp. 8-14.

L. :libra genovese, F. :fiorino

The people except 3, 4, 8 can be aided only in case that they are poor.

Table 2: the burial sites in the testaments of the Lomellini.

source	n.	filza · cc	testator of the Lomellini	burial sites	burial post	date of wills
S. Epistem, Wills and...		pp.235-236	Oberto	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo		1252/6/8
ASG manoscritti	452	116r-138r	Giovanni q. oberto	San Francesco Church	at his or his brothers' chapel	1330/1/8
ASG manoscritti	452	138v-148v	Giovanni q. oberto	San Francesco Church		1334/6/1
ASG notai antichi	230	62v-64r	Angelo	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo	at his father's tombstone	1343/5/26
ASG notai antichi	228	7v-11v	Ansaldo f. q. oberto	San Francesco Church	at the chapel under Santa Caterina made for him and his brothers.	1345/2/2
ASG notai antichi	232	82v-83r	Violantina F-a q. Benedetto Giovanni	San Francesco Church		1346/8/30
ASG notai antichi	232	241v-243r	Agnetina Fa Riccardo	San Francesco Church		1347/7/24
ASG notai antichi	234	18v-20r	Argentina ux. q. Bartolomeo	San Francesco Church	at the tombsotone of her husband	1348/8/4
ASG notai antichi	236	152r-154r	Bonifacio	San Francesco Church		1350/11/8
ASG notai antichi	605	f.308	Agamalone	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo		1385/9/2
ASG notai antichi	312	86r	Despina F-a q. Babilano, ux. q. Andoreolo	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo		1387/2/6
Atto di Fondazione.....			Napoleone q. Lionello	San Francesco Church or San Lorenzo Church	at the tombsotone with emblem of the Lomellini	1387/5/29
BCB Fondazione.....		5r-9r	Napoleone q. Lionello	San Francesco Church	at his tombstone	1387/6/15
BCB Fondazione.....		9r-15r	Napoleone q. Lionello			1399/11/24
BCB Fondazione.....		15v	Napoleone q. Lionello	according to the decision of her heirs		1401/8/10
ASG notai antichi	481	253v-254r	Limbiana ux. Giorgio			1415/6/7
ASG notai antichi	483	230r	Limbiana ux. Giorgio			1421/10/24
ASG notai antichi	604	f.378	Caterina F-a q. Sestremo?			1420/5/30
ASG notai antichi	711	f.46	Imperiale q. Napoleone	San Francesco Church	in the tombstone and chapel of his father's burial post	1430/8/10
ASG notai antichi	604	f.2	Goffredo q. Napoleone	San Francesco Church	in the tombstone and chapel of his father	1431/4/14
ASG notai antichi	605	f.92	Ginevra ux. Illario			1433/6/2
ASG notai antichi	710	f.105	Marietta ux. Andrea	San Francesco Church	at the tombstone of her husband	1436/6/15
ASG notai antichi	710	f.334	Marietta ux. Andrea	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo		1450/6/25
ASG notai antichi	711	f.51	Marietta ux. Andrea	San Teodoro in Fassolo Santa Maria del Carmelo fraternity	at the tombstone of Santa Maria (at the death in Fassolo)	1450/9/11
ASG universita	2626	f. 11	Valarino f. Cosma	San Francesco Church	at the tombstone for my late relatives.	1438/6/18
ASG manoscritti	105	p.50	Franca q. Napoleone			1443/4/24
ASG notai antichi	710	f.311	Tobietta ux. Jeronimo	San Teodoro Church (or monastery) in Fassolo		1445/3/17
ASG notai antichi	710	f.296	Teodora F-a q. Benedetto	San Jeronimo Convent in Silvaria of Capo Monte	in the burial post of her fathers	1447/11/24
ASG notai antichi	657	f.60	Violantina ux. q. Tobia	San Siro Church	at the tombstone of his present husband	1449/4/2
ASG notai antichi	710	f.312	Batestina ux. Oberto	San Teodoro Church (monastery) in Fassolo	at the tombstone of her husband	1450/2/17
ASG notai antichi	710	f.323	Branchina Fa Stefano	San Matteo Church	at the tombstone of her first husband	1450/4/16
ASG notai antichi	710	f.330	Conradina Fa q. Giovanni	San Jeronimo Church in Quarto	at the tombstone or the burial post of her husband	1450/5/16
ASG notai antichi	711	f.190	Conradina Fa q. Giovanni			1458/1/14
ASG notai antichi	711	f.207	Batestina ux. Domenico	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo	at the tombstone of her husband	1450/12/16
ASG notai antichi	711	f.208	Batestina ux. Domenico	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo	at the tombstone of her husband	1458/4/19
ASG notai antichi	711	f.209	Domenico q. Niccolo	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo	at his tombstone or under the San Jeronimo Chapel	1450/12/16
ASG notai antichi	658	f.18	Franchetta F-a q. Marchicco			1453/2/1
ASG notai antichi	658	f.67	Salvagina F-a q. Brancaleone, ux. Carlo	Santa Maria di Vigne del Carmelo Church	at the monument of our Lord	1453/5/4
BCB Fondazione.....		78v-80v	Orietta f-a Domenico, ux. Q. Jeronimo	San Teodoro Church in Fassolo	at the tombstone of her father	1454/3/16
ASG notai antichi	659	f.46	Carlo q. Manuel	San Francesco Church	at the tombstone of his ancestor	1455/8/12
ASG notai antichi	659	f.130	Mateo q. Lionello	San Siro Church or San Feranesco Church	at his chapel	1456/7/21

f. = son, f-a = daughter, q. = late, ux. = wife