

# From the treasure chest to the pope's soup. Coins, mints and the Roman Curia (1150–1305)

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## INTRODUCTION

I have been invited to the congress on »Die römische Kurie und das Geld« as ‘the scholar of the physical coins’, while most other participants most generally are familiar with the names of coins recorded in documents, and often these names meant moneys of account. Effective coins and written records must be studied together: archaeology can give us the coins (hopefully from good documented contexts) and we can arrive at important results by studying the finds. But the written evidence is crucial because it can give us the name of coins, or it can tell us something about the mints, the local monetary uses, values or circulation and a lot more. We must be aware, as I said, that written evidence mainly refers to moneys of account, but it may also offer details of a correspondence with effective coins: in this case a proper study is needed in order to understand what the effective coins might have been in any specific moment.

I will develop my paper in sections as follows:

- I. Money of account.
- II. The importance of coins and of numismatic research.
- III. Brief outline of monetary development in Europe (1150–1305).
- IV. Coins used and coins produced in Rome.
- V. Coins arriving to the Roman Curia: taxes, donations and pilgrims.
- VI. Ritual uses of coins and a papal soup.

## I. MONEY OF ACCOUNT

The topic of money of account is very complex and much debated by scholars of different fields, especially economic historians and numismatists<sup>1</sup>). In order to understand the na-

1) Luigi EINAUDI, *Teoria della moneta immaginaria nel tempo da Carlo Magno alla Rivoluzione francese*, in: *Rivista di storia economica* 1 (1936), p. 1–35; Carlo M. CIPOLLA, *Le avventure della lira*, Bologna 1975. See also Marc BLOCH, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe* (*Cahier des Annales* 9), Paris 1954;

ture of money of account we need to consider metrology and systems of account, and also the origin of money itself. All coins needed to be connected within a system of values made of abstract units, multiples and fractions. The Carolingian system was based on the pound (lira) of 20 solidi, the solidus of 12 *denarii* and the *denarius*, which was the only effective coin struck in silver. This system of account remained the basis of monetary systems in Europe and Northern Italy for centuries (in England until 1970). In the Norman Kingdom of Sicily the monetary system was based on the ounce of 30 gold *taris* and on the *tari* of 20 grains; gold *taris* were produced in the Kingdom until 1278, but after this date the *tari* and the ounce remained in use as money of account<sup>2</sup>).

Several scholars have considered money of account as an ‘invention’ or ‘necessity’ of the middle ages<sup>3</sup>), but in fact any coinage for whatever use needed a money of account. According to Crosby the more complex use of moneys of account is connected with the general development of quantifications in the 13th century whilst in the early middle ages »coins had little abstract value beyond the value of their metal«<sup>4</sup>). On the contrary, I believe that in the early middle ages the reduced use of effective coins did not reduce the

Frederic C. LANE/Reinhold C. MUELLER, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. 1, *Coins and moneys of account*, Baltimore/London 1985; Geoffrey INGHAM, *The Nature of Money*, Cambridge/Malden MA 2004.

For coins in written sources see Philip GRIERSON, *Les monnaies* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 21), Turnhout 1977. For exchange rates in medieval Europe see Peter SPUFFORD, *A Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 13), London 1986. The author offers here a large section on moneys of account between the late 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. For Italian monetary areas see Andrea SACCOCCI, *Moneta locale e moneta internazionale nelle fonti scritte medioevali. Problemi di interpretazione*, in: *Forme di contatto tra moneta locale e moneta straniera nel mondo antico*, ed. Giovanni GORINI, *Atti del convegno internazionale, Aosta 13–14 ottobre 1995*, Fondazione »Andrea Pautasso« per gli studi di numismatica, Padova 1998, p. 137–148, and Andrea SACCOCCI, *Billon and bullion. Local and foreign coins in Northern Italy (11th–15th centuries)*, in: *Moneta locale, moneta straniera: Italia ed Europa XI–XV secolo*, *The Second Cambridge Numismatic Symposium: Local Coins, Foreign coins: Italy and Europe 11th–15th centuries*, ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI (Collana di numismatica e scienze affini 2), Milan 1999, p. 41–65.

2) On the monetary system of the Kingdom of Sicily see Lucia TRAVAINI, *La monetazione nell’Italia normanna* (Nuovi Studi Storici 28), Roma 1995, p. 58–60, 73, 78; Lucia TRAVAINI, *La monetazione nell’Italia normanna*. Seconda edizione con aggiornamento e ristampa anastatica, Zürich/London 2016; Philip GRIERSON/Lucia TRAVAINI, *Medieval European Coinage. With a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Vol. 14, *Italy (III) (South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia)*, Cambridge 1998, p. 468 (uncia), 473 (*tari*). The theoretical weight of the Sicilian *taris* was originally 1.06 grams later reduced to 0.89 grams; however, the effective *taris* were struck at irregular weights, especially since the reign of William II, so that they had to be weighed in transactions, see TRAVAINI, *La monetazione*, pp. 133–140; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti e matematica. Le monete nei trattati di aritmetica e nei libri di mercatura*, Roma 2003, p. 54–56.

3) EINAUDI, *Teoria della moneta* (note 1), p. 17; INGHAM, *The Nature of Money* (note 1), p. 109–110.

4) Alfred W. CROSBY, *The Measure of Reality. Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600*, Cambridge 1997, p. 72.

need of an abstract system of values which money of account provided. It is true however that from the 13<sup>th</sup> century the increase in production and use of money in Europe determined the creation of many related moneys of account. Before coins were 'invented', money was originally an 'object' or 'good' of standard weight or measure, basis for monetary systems, such as the spit (= *obelos*) in the in the Greek world. Examples of units referring to balances are the Greek *stater* and *litra* and the Latin *statera* and *libra*. Before metallic coins, money of account was the basis of values of any given society. The early evidence of writing (circa 3200 BC) is largely related to administrative accounts expressed in a limited number of goods, mainly silver or cereals of a given measure, as money. Philip Grierson studied the origin of money carefully and found it strictly linked to religious aspects (gift exchange and sacrifice) and to the role of power (sovereignty – authority – law): from here he considered that the origin of money as system of values expressed in standard objects or goods had its root in the 'price of blood', meaning the value of man (for a ransom or compensation in a feud) and of woman (for marriage) developing much later in the invention of metallic coins<sup>5</sup>. Money as social relation of credit and debit is probably the best definition<sup>6</sup>.

In the later middle ages, the presence of many effective coins still had to be based on money of account. For example, 100 gold florins could be worth 99 and 7/8 florins of account if the effective coins were worn and had therefore a reduced weight (for this reason sealed bags of florins came in use, to avoid the need of weighing for each transaction of a large scale)<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, it is not realistic to imagine that a good coin could maintain its original value resisting the pressure of the metal market or that of other coins. It is true that moneys of account were complicated but they were needed. Some system of account was occasionally used to facilitate accounting in case of large sums<sup>8</sup>.

Money of account has been often defined as »moneta immaginaria«, at least from the first half of the 15th century in the 'pratica di mercatura' by pseudo-Chiarini: *...ed evvi anche a Vignone monete immaginate e non si vedeno...*; here he described in detail the monetary system in Avignon: »A Vignone si fanno pagamenti a lire, soldi, denari e mitte di grossi e a fiorini pitetti che 24 fanno un grosso e 12 grossi fanno un soldo e 20 soldi

5) Philip GRIERSON, The Origins of Money, in: ID., Scritti storici e numismatici (Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo. Collectanea 15), Spoleto 2001, p. 1–35, translated in Italian as *Le origini della moneta*, in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 102 (2001), p. 13–48.

6) Geoffrey INGHAM, Fundamentals of a theory of money: untangling Fine, Lapavitsas and Zelizer, in: *Economy and Society* 30/3 (2001), p. 304–323, quoting Grierson.

7) On sealed bags of gold coins see Richard A. GOLDTHWAITE, Il sistema monetario fino al 1600: pratica, politica, problematica, in: ID. / Giulio MANDICH, Studi sulla moneta fiorentina (sec. XIII–XVI) (Biblioteca storica toscana I/30), Firenze 1994, p. 9–106; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Monete e storia nell'Italia medievale*, Roma 2007, p. 99–100.

8) Lucia TRAVAINI, Un sistema di conto poco conosciuto: la 'mano da quattro', in: *Revue Numismatique* 153 (1998), p. 327–334.

fanno una lira di grossi, e 'l fiorino pitetto vale 12 grossi di mitte 24 il grosso cioè soldi 2, che tanto è a dire una mitta quanto uno denaro piccolo; ed evvi anche a Vignone monete immaginate e non si vedeno; chiamansi fiorini di camera che s'intende valere l'uno soldi 29 o grossi 14  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>9)</sup>. From this example we can better reflect on the relationship between monetary systems and moneys of account. A monetary system consists of an articulated number of denominations which are multiples or fractions of a given unit: in this system some denominations are also effective coins and some others are only moneys of account. The point here is to understand that even when effective coins were struck under a given name, the same name still had a role as money of account thus making it possible to compensate any physical change of the effective coin.

## II. THE IMPORTANCE OF COINS AND OF NUMISMATIC RESEARCH

Coins are important documents: they were mostly mass produced, durable, and were used in many ways. In a congress dedicated to the Roman Curia and money we may ask just to start what were the coins of the popes from 1150 to 1300. The mint of Rome was not active in 1150: its last coins known to us are silver *denari* issued in the names of Pope Benedict VII (974–83) with Emperor Otto II<sup>10)</sup>. The reason for ceasing production in around 980 was most likely economical since in that period *denari* from Pavia, Milan and Lucca were struck in great number and became acceptable in central Italy and so remained throughout the eleventh and beginning of twelfth centuries<sup>11)</sup>.

After a long gap the first papal coin, bearing a pope's name and image, to reappear in our catalogues is one of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), three centuries later: it bears the portrait of the pope and his name, but it was struck in Pont-de-Sorgues and not in Rome<sup>12)</sup>. Why? The pope was feudal lord in the Comtat Venaissin and could freely represent his face on a new denomination, while in Rome he did and could not. Changing the

9) Or this text see Franco BORLANDI, *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de' paesi*, Torino 1936, and TRAVAINI, *Monete mercanti* (note 2), p. 49, 164.

10) Philip GRIERSON/Mark BLACKBURN, *Medieval European Coinage with a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, Cambridge 1986, p. 266 and nos 1082–1083. We cannot exclude that some of these coins are actually of Benedict VI (973–4) with Otto I who died on 7 May 973 and/or with Otto II. Generally the legend on the coin does not specify the rulers' ordinal number.

11) For denari of Pavia and Lucca see Alessia ROVELLI, *Patrimonium Beati Petri. Emissione e circolazione monetaria nel Lazio settentrionale (XI-XIV secolo)*, in: *Annali dell'Istituto italiano di Numismatica* 55 (2009) [2010], p. 169–192; TRAVAINI, *Monete e storia* (note 7), p. 44–49.

12) ROVELLI, *Patrimonium* (note 11); Francesco MUNTONI, *Le monete dei papi e degli Stati Pontifici*, 4 volumes, Roma 1972, vol. I, p. 24 no.1 (as »grosso paparino«, but the coin is better defined as »grand denier«). Lucia TRAVAINI, *La numismatica e le monete all'epoca di Bonifacio VIII*, in: *Le culture di Bonifacio VIII, Atti del convegno, Bologna 13–15 dicembre 2004, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo (Bonifaciana 3)*, Roma 2006, p. 195–214.

iconography of established coins was always a very delicate matter, and more so in case of introducing a portrait<sup>13</sup>). The mint of Rome had been active since around 1184, was very important and so remained, but its coinage was issued in the name of the Roman Senate and not of the pope<sup>14</sup>). Only Pope Urban V (1362–70) introduced new types with his name and image, dropping the name of the Roman Senate<sup>15</sup>).



Fig. 1: Comtat Venaissin, mint of Pont-de-Sorgues, Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), silver »grand denier«. Obverse: + DOMINI – BO<sup>s</sup> PAPE, Bust holding key. Reverse: + COITAT<sup>s</sup> VENAUSIN, Cross with B' in second quarter. (1.18 g, 21 mm; iNumis, mail bid sale 12, 22 October 2010, no. 902).

In our work as numismatists we need: 1, to identify the physical coins; 2, to understand their context analyzing the evidence of coin finds locally and regionally; 3, to investigate the written evidence possibly related to them<sup>16</sup>).

13) On medieval portrait coins and their rules: Lucia TRAVAINI, *I capelli di Carlo il Calvo. Indagine sul ritratto monetale nell'Europa medievale*, Roma 2013.

14) MUNTONI, *Le monete dei papi* (note 12) vol IV. William R. DAY JR, *Antiquity, Rome and Florence; coinage and transmission across time and space*, in: *Rome Across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500–1400*, ed. by Claudia BOLGIA/Rosamond McKITTERICK/John OSBORN, Cambridge 2011, p. 237–261, at p. 240; on the types see DAY, *Antiquity, Rome*, p. 240–242.

15) MUNTONI, *Le monete dei papi* (note 12) vol. I, p. 30; TRAVAINI, *I capelli di Carlo il Calvo* (note 13), p. 215, notes 37, 39.

16) For a synthesis of the methods of research on medieval coins see Philip GRIERSON, *Numismatics and the historian* (Presidential Address, Royal Numismatic Society), in: *Numismatic Chronicle 7<sup>th</sup> series II* (1962), p. i–xiv; Philip GRIERSON, *The interpretation of coin finds, 1* (Presidential Address, Royal Numismatic Society), in: *Numismatic Chronicle 7<sup>th</sup> series V* (1965), p. i–xiii, and GRIERSON, *The interpretation of coin finds, 2* (Presidential Address, Royal Numismatic Society), in: *Numismatic Chronicle 7<sup>th</sup> series VI* (1966), p. i–xv (reprinted respectively in Philip GRIERSON, *Later Medieval Numismatics, 11th–16th*

One important point in our research is the topic of local coins and foreign coins. Any monetary area consisted of a main currency of a leading mint and a few other ones based on the same metrological standard so that they were admitted to circulate together. Foreign coins were in principle excluded and they had to be exchanged at a given rate if one needed to spend money locally<sup>17</sup>). An interesting example of this is offered by the travel accounts of Wolfger von Erla, bishop of Passau, from which I will quote here part of his travel in Italy in 1204, from April 1 to July 30<sup>18</sup>). At the start of the journey the bishop had plenty of money with him, in coins and ingots, some of which he exchanged as the travel went on. Among the coins he had with him there were Friesacher pennies, very good silver coins, well documented in north-eastern Italy, which he used for example for payments in Treviso<sup>19</sup>).

In Padua he gave 32 *solidi veneti* to various *istriones*. These coins were small *denari* of Verona and Venice, of much lesser value than those of Friesach. On 18 April, Palm Sunday, in Ferrara he gave 5 *solidi mezanorum* to an old juggler and used the same coins for other payments. Hedwig Heger identified these *mezani* as coins of Padua but this is hardly possible since the mint of Padua only opened in around 1270<sup>20</sup>). The mint of Fer-

centuries, Selected Studies, London 1979, nos. XVIII, XXI, XXII); TRAVAINI, *Monete e storia* (note 7), chapters 4 and 5.

17) See contributions in: *Moneta locale, moneta straniera Italia ed Europa XI-XV secolo* (note 1); also Peter SPUFFORD, *Local coins, and foreign coins in late medieval Europe*, in: XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress, Berlin 1997, *Akten-Proceedings-Actes*, ed. by Bernd KLUGE/Bernhard WEISSER, Berlin 2000, p. 1078–1084; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Moneta locale e moneta straniera nell'Europa medievale: risultati, problemi e prospettive della ricerca*, in: *Circulation monétaire régionale et supra-régionale: Actes du troisième colloque international du Groupe suisse pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires* (Berne, 3–4 mars 2000) ed. by Harald R. DERSCHKA/Isabella LIGGI/Gilles PERRET, Lausanne 2002, p. 57–76.

18) See Hedwig HEGER, *Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide. Die Reiserechnungen des Passauer Bischofs Wolfger von Erla*, Vienna 1970; for the Italian part here considered see p. 93. For the text see also: *Reiserechnungen Wolfgers von Ellenbrechtskirchen, Bischofs von Passau, Patriarch von Aquileja. Ein Beitrag zur Walterfrage*, ed. by Ignaz v. ZINGERLE, Heilbronn 1877.

19) On coins of Friesach see contributions in: *Die Friesacher Münze im Alpen-Adria-Raum, Akten der Friesacher Sommerakademie Friesach (Kärnten)*, 14. bis 18. September 1992 – *La moneta frisacense nell'Alpe Adria, Atti del convegno internazionale Friesach (Carinzia)*, 14–18 settembre 1992, ed. by Reinhard HÄRTEL in collaboration with Markus J. WENNINGER, Graz 1996; Andrea SACCOCCI, *Contributi di storia monetaria delle regioni adriatiche settentrionali, (secoli X-XV)*, (*Numismatica Patavina* 3), Padova 2004, *passim*.

20) HEGER, *Lebenszeugnis* (note 18), p. 131 note 126. For the mint of Padua: Marco BAZZINI/Federico PIGOZZO, Padova, in: *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità*, ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI, Roma 2011, p. 961. For Verona: Helmut RIZZOLLI/ Federico PIGOZZO, *Der Veroneser Währungsraum, Verona und Tirol*, Bozen 2015, and *La Collezione di Vittorio Emanuele III. La monetazione di Verona*, a cura di Andrea SACCOCCI, in: *Bollettino di Numismatica on line, Materiali* 29 (2015).

rara was instead active from at least 1183 but its coins were not *mezani*; the *mezani* here should be intended as Lombard half *denari imperiales* (new coins of Milan, Cremona, Brescia and other mints)<sup>21</sup>.



Fig. 2: Bologna, Republic 1191–1337, denaro bolognino. Obverse: ENRICVS, in field I P R T. Reverse: + °BO°NO°NI°, in field A. (0.50 g; 15 mm; Private collection)

On 21 April in Bologna he paid small sums of money in *denari* of Bologna (the mint opened in 1191) but he got some clothes from Normandy exchanging two and a half marks of silver (probably ingots). On 25 April, Easter Sunday, in Florence he gave coins of Verona and Friesach (the mint of Florence was still closed, only opened in 1236, and in 1204 denari of Pisa were the local coins).

In Siena on 27 April he paid *denari* of Siena to singers, jugglers and a poor man. The local mint became active in 1180. Payments in *denari* of Siena are also documented at Radicofani, Acquapendente and Viterbo, but in Acquapendente he gave alms in coins of Verona, and the same he used to pay singers in Sutri.

In Rome he used various currencies but the most frequent ones are the *provisini* – Heger identified them as *provisini* of Champagne – however this identification can be true for the original *provisini* of Champagne which circulated widely in Latium from the mid twelfth century until circa 1190 but not for 1204 when the *provisini* were those produced by the mint of Rome which was opened in circa 1184. In the text these are quoted as *provisenses* and Heger stressed that it is an unusual form, but it may have been used as a contraction of *provisini senatus*. The Roman *provisini* were in fact issued in the name of the Roman Senate<sup>22</sup>.

21) The fact that here we are dealing with half *imperialis* and not half denario can be confirmed by Federico Pigozzo, *Origini e prima diffusione del denaro crociato veronese (secc. XII-XIII)*, in: *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* 38 (2009), p. 311–330, at p. 315.



Fig. 3: Siena, Republic, early 12th century-1390, denaro. Obverse: SENA VETVS, in field reversed S. Reverse: ALFA ET  $\Omega$ , cross. (0.69 g; 16 mm; Classical Numismatic Group, electronic auction 331, 23 July 2014, no. 455).

I will not comment further entries from the travel accounts but it seems to me quite apparent that during his journey, where a local mint was active, the local *denari* were given and most preferably to lesser people. Where local coins were available, payments in other currencies were made to more important people who could more easily exchange them in local coins if needed.

Occasionally, however, foreign coins could become ‘local’ if the local system lacked that specific denomination. This happened in Rome with the *provisini* of Champagne in around 1150–1190 and again with the *gros tournois* in around 1280–1300, as we shall see later.

The rule that normally wanted local coins to be used in each given monetary area does not apply necessarily to ritual offerings. A very special example of this case comes from the excavations of the years 1940–1949 under the altar (Confessione) of St Peter’s in the Vatican, near the tomb of the saint. A total of around 1900 coins were found, 812 ancient Roman ones, the rest are 628 Italian and 460 foreign coins, from the eight to the fifteenth century. The foreign coins are from France, Germany, Low Countries, Spain, England, Bohemia, Livonia, Hungary, Slavonia<sup>23</sup>). At least some of these must have been inten-

22) HEGER, *Lebenszeugnis* (note 18), p. 133 note 142, based on the works by Du Cange and Lodovico Antonio Muratori. The name *provisini* derives from the mint of Provins. For the *provisini* of the Roman mint see below.

23) These data are taken from Camillo SERAFINI, *Le monete in*: BRUNO MARIA APOLLONJ GHETTI/ANTONIO FERRUA/ENRICO JOSI/ENGELBERT KIRSCHBAUM, *Esplosioni sotto la Confessione della Basilica di San Pietro*



tionally brought and kept by the pilgrims with the intention to offer a personal token of identity and memory in the form of coins »of their own country«. Pilgrims traveled at great risk to reach a shrine and to pray there. The memory of the journey would always remain with them, a spiritual and physical experience that brought them closer to God, whatever their beliefs were. It would seem quite reasonable to imagine that once at the end of their long journey pilgrims wanted to touch the shrine of the saint to have a physical contact, and make it last by offering something of themselves. Coins proved to be very important for this purpose, being small and durable, bearing the images of one's own country, and therefore ideal tokens of identity and personal memory to leave behind, attached to the shrine, to a saint's body or icon<sup>24</sup>). Coins thus offered by pilgrims were usually small value coins, available to all, good coins for their moral value and for personal memory if identified as »one's everyday coin«, so that the moment of the offering was most likely connected with a prayer or an *ex-voto*<sup>25</sup>).

The offering of low-value coins is described exactly for the Jubilee year of 1300. Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi reported that in that year the altar of St Peter collected 30 thousand florins, and the altar of St Paul 21 thousand florins, and this sum was not made of large gifts of gold or silver, but of small coins currently used in all Christian provinces<sup>26</sup>).

in Vaticano, Città del Vaticano 1951, p. 225–244, and will be revised in Ermanno A. ARSLAN / Giancarlo ALTERI (Eds.), *Le monete della tomba di San Pietro*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, forthcoming. Among the finds there was also one gold tremissis of Charles the Great recently published by Ermanno A. ARSLAN, *Il dono di re Carlo all'apostolo Pietro: un tremisse d'oro*, in: *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*. Quaderni Ticinesi 37 (2008), p. 377–406.

24) See also Lucia TRAVAINI, *Saints and sinners: coins in medieval Italian graves*, in: *Numismatic Chronicle* 164 (2004), p. 159–181, at p. 172–174; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Saints, sinners and ... a cow: interpreting coins in ritual contexts*, in: *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. by Giles GASPER/Svein GULLBEKK, Farnham, UK, – Burlington, USA, 2015, p. 209–221; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete: temi, problemi, interpretazioni*, in: *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete. I Trenta denari di Giuda*, ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI, Roma 2009, p. 13–61, at p. 35–38.

25) See Lucia TRAVAINI, *Le monete a Fontana di Trevi: storia di un rito*, in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 101 (2000), p. 251–259; TRAVAINI, *Saints and sinners* (note 24), p. 172; TRAVAINI, *Saints, sinners and ... a cow* (note 24); Lucia TRAVAINI, *Il lato buono delle monete: devozione, miracoli e insolite reliquie*, Bologna 2013, p. 19 f.; Gabriella PICCINNI/Lucia TRAVAINI, *Il Libro del pellegrino* (Siena, 1382–1446). *Affari, uomini, monete nell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala* (Nuovo Medioevo 71), Napoli 2003, p. 91–94. On coins as identity in the middle ages see Lucia TRAVAINI, *Coins and Identity: from the Mint to Paradise*, in: *Decoding Medieval Sources: Money and Coinage*, ed. by Rory NAISMITH, Brill, forthcoming.

26) *Quae celeberrima toto terrarum orbe altaria, singulis iam dudum annis, ex peregrinantium oblatiis Apostolorum Principis Florinorum auri... afferebant, milia triginta Principis circiter unum et viginti milia Doctoris hoc centesimo repulere, non ex magnis auri vel argenti donis, sed ex usualis monete provintie cuiusque minutis...*: text from Arsenio FRUGONI, *Il giubileo di Bonifacio VIII*, in: *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 62 (1950), pp. 1–121 (new edition by Amedeo DE VINCENTIS, Bari 1999), quoted also in TRAVAINI, *Valori e disvalori: temi* (note 24), p. 37 and TRAVAINI, *Saints and sinners* (note 24), p. 174.



Fig. 4a: Venice, Republic, Doge Pietro Ziani (1205–1229), silver grosso. Obverse: +P ZIANI / DVX / S M VENETI, saint Mark offering banner to the doge. Reverse: Christ in throne. (2.10 g; 21 mm; Numismatic Lanz München, auction 152, 1 July 2011, no. 4).

Another task of our research is that of investigating closely the written evidence to evaluate the coin names used in any given period. I will refer later to different sources, but here I have two recommendations for editors of documents: 1, provide indexes of coin names; 2, comment coin names using updated glossaries. Updating is a continuous work of research. In the book *Monete mercanti e matematica* of 2003 I edited medieval lists of coins from books of mathematics and from merchants' books dated from 1280 to the mid fifteenth century, and I added a glossary at the end<sup>27</sup>. A list of c. 1302 from a treaty of arithmetics mentioned *bruscoli contrafatti a Viniziani*. In 2003 I was unable to identify them but later I discovered that the *bruscoli* were Serbian imitations of *grossi* of Venice taking their name from the Serbian silver mines of Brskova, and known in other sources as *moneta de Brescoa* or *denarii de Brescoa de bandera*, documented in the 1290s<sup>28</sup>.

27) TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (note 2). Other glossaries are in: Peter SPUFFORD, *Money and its use in medieval Europe*, Cambridge 1988, p. 397–410; Philip GRIERSON, *Coins in medieval Europe*, London 1991, p. 217–228; Marc BOMPAIRE/Françoise DUMAS, *Numismatique médiévale. Monnaies et documents d'origine française* (L'atelier du médiéviste 7), Turnhout 2000, p. 547–563. It would be an enormous task to produce a comprehensive and systematic glossary of coin names in medieval documents to up-date the old Charles DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Editio nova, ed. by Léopold FAVRE, Niort 1883–1887. An old but still valuable glossary is Edoardo MARTINORI, *La moneta. Vocabolario generale*, Roma 1915.

28) In 1310 king Milutin replaced the banner with a cross and these are the *denarii de Brescoua de cruce* while King Dragutin introduced a new type with the king holding a sword: Vujadin IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije – Serbian Medieval Coinage*, Beograd 2001, p. 203, 206.



Fig. 4b: Serbia, Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), silver gros. Obverse: S STEFAN' / VROSIVS/ REX, saint offering banner to the king. Reverse: Christ in throne. (1.88 g; 19 mm; Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., auction 121, 14 June 2014, no. 712).

I have already mentioned Heger's wrong interpretation of the *mezani* and *provisini*. I can also mention the outdated interpretation of the *malechini* in the *Liber Censuum*, where they were identified as gold coins of Norman Sicily currently known as *tareni* or *taris*. This interpretation went back to Lodovico Antonio Muratori and was due to the fact that Norman Sicilian *taris* bear the name of the kings in Arabic with the title of *al-malek* for 'king'<sup>29</sup>; such identification was still accepted by Pierre Toubert in 1973<sup>30</sup>. However, the same *Liber Censuum*, in the table of correspondence between old and new coins compiled in 1363 (*evaluaciones censuales apostolicæ*)<sup>31</sup>, offers a clear distinction between the *malechini* and the Sicilian gold *tareni*, where the former referred to gold coins issued from the mid twelfth century by the Almoravids in Malaga, from which the name was derived. Other sources refer to them as *morabetini malequini*<sup>32</sup>. I will mention more *malechini* later.

29) Le *Liber Censuum* de l'Église Romaine, ed. by Paul FABRE/Louis DUCHESNE, vol. I, Paris 1910, p. 6 note 1.

30) Pierre TOUBERT, *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, I, (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 221), Rome 1973, p. 621 and note 2. For the *taris* see TRAVAINI, *La monetazione* (note 2).

31) *Liber Censuum*, (note 29), p. 74–75. In the same year 1363 the Statute of Rome was issued: see below.

32) GRIERSON/TRAVAINI, *Medieval European Coinage* (note 2), p. 466; Felipe MATEU Y LOPES, *Glosario hispánico de numismática*, Barcelona 1946, p. 110. Edoardo MARTINORI, *La moneta* (note 27), p. 262, interpreted them as gold coins of the Almohads, the Islamic dynasty who defeated the Almoravids in 1147.

### III. BRIEF OUTLINE OF MONETARY DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE (1150–1305)

From some time around the mid twelfth century the discovery of new sources of silver came together with the expanded economy which implied the need to produce more coins. Production of coins increased dramatically and in some areas this also meant an increase in the number of mints.

In Italy until around 1138 only a few mints in the Regnum Italicum were active: Pavia, Milan, Verona, Lucca and Venice. Things changed starting with 1138 when Conrad III granted mint privileges to Genoa, and soon after to Asti and Piacenza. From then on more mints were opened and the increase in activity rose<sup>33</sup>). In some areas, on the contrary, coin production became more centralized, such as in the Kingdom of Sicily, or in England from 1279. Other parts of Europe produced coins in several mints, feudal or royal, but the increase in production was more or less constant in Europe in the same period. There was of course in each country a limited number of very important mints which produced large quantity of coins and minor mints with a more local activity. The coins produced in the main mints circulated widely regionally becoming also the main money of account. Their name also therefore took over in our documents, and when sums of money of account are expressed in *librae*, *solidi* (shillings) and *denari* of some city we do not really know which coins were actually used for the payment. There are lucky exceptions in our documents, however, where the effective coins are mentioned and on these documents our numismatic work finds some light.

Until the end of the twelfth century only one type of coin was issued, the silver *denarius*. The original Carolingian *denarius* of the late eighth century had a very high silver content which was gradually debased. Most *denari* in the twelfth century had a rather low silver content, with the exception of the English *sterlini* which kept a very high silver standard and did circulate over Europe and the East Mediterranean as a strong international currency<sup>34</sup>).

By the end of the twelfth century the volume of monetary exchanges and the debasement of deniers gradually determined the need of more valuable coins such as the silver *grossi*. Venice in 1194 was the first mint to produce a silver *grosso* of almost pure silver weighing 2.18 g, worth initially two *solidi* (24 *denari*) or probably 26 *denari*<sup>35</sup>). Other

33) For Italy see *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità*, ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI, Roma 2011, main chapters and dedicated entries to each mint by different authors. For Europe see SPUFFORD, *Money and its use* (note 27).

34) See for example the quantity of *sterlini* used in Venice in 1202 and the many ones that were from Venice exported to Constantinople: Lucia TRAVAINI, *La Quarta Crociata e la monetazione nell'area mediterranea*, in: *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino*, ed. by Gherardo ORTALLI/Giorgio RAVEGNANI/Peter SCHREINER, Venezia 2006, p. 541 note 62; SPUFFORD, *Money and its use*, (note 27) p. 152–153.

35) On the *grosso* of Venice see Alan M. STAHL, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore, London and New York 2000; Alan M. STAHL, *The coinage of Venice in the Age of Enrico Dandolo*, in: *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. by Ellen E. KITTEL/Thomas F. MADDEN, Urbana 1999, p. 124–40;

mints soon introduced their own *grossi*, but the date of their introduction is not always certain. Their use, in fact, does not always appear in written sources unless they specify terms such as *denarii grossi*. The first heavy coin in France was the gros tournois of King Louis IX in 1266<sup>36</sup>).



Fig. 5: France, Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314), silver gros tournois à l'O rond. Obverse: + BNDICTV SIT NOME DNI NRI DEI IVXRI / + PHILIPPVS REX, cross. Reverse: + TVRONVS CIVIS, châtel . (4.10 g; 25 mm; Auktionshaus H.D. Rauch GmbH, auction 95, 30 September 2014, no. 1132).

Border areas such as Sicily and Southern Italy, or Spain, remained linked to Byzantine and Islamic traditions and never interrupted producing gold coins. Norman Sicilian *taris* were used mainly in the Kingdom but are also documented in Egypt and the Holy Land. With Emperor Frederick II Sicilian gold coins are documented both in finds and documents north of the Kingdom. These Sicilian gold coins were *taris* (spent by weight) with a gold content of 16  $\frac{1}{3}$  carats, and, from 1231, *augustales* of regular weight (5.25 g) with a gold content of 20  $\frac{1}{2}$  carats<sup>37</sup>). The true return to gold coins in medieval Europe started in Genoa and Florence in 1252. Unlike the Sicilian ones, the new coins of these cities were made of pure gold (24 carats) and had a regular weight of 3.53 g, so that they could be

Alan M. STAHL, The Grosso of Enrico Dandolo, in: *Revue belge de numismatique* 145 (1999), pp. 261–268. It is possible that Genoa started earlier with *grossi* of 4 deniers or 6 deniers: Monica BALDASSARRI, Le monete della Repubblica di Genova dal 1139 al 1814, in: *Il patrimonio artistico di Banca Carige. Monete, pesi e bilance monetali*, ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI, Cinisello Balsamo 2010, p. 34–47, at p. 36.

36) For an overview on the silver *grossi* in Europe see Philip GRIERSON, The origins of the grosso and of gold coinage in Italy, in: *Numismaticky Sbornik* 12 (1971), p. 33–44, in need of much revision; Michael MATZKE, Beginn und Frühzeit der Grosso-Prägung im Königreich Italien (Ende 12. bis Mitte 13. Jahrhundert), in: *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997, Akten- Proceedings- Actes*, ed. by Bernd KLUGE/Bernhard WEISSER, Berlin 2000, p. 1045–1053, updates Grierson's text in part but some of the proposed chronologies also need revision. For Italian mints see entries in: *Le zecche italiane* (note 33).

37) GRIERSON/TRAVAINI, *Medieval European* (note 2), p. 168–170, 172–179.

spent by number<sup>38</sup>). Gold coins of similar weight but sometimes less fine were soon produced by other Italian mints: Lucca, and even Rome in the 1270s as we shall see. Venice struck its ducats only from 1285<sup>39</sup>).



Fig. 6: Kingdom of Sicily, mint of Messina, Emperor Frederick II (1197–1250), gold augustalis, from 1231. Obverse: IMP ROM CESAR AVG B, bust right. Reverse: + FRIDE RICVS, eagle. (5.27 g; 19 mm; Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge).

#### IV. COINS USED AND PRODUCED IN ROME

It is important to distinguish between coins circulating and coins produced in any given place.

There was no active mint in Rome until around 1184/1186. Between 1150 and 1184 foreign deniers were in local use, namely *provisini* of Champagne. These are first documented in Rome in 1154 or 1156 and from the 1160s they were used in most payments; they spread in other parts of Latium<sup>40</sup>). Denari of Lucca were also circulating in Rome,

38) The florin of Florence eventually became the most successful one in Europe, and was widely imitated in other mints from around the 1320s: SPUFFORD, *Money* (note 27), p. 176 f.; GRIERSON, *Coins in medieval* (note 27), p. 109–110.

39) TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (note 2), p. 40, 77.

40) TOUBERT, *Structures* (note 30) p. 580–583. *Provisini* and other French feudal coins were also largely used in the Kingdom of Sicily until circa 1195, see Lucia TRAVAINI, *Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia: problemi di datazione*, in: *Revue Numismatique* 154 (1999), p. 211–229; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Romesinas, provesini, turonenses...: monete straniere in Italia meridionale e in Sicilia (XI–XV sec.)*, in: *Moneta locale, moneta straniera: Italia ed Europa XI–XV secolo* (note 1), p. 113–134; Alessia ROVELLI, Pa-

but had a lower value<sup>41</sup>; they circulated more widely north of Rome and were the main currency in many areas of Tuscany, Umbria and Marche around 1200<sup>42</sup>.

Sometimes between 1184 and 1186 the mint of Rome was opened again and produced *denari* imitating the *provisini*. The first types were *denari* issued by the Roman Prefect Pietro di Vico, maintaining the main type of Champagne but changing the legends and some details. On one side the legend was PETRVS DEI GRATIA around cross in field and on the other the legend was PREFECTVS VRBIS around comb surmounted by T between crescents. The following types were issued in the name of the Roman Senate. On the obverse the legend was SENATVS P Q R around a cross; on the reverse the legend was ROMA CAPVT MVN[DI] around a comb surmounted by an S. The first literary evidence to Roman *denari* refers to them simply as *denari*; from 1188 we find them as *denari Senatus*, and from 1191 *provisini Senatus*<sup>43</sup>.

The Roman *provisini* had a slightly lower silver content than those of Champagne and this determined what Pierre Toubert defined »one of the first evidence of the Gresham law«, according to which »bad money drives out good money«<sup>44</sup>. Normally the best quality coins were selected, hoarded, and were possibly exported or sold to the mint so

trimonium Beati Petri. Emissione e circolazione monetaria nel Lazio settentrionale (XI-XIV secolo), in: Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica 55 (2009) [2010], p. 171–194.

41) TOUBERT, Structures (note 30) p. 580–582 ; ROVELLI, Patrimonium (note 40).

42) ROVELLI, Patrimonium (note 40). *Denari* of Lucca were deposited in the grave of St Francis of Assisi: see below.

43) TOUBERT, Structures (note 30), p. 596, proposed to date the opening of the Roman mint in 1176–77. The date of 1184 had been proposed with large evidence by Vincenzo CAPOBIANCHI, Appunti per servire all'ordinamento delle monete coniate dal Senato Romano dal 1184 al 1439, in: Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria 18 (1895), p. 417–445, and 19 (1896), p. 75–123. The date 1184 is followed by Sandro CAROCCI, Pontificia o comunale? Note sulla monetazione romana (fine XII-metà XIV secolo), in: Scritti per Isa. Raccolta di studi offerti a Isa Lori Sanfilippo, ed. by Antonella MAZZON (Nuovi studi storici 76), Roma 2008, p. 157–172. A date between 1184 and 1188 is proposed by Lucia TRAVAINI, Monetazione a nome del Senato Romano, in: Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità (note 9), p. 1079. Angelo FINETTI, I denari provisini del Senato Romano, I (Dalle origini a Carlo d'Angiò), [unpublished work, written in the 1990s] demonstrated that the mint of Rome opened in 1184 with denari issued by the Roman Prefect Pietro di Vico: see MUNTONI, Le monete dei papi (note 12), vol. IV, p. 179 no. 1 but with wrong date). Pietro's *denarius* imitated the *provisini* of Champagne without any indication of the Roman Senate, stating his name in the legend around the comb PREFECTVS VRBIS. Recently William R. Day Jr has dated these coins to 1186–7, at the very beginning of Pietro's tenure of office (1186–1228), proposing that the *provisini* type with S in field would have been struck only after 1188: DAY JR, Antiquity (note 14), p. 237–261, at p. 240.

44) TOUBERT, Structures (note 30), p. 595; Pierre TOUBERT, Une des premières vérifications de la loi de Gresham: la circulation monétaire dans l'État pontifical vers 1200, in: Revue numismatique 6<sup>th</sup> series 15 (1973), p. 180–189. On the Gresham law see the contributions in: I ritrovamenti monetali e la Legge di Gresham, Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria (Padova, 28–29 ottobre 2005), ed. by Michele ASOLATI/Giovanni GORINI, Padova 2006; also Adriano SAVIO, Le tre cosiddette Leggi di Gresham, in: Rivista Italiana di Numismatica 109 (2008), p. 491–524.



Fig. 7: Counts of Champagne, mint of Provins, Thibaut II, denaro provisino. Obverse: + TEBAT COMES, cross with pellet in first and fourth quarters, alpha in third and omega in second. Reverse: CASTRI PRVVINS, T above comb. (1.02 g; 20 mm; iNumis mail bid sale 8, 20 March 2009, no. 780).



Fig. 8: Rome, circa 1184–1250, denaro provisino. Obverse: SENATVS · P · Q · R, cross in field, with omega, alpha, pellet, star in quarters. Reverse: ROMA CAPVT MVI, in field S above comb. (0.95 g; 18 mm; Münzen & Medaillen GmbH, auction 26, 27 May 2008, no. 10).

that the new coins became very quickly dominant in circulation. Some documents prove that until circa 1190 the old *provisini* of Champagne were occasionally still preferred in payments; exchange between the new Roman *denari* with the better old ones was 3 to 2<sup>45)</sup>. The earliest types of Roman *provisini* occasionally circulated in central Italy alongside those of Champagne<sup>46)</sup>, but it is possible that this was more difficult in Rome where only

45) TOUBERT, *Structures* (note 30), p. 598.

46) DAY JR, *Antiquity* (note 14), p. 239.



the local ones must have been imposed<sup>47</sup>). So, from the 1190s the number of the old types in circulation was significantly reduced, although some rare charters still regulated purchases of land property in old *provisini* in the years 1211–12<sup>48</sup>). No *provisini* of Champagne later than 1197 are documented in Rome or other parts of Italy, and they may actually all be dated before 1180. Those of the latest type circulating in Rome were known as *de flore*, having a Y between two crescents<sup>49</sup>).

It is now time to ask what was the role of the pope in the business of the Roman mint. The issue has been much debated in the past. Some scholars believed that the Commune was autonomous in the activity and that the marks of the later silver *grossi* referred to the Senators<sup>50</sup>); according to others, on the contrary, the pope was always in charge somehow, and the marks on the *grossi* were attributed to mint magistrates<sup>51</sup>). There are no marks on the *provisini*. After the minor coin production of the Prefect Pietro di Vico, the initiative for the massive production of the senatorial *provisini* was most likely senatorial and must have been stimulated by the Roman merchants who had competence and skills to organize an important mint, on the model of the many other new mints recently opened in Italy<sup>52</sup>). Only in 1188 we find a strong papal presence in the peace treaty between Pope Clement III and the Senate, where the mint appears with the city herself among the prerogatives of the pope. The text is as follows: the Senate returned to the pope »the Senate, the city, and the mint« keeping though one third of the income from the mint (*reddimus vobis senatum, et Urbem ac monetam; tamen de moneta habebimus tertiam partem*)<sup>53</sup>).

The following papal intervention is a letter of Pope Innocent III of 1208 in which he ordered that the entire province of Campagna should use only the Roman *provisini*, here defined *nostram monetam quam vulgo dicitur de senatus*, and the old *provisini de flore*

47) For lists of hoards see DAY Jr., *Antiquity* (note 14), p. 238 note 5; TRAVAINI, *Provisini di Champagne* (note 40), p. 211–229, at p. 217.

48) TOUBERT, *Structures* (note 30), p. 600.

49) TRAVAINI, *Provisini di Champagne* (note 40), p. 217.

50) CAPOBIANCHI, *Appunti* (note 43); and now also CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p. 160–163.

51) Philip GRIERSON, *I grossi senatoriali di Roma, 1253–1363, parte I: Dal 1253 al 1282*, in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 58 (1956), p. 36–69 (part two was never published); Camillo SERAFINI, *L'autorità pontificia nelle monete del Senato Romano*, in: *Atti e Memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 1 (1913), p. 129–141.

52) On the Roman merchants see Marco VENDITTELLI, *Mercanti romani del primo Duecento »in Urbe potentes«*, in: *Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV. Cinque saggi*, ed. by Étienne HUBERT, Roma 1993, p. 87–135; Sandro CAROCCI/ Marco VENDITTELLI, *Società ed economia (1050–1420)*, in: *Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi: Roma Medievale*, ed. by André VAUCHEZ, Rome/Bari 2001, p. 7–116.

53) Text from Franco BARTOLONI, *Codice diplomatico del Senato romano dal MCXLIV al MCCCXLVII*, 1, Roma 1948, pp. 69–74. Comments and more bibliography on the historical period in: CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43). Also TOUBERT, *Structures* (note 30) p. 600 note 2; GRIERSON, *I grossi* (note 51). DAY Jr., *Antiquity* (note 14), dates the type with S in field after this peace treaty, by the text makes clear that the Senate had anyway taken an initiative in the activity of the mint before the pope.

should not be admitted into circulation; *censi* previously fixed in *provisini* of Champagne should be settled at the value of 16 Roman *provisini* for 12 of Champagne<sup>54</sup>). Sandro Carocci recently observed that from this document the pope appears in total control of the mint, and this corresponds to the stronger level of the papal power reached at the time<sup>55</sup>). The fact remains that the coins continued to be struck in the name of the Senate and that the pope and the Senate shared the income from the profit of the mint<sup>56</sup>).

Roman *provisini* went on being produced with immobilized types for over two centuries, with just small varieties which can help a better dating. Only those of Charles of Anjou as senator and of Cola di Rienzo bear their names<sup>57</sup>). In 1253 under Senator Brancalone d'Andalò silver *grossi* were issued for the first time, really impressive in their iconography, with the personification of Rome as empress in throne holding globe and palm; on the other side the lion is the symbol of the city. Another important aspect of these *grossi* is their weight (circa 3.38 g), much heavier than that of *grossi* of most other

54) Augustin THEINER, *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil de documents pour servir à l'histoire du gouvernement temporel des États du Saint-Siège, extraits des archives du Vatican*, vol. I, Roma 1861, p. 42 no. 52; TOUBERT, *Structures* (note 30), p. 598.

55) CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p. 165. DAY Jr., *Antiquity* (note 14), however, dates to 1188 the very beginning of the production of such senatorial *provisini* and attributing it entirely to papal initiative: in this case it seems somehow strange not to find any minimal papal reference on the coins.

56) This emerges also from a text related to the Roman rebellion against the pope of 1234. Details quoted by CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p. 165–166.

57) The chronology of Roman *provisini* has been improved recently on the basis of finds and of literary evidence, see Angelo FINETTI, *I provisini romani del primo giubileo*, in: *Anno 1300. Il primo giubileo in Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo*, catalogo della mostra, ed. by Marina RIGHETTI TOSTI-CROCE, Milan 2000, p. 188–189; Angelo FINETTI, *I denari provisini* (note 43); Adolfo SISSIA/Alessandro GIARANTE, *Il denaro provisino e le fasi iniziali della zecca senatoriale medievale di Roma*, in: *Panorama Numismatico* 281 (2013), p. 23–31, and 282 (2013), p. 15–28; Lucia TRAVAINI/Monica BALDASSARI/Adolfo SISSIA, in: ARSLAN/ALTIERI, *Confessione*, forthcoming (note 23). *Provisini* of the time of Charles of Anjou are listed with details in the coin-list from the *Pratica della mercatura* di Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: *Provigiani di Roma, onc.3 den. 15 1/2*; *Provigiani nuovi di Roma fatti nel 1270, a onc. 3 den. 9 1/2*; *Provigiani fatti nel tempo del re Carlo, a onc. 3 den. 4*; *Provigiani fatti in Roma nel 1280, a onc. 2 den. 8*; *Provigiani nuovi di Roma fatti nel 1285, che anno 2 punti nella +, onc.2 den. 1*. Cf. TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (note 2), p. 119–120, 129–130. The same list mentions also *provisini di santo fatti dopo il re Carlo, a onc. 2 den. 20*, these should be read as *de Senato* instead of *santo* and can probably be dated after 1278. CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p. 160, following Grierson, identifies them with coins bearing on one side a head (St Peter?) and on the other the keys, but these rare coins are silver *grossi* and the content on 2 ounces 20 *denari* given by the list means less than 25% silver, much too low for a *grosso*, so they must be some type of *provisini*. Charles of Anjou was senator of Rome from 1256 to 1266, then from 1268 to 1278, and finally from 1281 to 1284: it seems that most of his Roman coinage should be attributed to his second senatorial appointment because after 1278 the papal control over coinage increased. On *provisini* del Senato see: MUNTONI, *Le monete* (note 12), vol. IV, p. 179 f., for those of Charles p. 182, and for those of Cola di Rienzo p. 205. The latest *provisini* are probably those in the name of Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404): MUNTONI, *Le monete* (note 12), vol. 1, p. 36 no. 6.

mints<sup>58</sup>). Their production went on and Charles of Anjou, when Senator, inscribed once again his name and his heraldic device on them. Shortly before 1274 he issued also a most impressive type of larger *grosso*, known as *romaninus rinforciatus* weighing over four grams which was soon discontinued<sup>59</sup>.



Fig. 9: Rome, silver »grosso da 12 provisini« (from 1253), Brancaleone d'Andalò senator (1252–55, and 1257–58). Obverse: + BRANCALEO SPQR, Lion walking left. Reverse: + ROMA CAPVT mVnDI, Rome wearing crown with pendants, seated on throne, holding globe in right hand and palm in left. (3.38 g; 23 mm; Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, auction 65, 19 May 2012, no. 3442).

The mint of Rome also struck gold coins in around 1272, their existence has been proved recently against a traditional denial in numismatic studies. Gold *romanini* are mentioned among gold coins in coin-lists present in treaties of mathematics from circa 1280 and in merchants' books or »pratiche di mercatura«. Here the gold *romanini* are described as nearly fine gold (circa 23 carats and  $\frac{3}{4}$ )<sup>60</sup>. The effective use of such gold coins is documented in Rome on 15 December 1273, when the purchase of a house in Rome for the sum of 70 lire of the Senate was paid in florins of Florence and in gold and silver *romanini* (*inter florenos aurei et romanos aurei et romanos argenti*)<sup>61</sup>.

58) MUNTONI, *Le monete* (note 12), vol. IV, p. 179 f.

59) GRIERSON, *I grossi senatoriali* (note 51); TRAVAINI, *Monetazione a nome del Senato Romano*, in: *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità* (note 43), p. 1082.

60) Lucia TRAVAINI, *Per Philip Grierson, I romanini d'oro nella seconda metà del Duecento*, in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 108 (2007), p. 295–304.

61) Ivana AIT, *Roma: una città in crescita tra strutture feudali e dinamiche di mercato*, in: *Le città del Mediterraneo all'apogeo dello sviluppo medievale: aspetti economici e sociali*, Atti del XVIII Convegno



Fig. 10: Rome, silver »grosso rinforzato« (soon before 1274), Charles I of Anjou senator (king of Sicily 1266–85; senator of Rome 1256–66, 1268–78, 1281–84). Obverse: + CAROLVS REX SENATOR VRBIS, lion walking left with head facing; above, lis. Reverse: + ROMA CAPVD MVNDIS P Q R, Rome wearing crown with pendants, seated on throne, holding globe in right hand and palm in left. (4.08 g; 27 mm; Numismatica Ars Classica, NAC, asta 65, 19 maggio 2012, n. 3448).

Charles of Anjou must have been responsible for such creativity in striking coins of new denominations in silver and gold, until his activity in this field was restricted by an order of Pope Martin IV. On 26 December 1282 the pope ordered the vicar of the Senator-King to end striking new types of coins stating firmly that all Roman coinage should be produced under »special papal licence«<sup>62</sup>. There is no other manifest papal intervention and we can only note that Pope Boniface VIII was responsible for the introduction of a new type of silver *grosso*, lighter than the Senate ones, bearing the images of St Peter and St Paul with the legends ROMANI PRINCIPES and SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANUS (issued shortly before 1297 circa). So the Senate was still the mint authority; the pope's name and bust appeared first only on the coins of the Comtat Venaissin<sup>63</sup>.

Internazionale di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte, Pistoia 18–21 maggio 2001, Pistoia 2003, p. 273–323, at p. 319.

62) *Speciali licentia sedis apostolice*: THEINER, *Codex diplomaticus* (note 54), pp. 260–261, quoted from CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p. 167.

63) On the *samperini* (first mentioned in the *rationes decimarum* for Orvieto 1297) see Lucia TRAVAINI, *Le monete del primo giubileo*, in: *Anno 1300. Il primo giubileo in Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo*, catalogo della mostra, ed. by Marina RIGHETTI TOSTI-CROCE, Milan 2000, p. 121–125. Pope Boniface VIII as senator introduced the arms of his family (Caetani) in the exergue of the Roman *grossi*: CAROCCI, *Pontificia o comunale?* (note 43), p.162; for his portrait coins, see above text and note 13.



Fig. 11: Rome, silver »grosso samperino«, circa 1300. Obverse: ROMANI PRINCIP, Saint Peter standing holding cross. Reverse: SENAT P QVER, Saint Paul standing holding sword. (1,50 g; 20 mm; Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, auction 137, 11 March 2008, n. 3730).

The role of the corporation of merchants on the other hand appears to have been strong. In 1195 a loan originally fixed in coins of Pavia was converted in Roman *provisini* according to rules established by the Roman judges and merchants<sup>64</sup>. The sources are rare, though clear in showing that the role of the pope remained for the entire thirteenth century limited to a portion of the income of the mint. The statutes of merchants of 1317 probably retained at least some of the previous norms and from it we learn that the corporation was responsible for the production of coins and for insuring their best quality. Moreover, those in charge of actually managing the mint had to be chosen among members of the corporation itself as *boni et legales mercatores*<sup>65</sup>.

### Coins circulating in Rome

All the coins I mentioned so far were in use in Rome, but unfortunately we have very few recorded finds. Relatively more common are finds of *provisini* from local excavations, but so far only one hoard containing *grossi* of Rome has been reported. This hoard was found in a wood at Colle Iano near Rocca di Papa and was hidden or lost soon after 1375: it has 5 gold coins (Florence, Venice, Lübeck and Hungary), 31 silver carlini-gigliati of Naples (from 1302–3), 6 papal *grossi* and one half *grosso* of Avignon, 12 *grossi* romani of the Senate all dated between c.1345 to 1363, and 3 more silver coins of Bologna, Ancona and Rimini<sup>66</sup>. We can easily guess that any find of earlier *grossi* romani is eventually dispersed

64) Probably the corporation which also included moneychangers, see CAROCCI, Pontificia o comunale? (note 43), p. 168: *secundum statutam formam a iudicibus et mercatoribus Urbis*.

65) CAROCCI, Pontificia o comunale? (note 43) p. 168.

66) Finds of Roman *provisini* from hoards and single finds are recorded by SISSIA/GIARANTE, (note 57), p. 23–31, 281 and 282, p. 15–28; also one recent hoard: Mariele VALCI, A Hoard of Roman Denari Provisini Preserved in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, in: Numismatic Chronicle 174 (2014), p. 227–244. For the

on the coin market. Given the lack of find evidence, written evidence becomes even more precious in showing which coins were used, as we shall see below.

The French gros tournois was first struck by King Louis IX in 1266, weighing 4.22 g and destined to become a very successful international coin<sup>67</sup>. Undervalued in France at the beginning the reign of Philip the Fair (1285–1314), it was exported massively outside France and even overvalued. For example, in Italy its value was conveniently fixed at two *grossi* of Venice, although it should have been slightly less<sup>68</sup>. Gros tournois were currently used in Rome by the end of the century and for the Jubilee of 1300 prices for lodging are reported in gros tournois, although we may expect some exaggeration in the given costs. One of the sources is Guglielmo Ventura from Asti who wrote that the coins offered at the altars of St Peter and St Paul were gathered by the clerics using rakes, something like ‘papal croupiers’<sup>69</sup>.

#### V. COINS ARRIVING TO THE ROMAN CURIA: TRIBUTES, DONATIONS AND PILGRIMS

Gold coins reached Rome even after the Carolingian West had ceased producing them. Also, some rulers occasionally struck gold coins either imitating the classical tradition (gold solidi especially for Louis the Pious, 814–840) or imitating Arabic dinars (Anglo-saxon England and others). Most famous is an imitational dinar bearing OFFA REX in between lines of Cufic inscriptions. This dinar has been related to the first payment of the ‘Peter’s penny’ to the pope by King Offa of Mercia (757–796)<sup>70</sup>. After Offa’s death, Pope

hoard of Colle Iano see Lucia TRAVAINI, *Il tesoro di Colle Iano nel contesto monetario del Trecento*, in: *Il tesoro di Colle Iano, Atti della giornata di studi, Velletri 16 maggio 2015*, ed. by Flavio ALTAMURA, forthcoming.

67) Philip GRIERSON, *Coins of medieval Europe*, London 1991, p. 114–115.

68) Two *grossi* of Venice weighed circa 4.30 g but one gros tournois rarely weighed more than 4.10 g; Marcus PHILLIPS, *The gros tournois in the Mediterranean*, in: *The Gros Tournois. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. by Nicolas J. MAYHEW, Oxford 1997, p. 279–337, at p. 287. *Grossi tornesi* can probably be identified at Caprignano in a document of 1281: ROVELLI, *Patrimonium* (note 40), p. 179. A hoard of gros tournois and other Italian *grossi* with some gold coins was recently found in Parma. Cf. Marco BAZZINI/Giulia GUIDORZI/Anna Rita MARCHI, *Un ripostiglio di monete medievali di XIII–XV secolo ritrovato a Parma*, in: *Notiziario del Portale numismatico dello Stato. Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo* 9 (2016), p. 31–47 (on-line edition).

69) Guglielmo Ventura from Asti wrote that he paid one gros tournois for his bed, in addition to hay and oats for his horse, quoted by FRUGONI, *Il giubileo* (note 26), p. 1–121. On the ‘papal croupiers’ see TRAVAINI, *Le monete del primo giubileo* (note 63), p. 123. The anonymous author of »El libro del caballero Zifar« reports very high prices along the way to Rome, such as hay and oats for animals at *quatro torneses gruesos* per night: Ezio LEVI, *Il giubileo del MCCC nel più antico romanzo spagnolo*, in: *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 56–57 (1933–34), p. 133–155, at p. 151.

70) For Offa’s dinar and other types imitated in the same period see Rory NAISMITH, *Islamic coins from early medieval England*, in: *Numismatic Chronicle* 165 (2005), p. 193–222, but see also criticism by

Leo III wrote to his successor reminding him of Offa's promise to send 365 *mancuses* to Rome every year. The term *mancosi* or *mancusi* originally referred to gold coins, but later became a unit of account for silver coins or other currency (in southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh century it was a unit of four 'tarenì' or quarter dinars)<sup>71</sup>. In the area of Rome many documents from the ninth century show that the *mancus* was also a money of account worth thirty *denari*<sup>72</sup>.

Before the West returned to producing gold coins in 1252 in Genoa and Florence, gold coins were issued without interruption in the Byzantine and Islamic world. Among the Islamic ones in the period here considered we find records of the *marabotinus*, gold coin (4.45 g) of the Almuravid (al-Murabitun), dynasty of north Africa and Spain (1056–1147); the *massamutinus* (mazmudinus), name given in Christian Europe to the gold coin (4.45 g) of the Almohade dynasty in north Africa and Spain (1130–1269); the *malachinus*,

Richard RING, The missing Mancus and the Early Medieval Economy, in: Where Heaven and Earth Meet. Essays on Medieval Europe in Honor of Daniel F. Callahan, ed. by Michael FRASSETTO/John HOSLER/Matthew Gabriele, Leiden 2014, p. 33–41 (This author, at p. 23, imagines pope's officials horrified at the sight of gold coins with Islamic inscriptions. Although it is well likely that in most cases *mancosi* may have been weight units for gold, it is true that even the Crusaders in the Holy Land struck coins with Islamic legends from the 1130s until 1250). For more imitation dinars see Lutz ILISCH, Die imitativen solidi mancusi. »Arabische« Goldmünzen der Karolingerzeit, in: Fundamenta Historiae. Geschichte im Spiegel der Numismatik und ihrer Nachbarwissenschaften. Festschrift für Niklot Klüssendorf zum 60. Geburtstag am 10. Februar 2004, Hannover 2004, p. 91–106.

71) *Solidi mancosi* are the unit of account for gold coins. The term *mancus* is documented in Italy from 778 and in Anglo-Saxon charters from the late eight century. Its origin has been much debated and it still is: it was first thought to refer to Byzantine coins (*mancusi*, as 'defective in weight' as Philip Grierson had suggested), later to Arabic dinars (*mancus*, from the Arabic *manqūsh* 'engraved'), and now again as possibly originated in Italy from Byzantine Sicilian gold. The evidence for a Byzantine origin may be found in a document of the mid ninth century from the Ravenna area referring to *auri solidos mancusos bisantheos* (Salvatore COSENTINO, Le origini del mancuso, appendice a: Ricchezza e investimento della Chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo, in: Sauro GELICHI/Richard HODGES (Eds.), Da un mare all'altro. Luoghi di scambio nell'alto medioevo europeo e mediterraneo, Atti del Seminario Internazionale (Comacchio, 27–29 marzo 2009), Turnhout 2012, pp. 431–9, quoted by Vivien PRIGENT, Le mythe du *mancus* et les origines de l'économie européenne, in: Revue Numismatique 171 (2014), pp. 701–28, with previous bibliography and history of research. Earlier discussion in: Philip GRIERSON, Carolingian Europe and the Arabs: the myth of the mancus, in: Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 32 (1954), p. 1059–1074 (reprinted in IDEM, Dark Age Numismatics (Variorum Reprints), London 1979, III. Discussion on this topic will certainly continue. Similarly in need of continuous attention is the reference to the 'besant' in various forms. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century it surely referred to a number of Arabic coins, or imitations of Arabic coins, see now Marc BOMPAIRE, Le mythe du besant?, in: Mélanges Cécile Morrisson (Travaux et Mémoires 16), Paris 2010, p. 93–116.

72) TOUBERT, Structures (note 30) p. 566 note 1. Most important is the hoard of 829 silver pennies (mostly Anglo-Saxon) and one Byzantine *solidus* found in the Roman Forum in 1883, contained in a bag destined to pope Marinus II (942–946), as we know from the two silver tags found with the coins: Rory NAISMITH/Francesca TINTI, The Forum Hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins. Il ripostiglio dell'Atrium Vestae nel Foro Romano, in: Bollettino di Numismatica 55–56 anno 2011 nuova serie, Roma 2016 (online).



Fig. 12: Kingdom of Mercia, Offa (773–796), imitation gold dinar (4.28 g; 20 mm; British Museum, CM 1913–12–13–1).

referred to coins of Majorca or Malaga but also used in twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources for the gold coins of the Almuravid and Almohade dynasties<sup>73</sup>). Norman Sicily produced large amount of gold coins named *tareni* in Latin sources.

Byzantine *solidi* are recorded in the older sources but we cannot be sure whether they were effectively gold Byzantine coins or fossil names for other coins, such as the *romanati* in the *Liber Censuum* of 1192. For example, many written documents from Apulia are extremely detailed in describing gold Byzantine coins until the end of the eleventh century, but there are no finds of such coins and the latest type documented in hoards is a gold *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025)<sup>74</sup>). Gold Byzantine coins must have arrived but were not hoarded. From at least 1012 the quarter dinars of Sicily were imitated in the mint of Salerno and were preferred in the circulation also in Apulia. So, many Byzantine gold coins no longer circulating effectively in the eleventh and twelfth centuries<sup>75</sup>), may still have been used for special payments, especially to the Roman Curia<sup>76</sup>).

73) GRIERSON/TRAVAINI, *Medieval European Coinage* (note 32), p. 466.

74) These finds will be described later. For Apulian documents see Philip GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 3, parts 1–2, Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081, Washington D.C. 1973, part 1, p. 50–53; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Monete e circolazione monetaria nell'Italia bizantina e post-bizantina*, in: *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle)*, II, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, ed. by Jean-Marie MARTIN/Annick PETERS-CUSTOT/Vivien PRIGENT (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 461), Roma 2012, p. 483–504.

75) In southern Italy the Arabic gold quarter dinar of Sicily, weighing only around 1 gram, was imitated in the mints of Salerno and later Amalfi, and spread successfully even in the Byzantine territories before the Norman conquest, see Lucia TRAVAINI, *La monetazione nell'Italia* (note 2), p. 9–14, and its second edition p. 3\*; also GRIERSON/TRAVAINI (note 32, but date of introduction of *taris* in Amalfi is not 960 but the mid eleventh century).

76) The use of Byzantine gold coins for special payments has been proved for England for the period 1154–1259 when Byzantine coins were no longer of pure gold but had a fineness of circa 20½ carats. There are no finds but written evidence is clear about the use of such coins, see Barrie COOK, *The bezant in Angevin England*, in: *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), p. 255–275.



In order to give a picture of which coins arrived to the Roman Curia in the period concerning us here, I will refer to the *Liber Censuum* of 1192, to the *Rationes decimarum Italiae* of Tuscany 1296 and Latium 1301, and finally to the *Libri rationum camerae Bonifatii papae VIII*. Before discussing the *Liber Censuum*, however, I mention here an event which is quite revealing of the international movement of coins. In 1177 a ship moving from the Apulian coast of the Kingdom of Sicily directed to papal territories in Dalmatia, with the papal legate on board, was attacked by pirates. The list of stolen goods included also coins and these were: in gold, *tareni regis Siciliae* (gold quarter dinars of Norman Sicily); *marboti* (morabitini), gold dinar of the Almoravids issued in North Africa and Spain (c. 1085 – c. 1170) and later imitated by the kings of Castille, of Leon and of Portugal (c. 1172–c. 1221); *masmutini* (massamutini), double dinars or *dobla* issued by Mazmuda or Almohads in North Africa and Spain from Abdelmumin (1129–62) to the fall of Granada (1492), these coins reached Sicily from North Africa; in silver, *sterlingos*, English pennies; plus nearly 1 kg of other silver coins including French feudal ones which at the time were massively circulating in Southern Italy and in Rome<sup>77</sup>). This document shows that apart from the European silver deniers there were southern Mediterranean gold coins moving north.

#### *Liber Censuum* 1192

Dealing with *censi* recorded in 1192 we must bear in mind that some of them might have been fixed many years previously and it is quite obvious to find coin names which gradually had become ‘fossil’, meaning with this that the name was preserved in the written record but in practice it was ‘translated’ into different current coins<sup>78</sup>). For a monastery in the northern Kingdom of Sicily (S. Maria de Gualdo) we find a *censum* of four gold Sicilian *taris* and these were current coins in the Kingdom in 1192<sup>79</sup>). This gold probably had a minor role into effective circulation in Latium, and even a private act in Rome in 1164 refers to a payment in Sicilian gold<sup>80</sup>). Some *censi* are simply listed in money of account such as *librae*, *solidi* and *denari* without specification of coin names.

77) Document quoted with comments in TRAVAINI, Quarta Crociata (note 34), p. 525–553, from Monumenta Hungariae Historica, ser. Diplomataria vol. XI: Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus, ed. by Gusztáv WENZEL, vol. VI (890–1235), Budapest 1867, nos 77–78; see also Lucia TRAVAINI, The Normans between Byzantium and the Islamic World, in: Dumbarton Oaks Papers 55 (2001), p. 179–196.

78) Two *solidi* of *denari* of Lucca, *Liber Censuum*, (note 29), p. 6, were still available in Rome in 1192, but their value may have been higher when the *censum* was first fixed and therefore the payment must have been somehow adjusted against the current rate.

79) *Liber Censuum* (note 29), p. 37.

80) TOUBERT, Structures (note 30), p. 621.

The *Rationes decimarum Italiae* offer more details on effective coins but these need to be interpreted carefully.

*Rationes decimarum Italiae 1: Tuscany 1296*

Data for the collection in Tuscany in 1296 have been studied by John Day in 1968<sup>81</sup>. I reproduce here his table II (main coins paid to the papal collectors in Tuscany in 1296, percent of the total for each diocesis).

<i>Diocèse</i>	<i>Florins d'or</i>	<i>Gros d'argent de la Toscane</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Gros tournois</i>	<i>Gros vénitiens</i>	<i>Aquilins</i>	<i>Carlins de Naples</i>	<i>Monnaies de billon</i> <sup>3</sup>
Florence. . . . .	50,0	43,0	4,1	0,1	0,5	0,1	1,3
Fiesole . . . . .	32,4	40,9	4,9	1,8	1,2	0,2	18,5
Pistoia. . . . .	88,1	8,6	2,6	—	—	0,5	0,2
Lucques . . . . .	9,5	11,8	4,2	30,4	42,6	0,3	1,1
Pise . . . . .	31,9	15,4	38,9	0,1	0,8	0,9	11,4
Sienna. . . . .	30,7	12,3	15,6	0,3	0,1	2,2	38,7
Volterra . . . . .	31,6	42,0	19,5	1,1	0,8	0,4	3,9
Arezzo. . . . .	65,5	4,5	7,0	0,2	0,3	6,6	12,9
Massa . . . . .	13,8	—	30,6	15,3	—	36,7	3,6
Grosseto. . . . .	26,8	—	7,9	22,3	26,2	—	7,9
Sovana. . . . .	26,4	2,7	43,0	—	—	16,3	2,0
Chiusi. . . . .	32,2	4,9	21,1	1,0	—	13,5	12,5

1. Les chiffres qui forment la base de ces calculs sont rapportés dans le Tableau III.

2. Gros de Florence, Sienna, Volterra, Cortona. Pour les diocèses de Lucques, Pise, Sienna et Volterra, il a fallu y inclure des gros de Bologne, confondus dans notre relevé avec ceux de Cortona

3. Petits deniers de Florence, Pise, Sienna, Volterra et Cortona. Grâce aux accords monétaires en vigueur entre les quatre premières villes, la valeur intrinsèque de leurs deniers respectifs devait être la même.

Fig. 13: Table II from Day 1968 page 1057.

*Aquilini* worth 33 *denari* were paid especially by the diocesis of Lucca. Day thought that they were *aquilini* of Merano-Tyrol, thus implying an important export of textile from Lucca to Tyrol. However, this interpretation was not correct. In this document we

81) John DAY, La circulation monétaire en Toscane en 1296, in: *Annales E.S.C.* 23 (1968), p. 1054–66.

find that the *grosso* of Venice, weighing circa 2.10 g, was worth 25 deniers; therefore the *grosso aquilino* of Merano, weighing only 1.45 g, could not possibly be worth 33 deniers. In reality the *aquilini* involved here were the first large silver *grossi* of Pisa, weighing over 3 g, issued between circa 1254 and 1313. At the beginning their value was two *solidi* (or 24 *denari*) but from 1279/80 they reached the value of 33 *denari*, and this coincides with what appears in the *Rationes*<sup>82</sup>.



Fig. 14: Counts of Tyrol, mint of Merano, Mainard II and Albert II (1258–1271), silver grosso «aquilino» from 1259. Obverse: + COMES TIROL, eagle (copied from gold *augustalis*). Reverse: DE MA RA NO, long cross. (1.45 g; 21 mm; Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Auction 297, 14 February 2014, no. 3203).

In his article of 1968 John Day believed that most coins mentioned in fiscal documents and paid as taxes were coins effectively in circulation there. He followed in this Marc Bloch, who thought that economic history could be based mainly on records of payments of taxes believing that the coins recorded were all effectively circulating ([Bloch] «préconisait une histoire économique de la monnaie médiévale fondée – avant tout – sur des relevés de paiements: documents d'où l'on peut tirer des précisions sur les types et les taux

82) Monica BALDASSARRI, *Zecca e monete del Comune di Pisa. Dalle origini alla Seconda Repubblica, XII secolo – 1406*, vol. 1, Pisa 2010, p. 229–245, showing 8 groups according to a variety of iconographic details, and p. 457 for the later value of the same coins. Day later corrected the attribution of the *aquilini* in a revised article: John DAY, *La circulation monétaire en Toscane au temps de Dante*, in: John DAY, *Monnaies et marchés au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1994, p. 29–39. For *aquilini* in other documents interpreted in various ways see TRAVAINI, *Moneta locale e moneta straniera* (note 17), p. 68.



Fig. 15: Pisa, Republic, 1150–1312, »grosso da due«, ca. 126070. Obverse: +FRIM PerATOR, crowned eagle. Reverse: The Virgin and Child in throne; PI – SE. (3,24 g; 23 mm; Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, auction 232, 17 June 2013, no. 38).

de change des espèces réellement déboursées») <sup>83</sup>). According to this, therefore, all the coins listed in detail for the Tuscan payment to Rome in 1296 should reflect the coins effectively circulating in that moment. Day apparently saw a confirmation of such statement in the fact that the same coins are listed in the account book of the moneychanger Lippo di Fede del Sega (circa 1314), and consequently stated that the variety of listed coins demonstrated that every good coin could circulate (»toute bonne monnaie avait droit de cité») <sup>84</sup>). Recent research on local coins and foreign coins, however, has now shown a different picture. Often foreign coins of good value were paid as taxes, thus avoiding the burden of exchanging them locally to get local coins. Therefore, we may add, the coins listed by a moneychanger or handled by him were not obviously those circulating but simply those that were exchanged and which he had to know very well <sup>85</sup>).

The coins listed in the Tuscan *rationes* for 1296 were certainly present locally but not necessarily they were used and spent in the markets. The regulation for banning the local

83) Marc BLOCH, Le problème de l'or au Moyen Âge, in: *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 5 (1933), pp. 1–34.

84) DAY, La circulation (note 81), p. 1056. The account book of Lippo di Fede del Sega was first published by Charles M. DE LA RONCIÈRE, *Un changeur florentin du Trecento. Lippo di Fede del Sega (1285 env.–1363 env.)*, (École pratique des hautes études, VIe section, Centre de recherches historiques, Affaires et gens d'affaires 36), Paris 1973. The coin list is commented in TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (note 2), p. 144–154.

85) On foreign coins paid for tributes see TRAVAINI, *Romesinas, provesini* (note 40); SPUFFORD, *Money and its use*.



Fig. 16: Kingdom of Sicily, Naples, Charles I of Anjou 1266–1285, silver carlino from 1278. Obverse: KAROL IERL ET SICIL REX, shield of Jerusalem and France. Reverse: AVE GRA PLENA DNS TE-CUM, Annunciation. (3.21 g; 24 mm; Numismatica Ranieri, auction 6, 27 April 2014, no. 635).

use of foreign coins was reinforced in Pisa in 1319 with an act stating that foreign coins – many of which listed in the *Rationes* of 1296 – could only be accepted as bullion for their metal value: ... *alia vero moneta, scilicet turmenses, carleni, gigliati, ragonenses, et ceteri alii, possint dari et recipi pro bulsona, set non pro pretio alicuius rei vel per modum qui posset dici expendere*<sup>86</sup>.

#### *Rationes decimarum Italiae 2: Latium 1301*

The earliest data for the *rationes decimarum* in Latium are for the second payment of 1301. I checked the *dioceses suburbucariae* (Ostia and Velletri, Porto and Santa Rufina, Albano, Frascati, Palestrina, Sabina) and those of *Campania et Maritima* (Tivoli, Anagni, Segni, Alatri, Veroli, Ferentino, Terracina)<sup>87</sup>. The coins listed are mainly gold florins, but in the diocese of Anagni and Veroli – closer to the Kingdom of Sicily – we find gold *carlini*, first issued in Naples by Charles of Anjou in 1278 and continued by Charles II<sup>88</sup>. The silver *grossi* recorded were French gros tournois, *carlini* of Naples, *grossi* of Venice,

86) Ottavio BANTI, A proposito della questione della moneta lucchese nel secolo XII e di un accordo monetario tra Pisa e Lucca del 1319, in: *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche – Quaderni Ticinesi* 14 (1985), p. 291–304, at p. 302.

87) *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Latium*, ed. by Giulio BATTELLI (Studi e testi 128), Città del Vaticano 1946.

88) Gold *carlini* are recorded in BATTELLI, *Rationes* (note 87), p. 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 53, 119, 171.

of Bologna, of Rome, *grossi samperini* of Rome, less frequently two types of *grossi* of Ancona<sup>89</sup>). The low value coins recorded were mainly *denari senatus* or *provisini*. Only in



Fig. 17: Ancona, Republic, silver grosso agontano, from the late thirteenth century. Obverse: PP S QVI RIACVS, the saint standing blessing. Reverse: + \*DE ANCONA\*, cross. (2.34 g; 21 mm; Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, auction 170, 22 June 2010, no. 2769).

Albano there is a record for a large number of low value coins described as *monetam pro tertia parte turonensis*, i. e. deniers tournois. Foreign low value coins in such records were normally not specified, unless, like here, one type was dominant as a third part: the simple term *moneta* identified coins of base silver content or even silver which were not specified in detail. Gold coins would always be described in detail and with their name<sup>90</sup>). Deniers tournois in this context and period were billon coins struck in Frankish Greece and cur-

89) For these two types see BATTELLI, *Rationes* (note 87), p. 171, 209. In Ferentino and Veroli two specimens each valued 19 *denari*; in Veroli 1 specimen valued 13 *denari*, and both types in Anagni. These were obviously two different denominations whose value was given in *denari provisini*. The heavier *grossi* of Ancona represented on one side the standing image of the patron saint Cyriacus and had the value of 20 *denari* of Ancona. The lighter *grosso* valued 13 *provisini*, had epigraphic types, but there is a doubt about the identification. It has been suggested that this reference in the *rationes decimarum* may refer to *grossi* of Ravenna, which imitated closely those of Ancona but had different weights. See Michele CHIMIENTI, *Le decime pontificie per la storia monetaria dell'Italia centrale*, in: *L'agontano. Una moneta d'argento per l'Italia medievale*, Atti del convegno in ricordo di Angelo Finetti (Trevi, Perugia, 11–12 ottobre 2001), ed. by Lucia TRAVAINI, Perugia 2003, p. 157–186, at p. 172–174. In the same article Chimienti offers an excellent analysis of the coins recorded for the collection in Orvieto in 1275–1280, see p. 179–181.

90) This use of the term *moneta* is documented in various other documents, see for example PICCINNI/TRAVAINI, *Il Libro del pellegrino* (nota 25), p. 132.



Fig. 18: Duchy of Athens, Thebes, Duke William I de la Roche (1280–1287, 1289–1308), denier tournois. Obverse: +THEBE CIVIS, châtel. Reverse: G. DVX ATENES, cross (0.55 g; 18 mm; Artemide Aste, auction XXV, 3–5 July 2014, no. 2150).

rently circulating in southern Italy since the 1270s, to replace the local debased denari. They did not normally circulate in the Papal territories<sup>91</sup>.

#### *Libri rationum Camerae Bonifatii papae VIII*

The accounts of the *libri rationum Camerae* of Boniface VIII are divided in three groups depending on the bankers who dealt with the collections: the Mozzo, the Spini of Florence and the Clarenti of Pistoia<sup>92</sup>. As a sample, I examined 187 documents of 1301–1302. For coins received there is more variety than for coins listed as payments and this seems to me a normal practice. Let us see the payments: many of them are recorded in lire of *denari provisini*, which were the local money of account but also effective currency. We find such *denari* used for giving alms, for paying food for servants, a baker and a wine dealer. There are also some payments in gros tournois which in those years were effectively used in Rome. A certain Orlanduccio who transported good water from Anticoli (on the river Aniene north of Tivoli) was always paid in gros tournois<sup>93</sup>. On the contrary, a certain Bonino who brought water to the kitchens was paid in lire of *denari provisini*.<sup>94</sup> Obviously here the type of coins used depended on the quality of the water and on its quantity and length of the journey which for Orlanduccio, from Anticoli, implied a rather large number of animals, probably mules.

Payments to *penitentiarii* are always recorded in gros tournois as money of account<sup>95</sup>.

91) Lucia TRAVAINI, Deniers tournois in Southern Italy, in: *The gros tournois*, ed. by Nicholas J. MAYHEW (14th Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History) Royal Numismatic Society, special publication, London 1997, p. 421–451.

92) *Libri rationum Camerae Bonifatii Papae VIII*, ed. by Tilmann SCHMIDT (Littera antiqua 2), Città del Vaticano 1984.

93) *Libri rationum* (note 92), p. 281 no. 2129, p. 278 no. 2110, p. 311 no. 2403, p. 320 no. 2488; the cost to keep their animals when in Rome was paid in soldi provisini.

94) *Libri rationum* (note 92), p. 278 no. 2109, p. 320 no. 2487.

95) See for example in 1302: *Libri rationum* (note 92), documents nos. 2397, 2418, 2445, 2462, 2480, 2500, 2515, 2534, 2551, 2568. *Penitentiarii* were clerics of the pope's circle in charge of absolution of sins which bishops could not absolve themselves.

Payments in florins are also present for large sums. One entry records the payment of 1264 florins (of account) and 10 lire 6 denari provisini to three companies for providing clothes for soldiers, servants, clerics, doctors, messengers and cartmen. The sum is very large and it seems somehow strange that there is no detailed specification<sup>96</sup>). We also find payments recorded in ‘fossil’ money, namely for uses fixed at least two centuries before, but apparently persisting for ceremonial uses or purposes linked to religious events. This is the case of the Easter *presbiterium*, which was the donation made by the pope to his closer staff, recorded in *malachini*, stating that each *malachinus* was worth six gros tournois<sup>97</sup>). Also, we find entries where the final total of a group of payments made in different currencies is expressed in florins of account and lire of gros tournois.

### Pilgrims

We have seen so far many coins arriving to the Roman Curia but I have stressed the fact that not all of them could be accepted in circulation. In principle pilgrims or merchants coming from ‘abroad’ had to change their foreign coins, so that moneychangers must have been very active<sup>98</sup>). Pilgrims had a very important role in bringing money to Rome, both for the Curia and for the local businesses. I have already mentioned the statement made by Cardinal Stefaneschi about the large amount of money collected for the Jubilee of 1300, all made up by small change from all Europe<sup>99</sup>). It is possible that many pilgrims offered small *denari* of low value of their own country to avoid the burden of exchange. However, I believe that many pilgrims did intentionally keep some coins of their own country all the way from home in order to offer a personal token of memory to the venerated altars at the end of their journey, as an act that completed the pilgrimage.<sup>100</sup>) This is particularly true in case of offerings to ‘special’ altars or shrines, in case of jubilee years or indulgences. Ordinary offers may not have been made always in good coins. The content

96) *Libri rationum* (note 92), p. 320 no. 2492.

97) *Libri rationum*, (note 92), p. 281–282. In England in the thirteenth century the kings used to buy gold bezants and *denari de musc* (dinars and double dinars of the Almohads of Spain and north Africa) for ceremonial offerings, at Christmas or on the feast day of St Edward the Confessor; non ceremonial uses are also recorded: see Cook, *The bezant* (note 76), p. 271.

98) On merchants in Rome in the thirteenth century see VENDITTELLI, *Mercanti romani* (note 52).

99) See above note 26.

100) TRAVAINI, *Il lato buono* (note 25), p. 19–24; TRAVAINI, *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete. Temi* (note 24), p. 33–38. The study of the coins from the Confession of Saint Peter in Vatican is giving new data on such topic. There is a significant lack of *provisini* corresponding to the thirteenth century, a period well documented for coins of other mints. The majority of medieval Roman coins appears to be concentrated in correspondence of Jubilee years, see Lucia TRAVAINI/ Monica BALDASSARRI/Adolfo SISSIA in: ARSLAN/ ALTIERI, *Confessione*, forthcoming (note 23).



of alms trunks in medieval churches can reveal the presence of false coins, such as in two cases in Orte in 1280.<sup>101)</sup>

## VI. RITUAL USES OF COINS AND A PAPAL SOUP

The idea of coins offered at the altar above the grave of a venerated saint as a personal token of memory takes us to the wide topic of ritual use of coins, which recent research has emphasized in a variety of contexts, including the use of coins as devotional or prophylactic objects. Coins, as symbol of richness, were seen as dangerous to the soul: the thirty pieces of silver sold Christ; the usurers died in Hell, and so on down to the definition of *pecunia stercus diaboli*. If this theme was continuously preached<sup>102)</sup>, and was well known to all Christians, how can we justify the presence of coins in graves of Christian people, and especially of saints? There must have been 'good' coins and 'bad' coins<sup>103)</sup>.

Saint's graves were the object of surveys and relocations on the occasions of church works, as they were often moved from one part to another of a church. Also, saints' bodies could be dismembered in order to offer parts of them as relics to new churches. Or else, saints' graves were inspected to make sure that no parts had been taken or that it was really the original grave and not that of an impostor. Coins have been found inside many Italian graves of saints, obviously deposited at the moment of burial or of a survey. There is no official written evidence on prescriptions for placing coins in a saint's grave, but the Roman Curia must have been conscious of this, as such practice took place at the presence of popes and bishops.

The grave of St Geminiano in the cathedral of Modena offers a good example: 72 billion deniers and two silver crosses were discovered during a survey in 1955. St Geminiano was the first bishop of Modena (died in 397) and a basilica *ad corpus* was built on his grave. The grave was surveyed twice in the middle ages, in 1109 and 1184, documented in written records<sup>104)</sup>. In 1109 the sarcophagus had to be moved to a new location in the

101) *Rationes decimarum ... Latium* (note 87), p. 372.

102) See Claude BREMOND/Jacques LE GOFF/Jean-Claude SCHMITT, L'«Exemplum» (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 40), Turnhout 1982; Stith THOMPSON, Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends, revised and enlarged edition, 6 voll., Bloomington (Indiana) 1955–58.

103) I first considered this concept in TRAVAINI, Saints and sinners (note 24), p. 176–177; TRAVAINI, Saints, sinners and ... a cow (note 24).

104) The coins are as follows: 18 denari of Lucca dating to the eleventh century and almost certainly deposited at the moment of the survey of 1109; 54 denari of Milano, Cremona, Mantova, Venezia, Ferrara and one denaro of Lucca of a later type deposited on the occasion of the survey of 1184. See Lucia TRAVAINI, Le monete, in: F. MISSERE FONTANA/Lucia TRAVAINI, Monete medievali e materiali nella tomba di San Geminiano di Modena (Centro Studi Storici Nonantolani), Nonantola 2005, p. 35–57.

newly built church we see today. A survey of the body took place at the presence of Countess Matilda of Canossa, the bishop and local authorities: 18 *denari* of Lucca can be dated to this period and must have been offered then. Matilda offered a cloak (*pallium*) decorated with silver crosses of which only two remain today<sup>105</sup>). In 1184 there was a new survey at the presence of Pope Lucius III who consecrated the new cathedral: 52 *denari* of different mints were deposited at this time. I believe that coins were offered to indicate the time of the burial or survey<sup>106</sup>).

Coins were even found in the grave of St Francis of Assisi (died in 1226) on the occasion of the survey of 1818. The archaeologists then explained this apparently surprising presence suggesting that, like in other documented cases, the coins were inserted to indicate the time of burial (*ad indicandum tempus*), again seeing coins as a chronological token<sup>107</sup>).

Ritual uses of coins were varied and I cannot here mention them all. Some coins were venerated for their iconography which gave them some miraculous or healing power and this was the case of some Byzantine gold coins in medieval Italy. The latest Byzantine gold coins documented in Italian finds are gold *histamena* of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025), present as a single specimen in three hoards: 1) the Ortona hoard, from northern Apulia, deposited circa 1020–30, containing 147 *taris* of Salerno and one *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII; 2) the Rome (Torre delle Milizie) hoard, deposited circa 1185, containing 1370 coins, mainly *provisini* of Champagne, some *denari* of Lucca and Pavia, and one *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII; 3) the Pisa (Logge dei Banchi) hoard, deposited circa 1266, containing 119 Hohenstaufen *taris*, 16 *augustales* and 1 half-*augustalis* of Frederick II, 91 gold florins of Florence, 1 gold ‘grosso’ of Lucca, and one *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII<sup>108</sup>). I believe that these gold coins

105) The crosses were produced in the Holy Land for pilgrims. A stone mould found in the Holy Land to produce such crosses is illustrated (but not described with dimension or provenance) in the exhibition catalogue *Knights of the Holy Land. The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. by Silvia ROZEMBERG, Jerusalem 1999, p. 240. A similar cross was found in a hoard from Alife (Caserta) hidden at the end of the twelfth century: Ermanno A. ARSLAN/Floriana MIELE/Lucia TRAVAINI/Marc BOMPAIRE, *Il ripostiglio di Alife*, in: *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 116 (2015), p. 163–219.

106) For bibliography and comments on other interpretations see TRAVAINI, *Saints and sinners* (note 24), p. 171, and TRAVAINI, *Valori e disvalori* (note 24), p. 30–33.

107) Francesco GUADAGNI, *De invento corpore Divi Francisci Ordinis Minorum Parentis*, Roma 1819; Isidoro GATTI, *La tomba di S. Francesco nei secoli*, Assisi 1983, p. 108–9, 267 and plate 11; TRAVAINI, *Saints and sinners* (note 24), p. 171–172; Lucia TRAVAINI, *Le monete nella tomba di san Francesco di Assisi*, in: *Franciscana* 15 (2013), p. 89–102. St Francis abhorred money and wanted to protect his friars from the ‘contamination’ of money and coins. In the *Regula bullata* of 1223 he prohibited the friars to accept coins and money in all forms (*denarios vel pecuniam non recipient*): Grado Giovanni MERLO, *Francesco d’Assisi e il denaro*, in: *Valori e disvalori simbolici delle monete. I Trenta denari di Giuda*, (note 24), p. 145–152.

108) Examining the presence of Byzantine gold coins in Norman Italy I once suggested that the occurrence of single specimens of the same type of *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII in these three

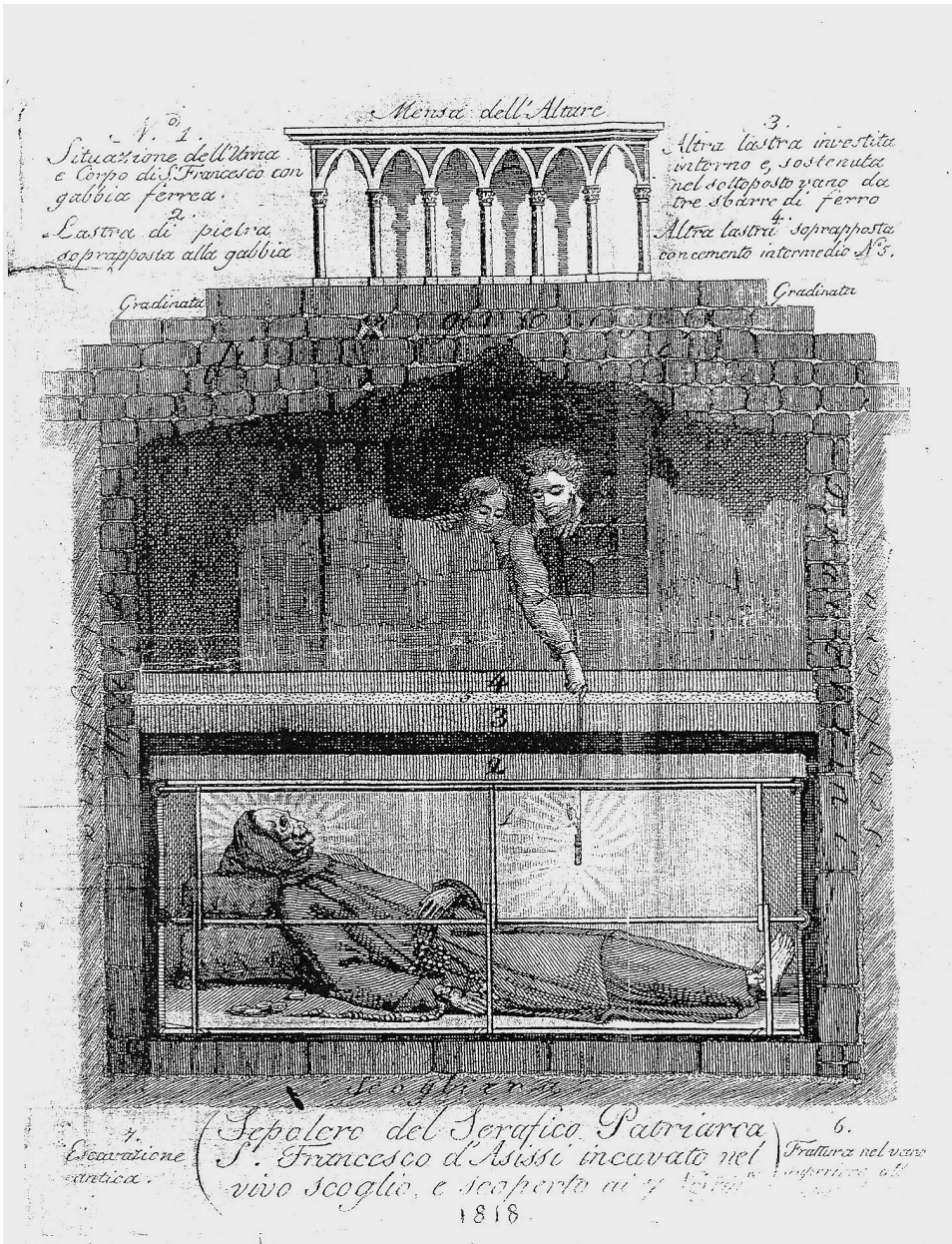


Fig. 19: Survey of the grave of St Francis in Assisi: from *Compendio della vita del serafico Patriarca Francesco di Assisi con un distinto ragguaglio sul reperimento e verificazione delle sue sagre spoglie rinvenute sotto l'altar maggiore della Chiesa Patriarcale dei MM.RR. PP. Minori Conventuali della stessa Città l'anno 1818.*



Fig. 20: Byzantine Empire, mint of Constantinople, Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine VIII, gold *histamenon*, circa. 1005–1025. Obverse: + IHSXIS REX REGNANTIVM, bust of Christ. Reverse: + BASIL' C' CONSTANTIN' b' R', crowned busts of Basil II, bearded, and Constantine VIII. (4.48 g; 26 mm; Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, auction 226, 11 March 2013, no. 1163).

representing Christ on one side and the senior and junior emperors on the other were 'read' as icons of St Constantine and St Helena. Such coins appear mentioned as *santalene* in coin-lists dated c.1280–1315<sup>109</sup>). They are not mentioned in later lists. There is no mint name connected with the word *santalene* and therefore the design of the coins must have had some connection with St Helena, implying a female holding a cross, and possibly some connection with Constantine. In order to be mentioned in such lists the coins must also have been present in Italy until the thirteenth century. The three hoards offered a clue for the devotional interpretation, and each single specimen with so many other different coins would have been hoarded as an icon of St Helena and Constantine. The bearded Basil II 'read' by medieval Italians as Constantine the Great, and the beardless young Constantine VIII 'read' as St Helena. It is important also to observe that the Byzantine gold specimen in the three Italian hoards was not pierced, it was treasured as an icon but not worn<sup>110</sup>). There is now plenty of evidence on Byzantine coins of different types, but

hoards, although strange, may have been due to the debasement of later issues, which made them probably the last good Byzantine coins to be hoarded in Italy: TRAVAINI, *La monetazione nell'Italia* (note 2), p. 11, with bibliography on the three hoards. For the dating of the *taris* of Amalfi not before the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century see the second edition of TRAVAINI, *La monetazione nell'Italia* (note 2), p. 3\*, and Lucia TRAVAINI, *Imitations of Arabic coins in Southern Italy, Sicily and the Holy Land*, in: *Early medieval imitational coinages* (Stockholm, 5–7 November 2015), ed. by Cecilia VON HEIJNE, assisted by Luke TREADWELL/Marek JANKOWIAK (*Nordic Numismatic Journal*, 2. Series 2 – NNÁ, forthcoming).

109) TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (note 2), p. 302. More details and comments on the written evidence and the devotional interpretation of these *histamena* is in Lucia TRAVAINI, *Les frontières de l'éternité? Le cas d'un nom de monnaie: santalene*, in: *Revue Numismatique* 164 (2008), p. 171–172, and in Lucia TRAVAINI/Paolo LIVERANI, *Il tesoro del Laterano e la bolla numismatica di Sisto V del 1587*, in: *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 81, 2007–2008, p. 249–282.

110) A similar situation can probably be found also in a hoard found in Germany in Mechtersheim (Speyer) closing circa 1084: nearly 4000 pennies (over 95 % of Speyer) and one *histamenon* of Basil II and Constantine VIII (though the presence of this last coin should be confirmed: Wolfgang HESS, *Münzstätten, Geldverkehr und Märkte am Rhein in Ottonischer und Salischer Zeit*, in: *Beiträge zum Hochmittel-*

especially with two figures on one side, interpreted as Constantine and Helena well into the sixteenth century, and venerated in the context of the cult of Cross for the protective power of their images<sup>111</sup>).

I also found that coins were occasionally selected especially for the honesty of the dealers and thus reputed to be better suited for offerings, showing that coins also needed a moral purity as much as the purity of the metal<sup>112</sup>.

To conclude I need now to explain the papal soup in the title of my paper. Pope Clement V (1305–1314) believed in the special virtues of coins and apparently he used to request that small filings of a gold florin should be added to his food. This was for the prophylactic properties of both the purity of the metal and the image of St John the Baptist<sup>113</sup>. Ritual, devotional, talismanic uses of coins are often described as »non-economic« uses, but still they were part of a crucial exchange between man and God, and 'economy' in its own way.

#### SUMMARY

This paper will examine various aspects of the use of money and coins in the period analyzed in the congress:

- I. Money of account;
- II. The importance of coins and of numismatic research;
- III. Brief outline of monetary development in Europe (1150–1305);

alterlichen Städtewesen, ed. by Bernhard DIESTELKAMP, Köln/Wien 1982, p. 111–133, at p. 129. I am grateful to Michael Matzke for this reference.

111) TRAVAINI, *Les frontières* (note 109) ; Lucia TRAVAINI, *La bolla numismatica di Sisto V, i riti di fondazione e due monete reliquie a Milano*, in: *Sanctorum* 4 (2007), p. 203–240. A medal of St Helena can be seen in a very worn solidus of Justinian I, framed as a pendant, found in a fourteenth century hoard from Bruges consisting of gold florins of Florence, Venetian ducats, French gold coins, and 93 silver coins and 6 batches of gold plaques. The old coin was not just an ordinary pendant but one which was related to the cult of the Cross, however unrelated the image really was. I believe that for the devout possessor the image of the emperor was that of Constantine the Great. For the hoard see Caroline LOROY, *Le trésor de Bruges* (1877) et la circulation des florins d'or de Florence au nord des Alpes de 1250 à 1350, in: *Revue belge de numismatique* 153 (2007), p. 87–134.

112) Examples and bibliography in Lucia TRAVAINI, *Monete e sangue*, in: *Valori e disvalori simbolici* (note 24), p. 231–248, at p. 242; TRAVAINI, *Saints, sinners and ... a cow* (note 24); TRAVAINI, *Il lato buono delle monete* (note 25), p. 17–18.

113) The source is quoted by Robert DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze*, vol. 7, Firenze 1956–1968, p. 205–206: »...papa Clemente V (1305–1314) si faceva limare sui cibi il fiorino d'oro, ritenendo che la nobiltà del metallo e l'immagine di San Giovanni Battista avessero proprietà profilattiche« [da Resoconto di Niccolò de' Francesi, 1317, aggiunta sul dorso. Archivio Vaticano, miscellanea Cass. 11]. I found the reference to Davidsohn in Alessandro RUGGIA, *Considerazioni su iconografie di denari medioevali triestini riconosciute come »apocalittiche«*, in: *Quaderno di Studi. Circolo Numismatico Mario Rasile* 53 (settembre-ottobre 2002), p. 3–27, at p. 26.

- IV. Coins used and coins produced in Rome;
- V. Coins arriving to the Roman Curia: taxes, donations and pilgrims;
- VI. Ritual uses of coins and a papal soup.

Written evidence will be compared with the coins actually produced in various mints, and with evidence from finds and hoards. A special attention will be given to the need of a correct identification of coin-names in documents.