

Medieval Genoese Colonial Society Viewed from an Analysis of their Colonial Testaments

Part 1: Testators and their Bequests

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1. Introduction

The medieval Genoese are famous for their colonial activities in the Mediterranean world, in the Black Sea, and even in the Atlantic. They stayed at coastal zones in these areas. There are many published notarial acts written in Genoese colonies from the Middle Ages. These notarial acts include many kinds of contracts and so on. In this paper, I examine testaments in these notarial acts¹. The testament is a very important historical source for family and social history. It reveals the family type, burial posts, testators and their bequests, property details, the division of movable and immovable property, dedications to the religious groups, and so on, so that we can find their consciousness for family and for death. Here, I examine Genoese colonial testaments. We can discern some aspects of Genoese colonial society through this analysis.²

The published colonial notarial acts are from a large area and over an extended period. The number of testaments, however, is not large. Therefore, I pick up as many testaments as possible from this period and area, enabling me to identify at least general trends.

2. Sources

The testaments are in many published Genoese notarial acts. I was able to locate 72

1 About the Genoese medieval testaments, for example, S. Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1984.

2 As for the social world of the Genoese medieval colonies, there are many books and articles. For example, L. Balletto, 'L'émigration féminine de Gênes au proche-Orient au XVe siècle', in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (Xe-XVIIe siècles)*, sous la direction de M. Balard et A. Ducellier, Paris, 2002; M. Balard, *La romanie génoise: XIIe-début du XVe siècle*, 2 vols., Roma, 1978; G. Pistarino, *Chio dei genovesi nel tempo di Cristoforo Colombo*, Roma, 1995. As for the medieval Genoese testaments in Genoa, for example, see 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)

testaments³. The sites where the testaments were written are as follows: Pera (a suburb of Constantinople), Caffa (site in the Crimean peninsula), Chios (island in the Aegean Sea), Tunis, Kilia (area of the Black Sea), Licostomo (area of the black Sea), Famagusta (in Chiprus), Nicosia (in Chiprus), Lesbos (island in the Aegean Sea), and others. The form of the testaments is similar, as the Genoese notaries were trained in Genoa.

The people who appear in the colonial Genoese notarial acts are not limited to the Genoese: also included are those who had Genoese family names, those who had the title “cives janue”, those who had the title “habitor” (for example, “habitor famagoste”), those who had the title “burgensis” (for example, “burgensis chii”)⁴, and those who had the name of a place as a surname. This information may suggest the origin of each person as well as the present place of domicile. And it seems that most of the testators are recent immigrants, not natives.

3 The published Genoese notarial acts including ‘testamentum’ or ‘codicillus’ are as follows: Par G. I. Brătianu, *Actes des notaries génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du Treizième siècle (1281-1290)*, Bucarest, 1927 (n. 18, 21, 48, 151, 228); A cura di G. Pistarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288-1289)*, Genova, 1986, (n. 6); Par M. Balard, *Gênes et l' outre-mer I: les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289-1290*, Paris, 1973, (n. 300, 689, 704, 742, 882. About n. 300, the article is cited in Brătianu, *Op. cit.*, n. 228); A cura di M. Balard, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296 -23 Giugno 1299)*, Genova, 1983 (n. 25, 48, 87, 116, 120, 121, 126); A cura di V. Polonio, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 Luglio 1300 – 3 Agosto 1301)*, Genova, 1982 (n. 12, 22, 23, 26, 165, 344, 349, 415, 418); A cura di R. Pavoni, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 Luglio – 27 Ottobre 1301)* Genova, 1982, (n. 5, 12, 38, 46, 51, 71, 126); A cura di M. Balard, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro , Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 Marzo 1304 -19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio -12 Luglio 1307, Giovanni de Rocha 3 Agosto 1308 – 14 Marzo 1310)*, Genova, 1984 (n. I-19, II-82, III-60); A cura di G. Balbi e S. Raiteri, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo (sec. XIV)*, Bordighera, 1973 (n. 15, 19, 32); A cura di M. Balard, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio da Donato di Chiavari (17 Febbraio – 12 Novembre 1394)*, Genova, 1988, (n. 21, 53, 76. About n. 53, the act for the certification of the testament by hand); A cura di A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene, Tomo 1, Pera, 1408-1490*, Genova, 1982 (n. 37, 38, 97); A cura di A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene, Tomo 2, Mitilene, 1454 -1460*, Genova, 1982 (n. 4, 7, 8, 16, 21, 28, 33, 34, 44, 59, 59b, 59c); A cura di A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio (1453-1454, 1470-1471)*, Genova, 1982, (n. 118); A cura di L. Balletto, *Piemontesi del Quattrocento nel Vicino Oriente*, Alessandria, 1992 (n. 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 31) (This book is edited from the Genoese colonial notarial acts.); Ph. Argenti, *The occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island 1346 -1566*, vol. III, notarial deeds, Cambridge, 1958 (n. 228, 229, 231, 247, 267, 269, 276, 290)

The published Genoese notarial acts not including ‘testamentum’ or ‘codicillus’ are as follows; A cura di G. Pistarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chilia da Antonio di Ponzò (1360-61)*, Bordighera, 1971; Par M. Balard, *Gênes et l' Outre-Mer, II, Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzò, (1360)*, Paris, 1980; A cura di E. Basso, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio da Giuliano de Canella (2 Novembre 1380 – 31 Marzo 1381)*, Atene, 1993; A cura di S. Origone, *Notai genovesi in Corsica: Calvi, 1370 – Bonifacio, 1385-86*, Genova, 1979; A cura di D. Gioffre, ‘Atti rogati in Chio nella seconda metà del XIV secolo’, *Bulletin de l' institut historique belge de Rome*, vol. 34, pp. 319- 404; P. P. Toniolo, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Chio da Gregorio Panissaro (1403-1405)*, Genova, 1995.

4 As for the word ‘burgensis’, see G. Pistarino, *I Gin dell' oltremare*, Genova, 1988, p. 280; As for the word ‘habitor’, see N. Calvini, *Nuovo glossario medievale ligure*, Genova, 1984, p. 193.

3. Testators

Female testator accounts for less than 20% of all testators.⁵ Most testators appear only with their own name, and it is not possible to determine their origin specifically. About 20% of the testators are assumed to be Genoese⁶. The surnames of famous Genoese families are rarely seen among them.⁷

Some testators explicitly state their origins in another place: for example, ‘cives saone’,⁸ or the another place like surname: Jubayr,⁹ Accon,¹⁰ Rivieran communes, places of Piemonte, Calcinaia (Toscana), Catalugna,¹¹ Valencia,¹² a Jew living in a colony,¹³ or, although the origin is unclear, ‘habitor famagoste’ or ‘habitor mitilene’.

Overall, the variety of the testators reflects the multi-pluralism of the colonial world.

4. The burial place

Almost of all the testaments include information concerning the burial place. Did the testator want to be buried in the mother country or in the colony? Whichever colony they lived in, as general trend, they desired to be buried in a church within the colony. References to burial in the mother place are rare. Even the direction such as “in case that I should die in mother country (a specific name like Genoa)” is also rare. Many testators made the decision to die in the colony.

Sometimes the activity of the testator influenced the directions concerning the burial place. The testament written in Caffa of Bernard di Manzodeo, an active merchant in Provance and in Romania, includes the phrase “in case that I should die in Caffa, ...”.¹⁴ In the same testament, he bequests much of his property to churches, hospitals, confraternities, and the poor people in Caffa. Certainly he had close relations with society in Caffa. He settled in Caffa, and as an

5 As for the testaments by women, G. Pistarino, *Tunisi*, n. 6, (14 Jan. 1289); R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 38, (88 Aug. 1301); *Ibid.*, n. 71, (20 Aug. 1301); M. Balard, *Chios*, n. 21, (5 Apri, 1394); L. Balletto, Piemontesi, n. 12, (18 Jul. 1454); A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 7, (26 Jul. 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 8, (1 Aug. 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 21, (8 Sept. 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 33, (23, Mar. 1452); *Ibid.*, n. 44, (28 Jul. 1457); Ph. Argenti, *Chios*, vol. 3, n. 267, (27, Jun. 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 229, (24 May, 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 228, (31 May. 1456)

6 It includes the testator that has the title as follows: ‘cives janue’, ‘januensis’, ‘januensis, habitator famagoste’, and Genoese surname

7 For Example, no testators belonging to the Doria, the Spinola, the Grimaldi, and the Fieschi appear.

8 A. Roccatagliata, *Chios*, n. 118, (12 Feb. 1454).

9 M. Balard, *Sambuceto*, 1296-1299, n. 121, (2 Apr. 1299).

10 M. Balard, *Sambuceto*, 1296-1299, n. 25, (28 Decem. 1296); R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 38, (8 Aug. 1301).

11 Brătianu, *de Péra et de Caffa*, n. 48, (17 Jul. 1281).

12 *Ibid.*, n. 228, (20 Jun. 1289).

13 M. Balard, *Chio*, n. 21, (5 Apri. 1394).

14 G. Balbi, *Caffa e Licostomo*, n. 15, (13 Jan. 1344).

active merchant, he envisioned the possibility that he could die in another place.

In another example, Giovanni Prezzano, ‘cives janue’, hoped in his testament written in Chios for the burial place San Domenico church in Savona if he died in Savona. He also bequeaths his property to the church and others in Savona.¹⁵ It can be seen that he maintained close relations with Savona.

There was a tendency to select the burial church in testaments. Some testators specify the church at the place of death if he should die in the place other than Genoa. Most testators, however, specify the Catholic church in the colony where the testament was written.

The directions concerning burial churches give us an idea of the scale of the Catholic population in the Genoese colonies. We can look to the only testament written in Tunis. Tunis was under Islamic domination, and this testament written in the 13th century, making it rather old as a Genoese colonial testament. The burial church specified is ‘the Santa Maria church in the old Genoese fondaco’.¹⁶ This would be a small church. In contrast, some catholic churches or monasteries such as Franciscan or Dominican appear in the testaments written at Caffa, one of the largest Genoese colonies, even though it is a non-Catholic area.¹⁷ The testator could also choose the burial church from among several at Famagusta, where there was a large Genoese colony: the San Michele church, San Nicola church, and the Franciscan or Dominican monasteries and so on.¹⁸ In the testaments written in Lesbos, which was dominated by the Gattilusio, a family of Genoese origin, there appear the San Giorgio church of the Frankish, Santa Maria Cursori church, San Nicola church, and others.¹⁹ With regard to San Nicola church, the phrase “the church approved by the dominant of Lesbos” is added. This suggests the close relations between the dominant and the church.

For what reason did testators select the burial church? There are few cases where the reasons are mentioned, but the reasons are clear in some cases: the relationship with the testator’s wife’s burial place;²⁰ the hope of the burial with a husband,²¹ the testator’s father’s burial place;²² or ‘by the intention of his wife’.²³ A relationship with a close relative’s burial

15 A. Roccatagliata, *Chios*, n. 118, (12 Feb. 1454).

16 G. Pistarino, *Tunisi*, n. 6, (14 Jan. 1289).

17 For example, as the request of bury at Franciscan church, see G. Balbi, *Caffa e Licostomo*, n. 19, (15 Feb. 1344). As that at Dominican church, see *Ibid.*, n. 32, (12 Mar. 1344).

18 For example, as the request of bury at Franciscan church, see R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 46, (15 Aug. 1301). As that at San Michael church, see *Ibid.*, n. 12, (15 Jul. 1301). As that at San Niccolo church, see *Ibid.*, n. 51, (19 Aug. 1301). As that at Dominican church, see V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1300-1301*, n. 22, (19 Sep. 1300).

19 For example, as the request of bury at the Frankish San Giorgio church, see A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 4, (12 Jul. 1456). As that at Santa Maria Cursori church, *Ibid.*, n. 44, (28 Jul. 1457). As that at San Nicola church, see *Ibid.*, n. 59a, (10 Jan. 1459).

20 R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 51, (19 Aug. 1301).

21 R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 71, (20 Aug. 1301).

22 L. Balletto, *Piemontesi*, n. 31, (23 Mar. 1460).

23 R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 12, (15 Jul. 1301); M. Balard, *Sambuceto-de Rocca, Cipro*, n. II-82, (4 Mar. 1307).

place is often seen in the testaments written at Genoa.²⁴

Some testators did not decide the burial place on their own. This tendency is seen in the following phrases: ‘the place that my husband should be buried’²⁵ and ‘the place that my relative presbyter would select’.²⁶ This is, in a sense, a colonial tendency. In the testaments written in Genoa, the burial place is often restricted conventionally to the family church, particularly in the noble testaments, or to the church where the ancestors were once buried. Solidarity with relatives or by class traditionally influenced the selection of the burial place in Genoa. In the colonial world, the testators were free from this restriction. Thus, they could reflect in the selection of burial place the intention of the husband, wife, or close relative in the colony.

5. *Beneficiaries and heirs*

a. Family members

I previously analyzed the general tendency of heirs and beneficiaries in Genoese noble families in the Middle Ages. And I found that the range of these family members is limited narrowly: first of all, the direct descendents members and very close relatives, although the medieval Genoese noble family is famous for its large size and strong solidarity. This tendency is also found in the beneficiaries of colonial testaments. Testators in Genoese colonies leave property mainly to a wife, children, nephews, nieces, cousins. The range of the relatives in the colony was not extensive. In addition, bequests to prior generations such as mother, father, uncle, aunt are rare, and there are testaments that include no relative beneficiaries in the Genoese colonies.²⁷

The content of bequests for women in wills written in the Genoese colonies is also similar to that in Genoa. Bequests for unmarried daughters are made ‘for her marriage’ or ‘as her dowry’. Those for widows are made ‘as restitution of her dowry’ or ‘if she remains a widow without remarrying’. In colonial testaments, the women often appear not only as recipients of restituted dowries but also as heirs of the deceased husband.²⁸ In the case that a woman is

24 Yoko Kamenaga Anzai ‘The Family Consciousness in Medieval Genoa: The Case of the Lomellini’, *Mediterranean World*, 19, 2008, pp. 149-159.

25 A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 21, (8 Sep. 1456).

26 L. Balletto, *Piemontesi* n. 17, (29 Feb. 1456).

27 As examples of the testaments including no bequests for the relatives, the relatives by marriage, or the mistress, see G. Pistarino, *Tunisi*, n. 6, (14 Jan. 1289); V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1300-1301*, n. 23, (22 Sep. 1300); *Ibid.*, n. 26, (1 Oct. 1300); R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 5, (date is uncertain); M. Balard, *Sambuceto-de Rocca, Cipro*, n. I-19, (date is uncertain); A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 16, (21 Oct. 1456); *Ibid.*, n. 28, (29 Dec. 1458); *Ibid.*, n. 44, (28 Jul. 1457).

28 As the examples that the wife or the relative woman is appointed to heir, see M. Balard, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1296-1299*, n. 25, (28 Dec. 1296); *Ibid.*, n. 48, (26 May, 1297); V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1300-1301*, n. 22, (19 Sep. 1300); *Ibid.*, n. 415, (18 Jun. 1301); R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 12, (15 Jul. 1301); M. Balard, *Sambuceto –de Rocca, Cipro*, n. II-82, (4 Mar. 1307);

an heir, the phrase ‘the testament must be executed without interference’ is often added as in Genoa.

The word ‘dowry’ is not often used in colonial testaments to refer to the bequest of property to women for the purpose of marriage preparations. Rather, we see the phrase ‘for the purpose of marriage’ (*ad maritare*). This suggests that marriage not under Roman law was present in various forms in the colonial world.

We also see the bequests to mistresses and illegitimate children and their mothers.²⁹ Their existence is clearer in colonial testaments than in Genoese ones. In the testaments of the Lomellini family in Genoa that I previously analyzed, the phrase ‘both legal children and illegitimate children’ suggests the existence of illegitimate children. But it is difficult to determine the identities of the illegitimate children, as there is no direct explanation and the distribution of property is equal.³⁰ In colonial testaments, there is often a difference in value of bequeathed property between legal and illegitimate children.³¹ Mistresses and illegitimate children appear more clearly in less restricted colonial society, even though they were often treated poorly.

In addition, bequests to slaves, former-slaves, and servants are also a more notable phenomenon in the colonial testaments than in Genoa. Of course there were many servants in Genoa, and the Genoese often release and bequeath something to them in their testaments. But this treatment occurs more often in colonial world than in Genoa.³² There are some examples

Ibid., n. III-60, (3 Aug. 1308); M. Balard, *Chios*, n. 76, (31 Aug. 1394); A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 4, (12 Jul. 1456).

²⁹ As an example of the bequest for the mistress, V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1300-1301*, n. 349, (14 Apr. 1301). This also includes the bequest for the sister of the mistress. As examples of the bequest for the illegitimate children, R. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 71, (20 Aug. 1301). In this testament, the testator Piacenza, widow of Ugetto Frezoni, bequeaths to the illegitimate child of her late husband and to the mother of the child; M. Balard, *Chios*, n. 76, (31 Aug. 1301). In the testament, the testator, Pietro Giustiniani di Rocca, son of late Simone, bequeaths the money for marriage to his illegitimate daughter. But he appoints his mother and the sister-in-law, wife of his late brother, as his heirs, and he orders the daughters of the sister-in-law as heirs after the death of her mother and the sister-in-law. His legitimate children do not appear in his testament; Ph. Argenti, *Chios*, vol. 3, n. 269, (25 Sep. 1456). In this testament, the testator, Battista Spinacci, son of Bartolomeo, bequeaths to his two illegitimate daughters, other than to his wife and to his two legitimate daughters; *Ibid.*, n. 247, (21 Oct. 1450). In this testament the testator, Jacopo di Semino, son of late Matteo, bequeaths to his six illegitimate sons and to his illegitimate daughter. His legitimate child does not appear in his testament; A. Roccatagliata, *Pera*, n. 37, (6 Apr. 1453). The testator is Antonio Pellerano, son of late Iacopo. The only his children in his testaments are his two illegitimate daughters. His heirs are his two brothers.

³⁰ For example, the Genoese rich merchant Napoleone Lomellini had twenty children at least. But it is impossible in his testament to judge who legitimate child is. As for the testaments of Napoleone Lomellini, see Yoko Kamenaga, Anzai, *Op. cit.*

³¹ Ph. Argenti, *Chios*, vol. 3, n. 269, (25 Sep. 1456). Battista Spinacci, the testator, bequeathed each 200 ducati to his wife and his two legitimate daughters. But he bequeathed each 25 ducati to his two illegitimate daughters.

³² As for the bequests to ‘*sclavus, femina, ancilla, famulus, servicialis, puella, laborator*’, see G. I. Brătianu, *de Pera et de Caffa*, n. 48, (7 Jul. 1281); *Ibid.*, n. 151, (20 Feb. 1284); G. Pistarino, *Tunisi*, n. 6, (14 Jan. 1289); M. Balard, *Sambuceto, Caffa, 1289-1290*, n. 689, (26 Jun. 1290); *Ibid.*, n. 704, (3 Jul. 1290); *Ibid.*, n. 742, (13 Jul. 1290); *Ibid.*, n. 882, (7 Aug. 1290); M. Balard, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1296-*

where a testator bequeathed property to slaves or servants. In the case of bequests to slaves, manumission at the time of death of the testator or after some period from the death of the testator is seen in almost in all the examples. The typical bequeathed property is money, their house, and some immovable property such as a small field.

How should we imagine the Genoese colonial world based on these circumstances? It seems that there is a world composed of people who have intimate relationships. Without the conventional pressure from grand family relationships and a breaking down of the convention of heritage in Genoa, the colonial people bequeathed to whomever they had direct and close relations in daily life—wife, mistress, servants, or slaves. A more relaxed atmosphere could exist in the Genoese colonial world, where it was possible that testators drafted their testaments according their true sensibilities.

We can also observe another significant point. It is rare that testators bequeathed to friends or to neighbors, even if he had close relations with them. Friends and neighbors are not ‘family’ members,³³ while mistresses, slaves, and servants in a sense, have familial status. Thus, the custom that the testator bequeaths to family members was present even in Genoese colonial society.

b. Organizations

Here I examine the organizations to which testators bequeathed property.

The organization to which property is bequeathed most frequently is the burial church. After the directions to the burial church, references are made to the burial costs, the cost of mass, payment for the carol, and bequests to the clergy of the church.

Other than the burial church, Catholic bodies also appear in the testaments, in particular, in those written in the large colonies such as Famagusta: various churches, monasteries, hospitals, leprosarium, and confraternities are mentioned. The testators bequeath to these bodies or their chaplains, pastors, monks, and so on. It was not uncommon that a testator bequeathed to these various parties.³⁴

In addition, there are often bequests to the socially disadvantaged – ‘pauperes christi’ – such as the poor, beggars, invalids, orphans, the blind, the people who need economic aid, the lame, and captives.³⁵

1299, n. 87, (6 Dec. 1297); V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro*, 1300-1301, n. 23, (22 Sep. 1300); *Ibid.*, n. 165, (21 Dec. 1300); *Ibid.*, n. 415, (18 Jun. 1301); V. Pavoni, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 38, (8 Aug. 1301); *Ibid.*, n. 46, (15 Aug. 1301); *Ibid.*, n. 71, (20 Aug. 1301); M. Balard, *Sambuceto - de Rocca, Cipro*, n. I-19, (date is uncertain); L. Balletto, *Piemontesi*, n. 17, (29 Feb. 1456); A. Roccatagliata, *Mitilene*, n. 8; *Ibid.*, 59a (10 Jan. 1459), 59b (10 Jan. 1459), 59c (10 Jan. 1459); Ph. Argenti, *Chios*, vol. 3, n. 267, (27 Jun. 1456); A. Roccatagliata, *Pera*, n. 97, (18 Nov. 1475).

33 As another bequeathed person who is not relative, there appear ‘socio meo et compatre meo (in the testaments. See G. I. Brătianu, *de Péra et de Caffa*, n. 48, (7 Jul.1281).

34 For example, Bernardo de Manzodeo bequeathed to four religious bodies other than burial church. See G. Balbi e S. Raiteri, *Caffa e Licostomo*, n. 15, (13 Jan. 1344).

35 The word to explain the poor is often only ‘pauperus christi’. But there is a testament including

With regard to bequests relating to religious salvation, I have already pointed out the utilization of the system of public debt in testaments written in Genoa.³⁶ The Genoese people utilized the profit from public debt to bequeath to the weak or for the payment for masses and so on in Genoa. The system of medieval Genoese public debt was perpetuity, and it was useful for the perpetual salvation of their soul. In the 15th century in Genoa, moreover, people bequeathed their profits from public debt to ‘officium misericordie’, which distributed the contributed property to the poor.

References to public debt are rare in Genoese colonial testaments.³⁷ When distributing property to the poor, the testator ordered the executor of the testament or a specific person such as a clergy member to perform the distribution and the amount of the distribution.³⁸ There is no mention, however, to intermediary bodies such as catholic organizations or ‘officium misericordia’ nor to the character of the property as ‘profit’. We can infer from these circumstances that public debt was deeply connected with the mother country, but not with the colonies. The profit from Genoese public debt was issued four times a year and the ‘colonne’, the register of the each creditor, contained each recipient of the profit. For people living in Genoa, the system of distribution four times a year was convenient for their daily life to obtain adequate money. In the colonies, however, it was less convenient, because the people could not travel to obtain the profit each time. As a result, references to the public debt are rare in the Genoese colonial testaments.

Bodies proper to the colony other than the Catholic organizations appear in colonial testaments: ‘opera portus et moduli janue’ in Famagosta and ‘opera moduli janue’ in Caffa.³⁹ The content of these activities are uncertain, but they seem to be the institutions related to colonial administration. Bequests to them suggest an attachment to the colony by the testator.

6. *A brief conclusion*

In this paper, I identify some trends in Genoese colonial society by analyzing colonial testaments. The main trends are the existence of freer and less restricted society and the attachment of the testator to the familiar people and society in the colony. They loved the life in the colony more than that in Genoa. This can serve as a viewpoint for considering the

various words to explain the poor. For example, see V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1300-1301*, n. 416, (18 Jun. 1301).

³⁶ As for the public debt in the Genoese testaments, see Yoko Kamenaga Anzai, ‘Attitudes towards public debt in medieval Genoa: the Lomellini family’, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 29, issue 4, 2003.

³⁷ As for the testaments referring to the public debt, Ph. Argenti, *Chios*, vol. 3, n. 267, (27 Jun. 1456); A. Roccatagliata, *Pera*, n. 38, (17 Apri. 1453).

³⁸ For example, Niccolo Rocca orders to Pagano, a monk, to give his bequests to the captive of Pisa in Genoa. (M. Balard, *Sambuceto, Caffa, 1289-1290*, n. 742, (13 Jun. 1290).

³⁹ For example, in case in Famagusta, see V. Polonio, *Sambuceto, Cipro, 1301*, n. 126, (6 Sep. 1301). As an example in Caffa, G. I. Brătianu, *de Péra et de Caffa*, n. 228, (20 Jun. 1289).

atmosphere of the Genoese medieval colonial world.

I am preparing a further analysis of the Genoese colonial testaments from the content of properties and from the view of using a network system. At the conclusion of my analysis, the image of Genoese colonial society will become clearer.

It should be noted that this paper contains only general information. It is also to consider the characteristics of each colony and each period. This will be also an issue for future research.