

**THE ECONOMY OF ROME
IN THE COMMUNAL PERIOD (1143-1398):
A NUMISMATIC PERSPECTIVE**

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Abstract

Between 1143 and 1398, Rome was a city of merchants involved in national and international trade, ruled by two different authorities – the Roman Senate and the pope – which constantly referred to the City’s glorious past in order to legitimise their power. From the late tenth century until c.1184, Rome did not have a mint; instead, it used foreign coins to maintain a monetized economy. A few important recent studies have drawn attention to this period, focusing mostly on Rome’s socio-political profile; crucially, however, none of these has systematically exploited the data of material evidence. This research project aims to fill this gap, examining the Rome commune from an archaeological perspective with a specific focus on the available numismatic sources.

The analysis of this rather neglected material is shown to be crucial for understanding diverse aspects of Rome’s economic, political and social profile, for example, the processes through which foreign money reached the city; the reasons behind the reopening of Rome’s mint in c.1186; the changing balance of power between the Roman Senate and the pope during the commune; and the multiple roles played by coinage in Rome’s medieval society.

This project focuses on the systematic examination of 5809 coins preserved in the coin cabinets of three of Rome’s major museums – *Museo Nazionale Romano*, *Musei Capitolini* and *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* – and in the Department of Coins and Medals at The British Museum in London, and through the analysis of 26 finds recovered in excavations in the Colosseum and at the site of Tuscolo (c.30 km south-east of Rome). The study of the archaeological evidence is supported by examination of 678 archival documents, which comprise 160 acts of diverse monasteries, and 588 notarial acts compiled between 1347 and 1398.

Through these combined analyses, this thesis discusses the main actors contributing to the introduction of foreign coins into Italy between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the reasons behind the reopening of Rome's mint in c.1186, the changes made to the *denaro provisino* – the most popular coin minted by the city throughout the communal period – and the multiple functions served by this issue as a means of exchange, a measure of account, an offering in ritual depositions, a means of saving and as a vehicle for political messages. The study thus gives important new angles to reconstructing the economy and powers of communal Rome.

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Abbreviations

Institutions

<i>ASR</i>	<i>Archivio di Stato di Roma</i>
<i>ASRSP</i>	<i>Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria</i>
<i>EEHAR</i>	<i>Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma</i>

Publications

<i>BollNum</i>	<i>Bollettino di Numismatica</i>
<i>BSPSP</i>	<i>Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria</i>
<i>BullCom</i>	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale</i>
<i>CNI</i>	<i>Corpus Nummorum Italicorum</i>
<i>MEC</i>	<i>Medieval European Coinage</i>
<i>MEFRM</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Ages</i>
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</i>
<i>RHC, Occ.</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux</i>
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. An Overview of the Rome Commune (1143-1398)

Late antique and early medieval Rome was marked by the gradual replacement of secular power with the ecclesiastical government of the Church and the bishop of Rome, who eventually oversaw the city's infrastructure, its ancient monuments and its multiple churches. A key figure was Pope Gregory the Great (590-604),¹ who administered a city, which had now shrunk to a population of c.25,000 from the imperial high of one million. The pope continued to govern Rome until 1143. However, in that year, the higher strata of the population of Rome (*popolo*), namely, a mixed elite comprising artisans, merchants, entrepreneurs and small land-owners, led a revolt against Pope Innocent II (1130-1143), established a commune and set up a new collegial government in the city: the Roman Senate. For around four decades, Rome was beset by tensions between this municipal institution and the papacy. Eventually, in 1188, these two powers reached an agreement, the called *Patto di Concordia*, which inaugurated a more stable era. The Rome commune lasted for more than two centuries, until 1398, and over this long timespan, the balance of power between the Senate and the papacy underwent several changes, which can be broadly summarised as follows.

¹ Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 59–87; Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300-800* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 18, 88 and 118; Neil Christie, *The Fall of the Western Roman Empire: Archaeology, History and the Decline of Rome* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), p. 147.

From c.1143 until c.1250, the mixed elite who had established the commune exercised considerable authority in Rome, promoting urban repairs, restoration of monuments, and construction of aristocratic buildings and towers.² However, after the mid-thirteenth century, the business of some members of this aristocracy, and especially of those merchants involved in trade with the fairs in Champagne, came to a standstill due to their loss of commercial power (see Section 4.3.2) and to the opening of a new commercial sea route via the Strait of Gibraltar to Bruges (see Section 3.2.3). Between the 1230s and the 1250s, a new conservative group mainly composed of land and castle owners and known as ‘the barons’, replaced the mixed elite as the leading group in Rome. These baronial families appear to have been more interested in their own social mobility than in the rise of the city; in order to maintain power and also to expand their control, conflict became common and increasingly violent in the fourteenth century. Such tensions gravely undermined the authority of the Rome commune, which eventually capitulated in 1398, when the pope became once again the sole governing authority of the city.

While recent important scholarship has drawn attention to the communal period in Rome,³ notably regarding the city’s economic and socio-political profile, none of these studies has fully recognised the value of numismatic evidence for exploring this notable phase in the city’s long history nor exploited it systematically. Nonetheless, coins were key material expressions of the commune’s economy and, I would argue, also of its identity. This is an overlooked area of scholarship, which this study aims to exploit by investigating almost six thousand of the coins that circulated in Rome in the communal period.

² Étienne Hubert, ‘L’organizzazione territoriale e l’urbanizzazione’, in *Roma medievale*, ed. by André Vauchez (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2001), pp. 159–86.

³ Amongst them are: Sandro Carocci, *La nobiltà romana nel medioevo* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2006); Maire Vigueur, *L’autre Rome. Une histoire des Romains à l’époque communale (XII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Tallandier, 2010); Chris Wickham, *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città, 900-1150* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

Below, in Section 1.2, this thesis will introduce the historiography of the Rome commune, which includes important contributions to the understanding of the socio-economic and political profile of the city in that period. As will be seen, however, none of these works used archaeological materials, including coins, as a contributory information source. Angelo Finetti is the only scholar who started a systematic analysis of the coinage circulating in medieval Rome, but his early death means that only a few of his notes remain, and these refer mainly to the early communal period (1184-1278). After examining the historiography of medieval Rome, Section 1.2 will discuss the gaps of knowledge in the current understanding of this commune and the resulting research questions that this study seeks to answer. Finally, Section 1.3 will briefly outline the contents of this thesis.

1.2. Historiography

Although the Late Middle Ages is still one of the least-known phases of Rome's long, distinguished history, the material survival from this period is in truth vast, including archival and notarial documents, chronicles, buildings (churches and *palazzi*), architectural and sculptural remains, frescoes, mosaics, as well as excavation finds. Especially in recent years, scholars have come to more effectively use some of these material sources to understand the socio-economic and cultural profile of medieval Rome.⁴ They have however primarily exploited the archival materials and visual art, paying far less or no attention to archaeological evidence. In addition, so far, medieval Rome has been discussed in monographs covering extended timespans, or in books and papers exploring key characters or specific aspects of the communal movement. Section 1.2.1 will discuss some of the principal contributions, while

⁴ Amongst them is Wickham (Wickham, *Medieval Rome*).

Section 1.2.2 will present an overview of studies which have explored medieval Rome much more through the growing archaeological evidence, including coinage.

1.2.1. Socio-Economic and Political Studies on Medieval Rome and on the Rome Commune

The first scholarly monograph on medieval Rome was composed by Ferdinand Gregorovius between 1859 and 1872 and strikingly it is still one of the most important contributions on this subject. Due to the broad scale of this study – which covers the history of Rome from the fifth to the sixteenth century – Gregorovius’ publication comprises a series of volumes, two of which focus on the political events of the Rome commune.⁵ Its narrative style makes this work appropriate for experts as well as anyone interested in the historical events, popular culture, rituals and ceremonies of medieval Rome’s society. For a century, Gregorovius’ contribution was the only study available on this subject, with the sole – and notable – exception of Eugenio Duprè Thesèider’s work, published in 1952 and focusing on the changing political structure of Rome between 1252 and 1377.⁶

New interest in medieval Rome and central Italy emerged in the 1970s, when Pierre Toubert published a monumental two-volume work that discussed, for the first time, the changing social, economic and religious profile of the Sabine region and southern Lazio: *Les Structures du Latium Médiéval* (1973). In this, Toubert explored the geological morphology and land use of the Sabina and Lazio, land ownership and conflict – his discussion on the rise

⁵ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo. Dal XII secolo all’anno 1305* (Milan: Edizioni Res Gestae, 2016); Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo. Dall’anno 1305 al 1420* (Milan: Edizioni Res Gestae, 2016).

⁶ Eugenio Duprè Thesèider, *Roma dal comune di popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1952).

of castles and fortified sites being key – and he provided a highly detailed bibliography of the available archival and narrative sources.⁷

Also in the 1970s Robert Brentano published *Rome before Avignon*, which outlines the Rome commune across the thirteenth century. In his monograph, Brentano re-creates the physical city, describing its fortifications, churches, towers and mosaics; then, he reconstructs Rome's social and political profile, ranging from everyday life to the ambitions of the great families of the city.⁸

Hugely influential was Richard Krautheimer's *Rome. Profile of a City* (1980) – a remarkable and pioneering monograph that covers the period AD 312 to 1308 – which closely analyses monuments of art and architecture, debating and interpreting some of the then least understood expressions of Rome's heritage.⁹

Almost two decades passed before the next substantial study on medieval Rome: in 1999, Ludovico Gatto wrote a new social, economic, political and cultural history of the city across more than a thousand years, from the rise of Constantine the Great until the Sack of Rome of 1527.¹⁰ Gatto's work gathers together an impressive amount of information, but due to its ambitious goal, its coverage of the Rome commune might be considered fleeting.

With the sole exception of Brentano, all of the scholars so far discussed produced wide-ranging studies covering centuries and not focussed solely on Rome in the Late Middle Ages. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur and Chris Wickham however published two books in 2010¹¹ and 2013¹² respectively, which can both certainly be considered milestones on the road to a new understanding of Rome in the Middle Ages. Below these two works are discussed together

⁷ Pierre Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium meridional et la Sabine du IX^e à la fin du XII^e siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1973).

⁸ Robert Brentano, *Rome before Avignon* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

⁹ Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*.

¹⁰ Ludovico Gatto, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1999).

¹¹ Maire Vigueur, *L'autre Rome*.

¹² Chris Wickham, *Roma medievale*.

because they both challenge the traditional vision of medieval Rome as a papal city, presenting it instead as a commune with its own distinct identity. Indeed, these contributions complement each other: while Wickham focuses on Rome between AD 900 and 1150, Maire Vigueur explores the subsequent communal period from 1143 to 1398.

Arguably, Wickham provides the first detailed medieval urban history of Rome before 1200, adopting an innovative perspective: rather than focusing on the role of the Church, he considers Rome from the point of view of its labourers and artisans and so covers all strata of society. Through the study of narratives, archival documents, liturgical encyclopaedias, religious debates and archaeological data, Wickham explores the relationship between the Romans and their countryside – a 6000 km² area occupied first by vineyards and orchards, then by the *Agro Romano*, and then by hilltop villages (*castra*). He also discusses the pattern of Rome's urban and economic development, showing that, as early as the tenth century, the city had reached a high level of specialization. Other Italian cities such as Milan achieved the same standards and even exceeded them, but only later, in the twelfth century. Moreover, Wickham explores the city's social structure, analysing the urban aristocratic hierarchies and their relationship with the papacy, paying particular attention to factors that guaranteed Rome's elite a stable power supply, such as wealth, titles, offices, and prestigious bloodlines, as well as recognition of authority, ostentatious behaviour and education. He then moves to the 'medium elites', who emerged at the beginning of the twelfth century as a new class, and to the cultural practices – specifically annual processions and secular rituals – that gave Romans a strong sense of community identity. Finally, Wickham explores the century of the 'crisis' from 1046, when Henry III imposed a period of foreign pontiffs, to around 1150, when the Roman Senate and the Curia finally crystallized as the main institutions in Rome.

Maire Vigueur's book continues this narrative by outlining the changing social, political and economic profile of Rome between 1143 – when the Romans rose against the papacy and

established a commune – and 1398 – when the commune ended and the Senate gave power back to the pope. In the first two chapters, Maire Vigueur describes the environment where the Rome commune flourished – an environment which he considers as a diverse yet cohesive space. He details the city's main religious centres, the fortresses where the nobility lived, the vineyards and vegetable gardens that sustained much of the population, and finally the large estates (*casali*) in the Roman countryside, mainly devoted to cereal cultivation. Next comes a strong discussion of Rome's population, illustrating their sources of revenue and the guilds they belonged to, and exploring the complex identity of the Roman nobility. Maire Vigueur distinguishes here between two types of elites – the '*milites*' and the barons – considering the rise and fall of each. He sets these social categories carefully in their historical and political context, analysing the characteristics of the political system operating in Rome and tracing the development of the commune until its end in 1398.

In summary, both Wickham and Maire Vigueur's studies have the huge merit of rethinking the nature of medieval Rome, dispelling the common myth that this city never fully developed a communal identity due to the presence of the pope. However, whereas Wickham draws for the first time on a wide range of sources including archaeological materials, Maire Vigueur makes no references to material culture in his study, choosing to portray the Rome commune from a purely historical perspective.

A number of other scholarly contributions focus on key figures of the communal movement in Rome. In 1957, for example, Girolamo Giuliani published a study on Brancaleone degli Andalò, who governed as Senator of Rome from 1252 to 1255, and again between 1257 and 1258 (his governments and the coins minted in his name in Rome are detailed in Section 4.4.2).¹³ Giulia Barone dedicated many studies to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and his

¹³ Girolamo Giuliani, *Il comune di Roma sotto il senatorato di Brancaleone degli Andalò (1252-1258)* (Florence: R. Nocchioli, 1957).

relationship with the Rome commune,¹⁴ while Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri and Robert Musto, in 2002¹⁵ and 2003¹⁶ respectively, generated important biographies on Cola di Rienzo – one of the most charismatic leaders of Rome’s communal movement and its sole governor in 1347 (see Sections 4.2.3, 4.3.3 and 6.3.5.2).

Scholars have also focused on specific aspects of medieval Rome, including its changing socio-political make-up. Marco Vendittelli published notable contributions on this subject, and more specifically on Rome’s urban aristocracy – which, between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, included wealthy artisans, prosperous merchants and entrepreneurs involved in national and international trade, as well as small land-owners, rentiers, judges and notaries. Vendittelli examined the economic development of families and individuals among this mixed elite, and more specifically their mercantile activities, through close study of papal records and archival documents.¹⁷

After c. 1190, and especially from c. 1230, a new conservative aristocracy, the barons, took over this mixed elite. They were in many cases equally involved in moneylending to the pope and members of the papal Curia, and they often owned castles and extensive lands.

¹⁴ Amongst these studies, the most recent is: *Gesta di Innocenzo III*, ed. by Giulia Barone and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Rome: Viella, 2011).

¹⁵ Tommaso Di Carpegna Falconieri, *Cola di Rienzo* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2002).

¹⁶ Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁷ Marco Vendittelli, ‘La famiglia Curtabraca. Contributo alla storia della nobiltà romana del Duecento’, *MEFRM*, 101 (1989), 177–272; Marco Vendittelli, ‘Mercanti romani del primo Duecento in Urbe potentes’, in *Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Cinq études*, ed. by Étienne Hubert, 1993, pp. 87–136; Marco Vendittelli, ‘Testimonianze sui rapporti tra “mercatores” romani e i vescovati di Metz e Verdun nel secolo XIII’, *ASRSP*, 118 (1995), 69–99; Marco Vendittelli, ‘In partibus Anglie’. *Cittadini romani alla corte inglese nel Duecento: La vicenda di Pietro Saraceno*. (Rome: Viella, 2001); Marco Vendittelli, ‘Un’inedita lettera di Gregorio IX a favore del romano Giovenale Mannetti’, in *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, ed. by Paolo Cherubini and Giovanna Nicolaj (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2012), 447–62; Marco Vendittelli, ‘Istituzioni, società, economia a Roma tra XII e XIII secolo’, in *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo: le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell’Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Roma, 25-29 Ottobre 2012)*, ed. by Cristina Carbonetti, Santo Lucà, and Maddalena Signorini (Spoleto, 2015), pp. 23–37.

Sandro Carocci has undertaken important studies on Rome's baronial elite, discussing their relationship with the countryside and their role in Rome's political life.¹⁸

While Vendittelli and Carocci offered a detailed overview of Rome's elite throughout the communal period, Isa Lori Sanfilippo explored the lower strata, offering a valuable assessment of daily life and of the guilds they belonged to. Through the study of the available archival sources – primarily, documents from the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Archivio di Stato* and *Archivio Storico Capitolino* – Lori Sanfilippo provided a complete list of these guilds, including those of the herders, traders and woollen cloth merchants (*artes bobacterium*, *mercatorum* and *pannorum lanae* respectively).¹⁹

Dario Internullo also recently published a study on Rome's intellectual elite during the Avignon papacy (1305-1377), providing the first systematic analysis of Rome's cultural environment in the fourteenth century. His work is important in suggesting that the Rome commune was much more advanced than previously thought not only economically but also culturally. From this perspective, Internullo's study aligns with contributions such as those of Vendittelli (1993 and 1995) and Maire Vigueur (2010), which view Rome alongside other Italian communes.²⁰

¹⁸ Sandro Carocci, *Tivoli nel Basso Medioevo. Società cittadina ed economia agraria* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1988); Sandro Carocci, 'Una nobiltà bipartita. Rappresentazioni sociali e lignaggi preminenti a Roma nel Duecento e nella prima metà del Trecento', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 95 (1989), 72–122; Sandro Carocci, 'Baroni in città. Considerazioni sull'insediamento e i diritti urbani della grande nobiltà', in *Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. by Hubert, pp. 137–73; Sandro Carocci, *Baroni di Roma. Dominazioni signorili e lignaggi aristocratici nel duecento e nel primo Trecento* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1993); Sandro Carocci, 'Barone e podestà. L'aristocrazia romana e gli uffici comunali nel Due-Trecento', in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale*, ed. by Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), pp. 847–75; Sandro Carocci, *La nobiltà romana nel medioevo*; Sandro Carocci, 'Pontificia o comunale? Note sulla monetazione romana (fine XII secolo – metà XIV secolo)', in *Scritti per Isa. Raccolta di studi offerti a Isa Lori Sanfilippo (Nuovi Studi Storici, 76)*, ed. by Antonella Mazzon (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2008), pp. 157–72.

¹⁹ Isa Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei romani: Arti, mestieri e professioni nella Roma del Trecento* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2001).

²⁰ Dario Internullo, *Ai margini dei giganti. La vita intellettuale dei romani nel Trecento (1305-1367 ca.)* (Rome: Viella, 2016).

Similarly, studies so far conducted on Rome's medieval visual art indicate that, in the communal period, this city was also highly developed and dynamic from an artistic perspective. As clearly shown by Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano, between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, architecture, sculpture and mosaic art in Rome evolved significantly due to the presence of a group of prominent artists. As most of them belonged to the same family, the Cosmati, their style was named 'Cosmatesque', and this soon became a distinctive feature of Rome's twelfth- and thirteenth-century buildings.²¹

A number of important works on Rome's communal identity suggest similar conclusions: Paolo Brezzi, for example, argues that, throughout the Middle Ages, Rome's aristocracy identified itself with ancient Republican values, and used them to legitimize its political ambitions. Brezzi proposes that this renaissance of traditions had already started in the early tenth century, but can be clearly observed in the twelfth century – when the Rome's *popolo* asserted its autonomy from the pope, presenting itself as the real heir of ancient traditions.²² Further diverse studies, collected in the volume *Roma antica nel Medioevo* in 2001, suggest that this renaissance and adaptation of Rome's ancient past was part of a complex propaganda programme, which was promoted in multiple ways by both the Roman Senate and the papacy throughout the communal period.²³

In summary, the long-held traditional view of Rome as a minor commune was mainly based on the scarcity of evidence, particularly documentary sources. However, a small group of seventy-seven documents written by the Roman Senate between 1143 and 1263 still survive – of these documents, only thirty-three are originals. Franco Bartoloni examined these with the

²¹ Serena Romano, 'Arte del Medioevo romano: La continuità e il cambiamento', in *Roma medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 267–90; Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano, *Arte e iconografia a Roma dal Tardoantico alla fine del Medioevo* (Rome: Jaca Book Palombi Editore, 2002).

²² Paolo Brezzi, *Studi su Roma e l'impero medievale* (Siena: Cooperativa Nuovi Quaderni, 1984).

²³ *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella "Respublica Christiana" dei secoli IX-XIII. Atti della Quattordicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio. Mendola, 24-28 Agosto 1998* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001).

intention of gathering all the available archival evidence for the Rome commune until 1398; however, he only published those documents for the period up to 1262.²⁴ Cristina Carbonetti has recently conducted further research on the documentary evidence for the Rome commune, exploring their structure and the formulae they contain, as well as their production, use and survival process.²⁵

This thesis seeks to build on this scholarship by examining for the first time the surviving numismatic materials in conjunction with the documentary evidence, and analysing the available written sources from a numismatic perspective.

1.2.2. *Studies of Medieval Archaeological Materials in Rome: A Challenging Approach*

Prominent amongst the experts who have challenged the traditional historiography is Chris Wickham, whose studies have already been discussed. His consideration of archaeological evidence, particularly ceramics, enabled him to propose a new image of medieval Rome and its traditional economic model. The latter dates the beginning of the city's growth to the eleventh century, matching Étienne Hubert's assessment from the available archival documents, which attest to a clear rise in land concessions and residential building constructions in this period.²⁶ Analysis of finds such as 'Forum Ware' (*ceramica a vetrina*

²⁴ *Codice diplomatico del Senato Romano dal MCXLIV al MCCCXLVII, Vol. I*, ed. by Franco Bartoloni (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1948).

²⁵ Cristina Carbonetti, 'La curia dei magistri edificiorum Urbis nei secoli XIII e XIV e la sua documentazione', in *Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. by Hubert, pp. 3–42; Cristina Carbonetti, 'Privilegia represalie. Porcedura giudiziaria e scritture documentarie connesse alla concessione del diritto di rivalsa a Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV', *ASRSP*, 129 (2006), 63–100; Cristina Carbonetti, 'Documentazione scritta e preminenza sociale', in *La nobiltà romana nel Medioevo* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2006), pp. 323–43; Cristina Carbonetti, 'Le scritture del comune di Roma nei secoli XII e XIII', in *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Roma, 25-29 Ottobre 2012)*, ed. by Cristina Carbonetti, Santo Lucà, and Maddalena Signorini (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2015), pp. 293–342.

²⁶ Étienne Hubert, 'Patrimoines immobiliers et habitat à Rome au moyen âge: La regio Columnae du XI^e siècle au XIV^e siècle', *MEFRM*, 101.1 (1989), 133–75; Étienne Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du X^e siècle à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990); *Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. by Hubert; Hubert, 'L'organizzazione territoriale e l'urbanizzazione', in *Roma medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 159–86.

pesante)²⁷ saw Wickham demonstrate how Roman pottery production was already very well developed in that period, suggestive of the beginning of the economic rise by the tenth century at the latest. Wickham was also the first non-numismatist to consider coinage: while his comments on the coins circulating in Rome in the Middle Ages are only secondary to his study of the available written sources, nonetheless, he expertly summarises the available numismatic evidence, drawing important conclusions concerning the reasons behind its scarcity.²⁸ He suggests that coins are so hard to find in Rome's medieval strata since they were usually melted down and transformed into ingots, which people used as a different form of currency. Sources such as the *Life of Mathilda*, which Donizo wrote between 1111 and 1115, duly attest to the circulation of this 'uncoined money'.²⁹

Important also are the contributions of Alessia Rovelli, who has explored the monetary circulation in Rome and northern Lazio in the Early Middle Ages (c.AD 600-1000).³⁰ She has examined both early and late medieval coins, including *denari provisini*, recovered in two of the most important medieval sites in Rome: the Crypta Balbi³¹ and the Colosseum³² – however, her discussion of the chronology of the *denari provisini* is only in the broadest terms, due to the lack (at that time) of detailed studies.

²⁷ Forum Ware: a distinctive class of brown- or green-glazed pottery produced in Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries (see: Helen Patterson, 'La ceramica a vetrina pesante (Forum Ware) e la ceramica a vetrina sparsa da alcuni siti della Campagna Romana' in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia* ed. by Lidia Paroli (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1992), pp. 418–434.

²⁸ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 171–76.

²⁹ As attested by Donizone, Matilda of Canossa sent to Pope Gregory VII £700 of uncoined silver and £9 of uncoined gold to support him against Clement III. See: Donizone, 'Vita Mathildis', in *MGH SS, Vol. 12*, ed. by Ludwig Bethmann (Hannover, 1856), pp. 348–409 (p. 385n); Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 173n.

³⁰ Alessia Rovelli, 'La funzione della moneta tra l'VIII e il X secolo. Un'analisi della documentazione archeologica', in *La storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia. Convegno internazionale, Siena, 2-6 Dicembre 1992*, ed. by Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994); Alessia Rovelli, 'Patrimonium Beati Petri. Emissione e circolazione monetaria nel Lazio settentrionale (XI-XIV secolo)', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, 55 (2009); Alessia Rovelli, 'Nuove zecche e circolazione monetaria tra X e XIII secolo: L'esempio del Lazio e della Toscana', *Archeologia Medievale*, 37 (2010), 163–70.

³¹ Rovelli, 'La Crypta Balbi', in *La moneta nei contesti archeologici*, pp. 49–95.

³² Alessia Rovelli, 'Reperti numismatici del Sottoscala XXXVI', in *Rota Colisei. La valle del Colosseo attraverso i secoli*, ed. by Rossella Rea (Milan: Electa Mondadori, 2002), p. 404.

The numismatist Angelo Finetti was the first to examine systematically the coins circulating in central Italy in the Late Middle Ages, particularly the *denier provinois* and the *denaro provisino*. However, his studies – in the 1980s and 1990s – did not generate a rapid sea change because of their purely numismatic perspective. In 1993, he published a hoard of 171 *deniers provinois* found in Montecelio (c.25 km north-east of Rome) and preserved at the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*. This work includes a relative chronology of the *denier provinois* (see Table 3.6), which is still one of the most comprehensive so far proposed.³³ Furthermore, through the examination of the *denari provisini* preserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano* and of those recovered in excavations by the *École Française de Rome* in Caprignano (province of Rieti, in Lazio) between 1980 and 1984, Finetti was able to identify numerous types of *denaro provisino*. He even conducted X-Ray fluorescence analysis via the Volhard method on some *denaro provisino* types at the *Istituto di Scienze della Terra* at the *Università di Perugia*, in order to enhance his relative chronology.³⁴ His aim was to understand the changes in these coins from their introduction in Rome in c.1184 until their withdrawal in 1398, but sadly he died before concluding his work. As a result, his important classification is only available in the form of unpublished notes.³⁵

Crucial is the work of Lucia Travaini, who offered a very clear overview of the coins minted by the Roman Senate in the impressive edited volume *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità*,

³³ Angelo Finetti, 'Il ripostiglio di Montecelio (Roma)', *BollNum*, 20 (1993), 61–96.

³⁴ Named after Jacob Volhard, this method of measuring metal content involves the addition of excess silver nitrate; for further detail see: Lukáš Kučera and others, 'Determination of the Fineness of Medieval Coins—Evaluation of Methods in a Case Study of a Medieval Pfennig', *Archaeometry*, 60.2 (2018), 325–41.

³⁵ Angelo Finetti, *Denari provisini del Senato Romano*, unpublished transcript, Grierson papers, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge. I am very grateful to the Museum team, and more specifically to William R. Day Jr, for allowing me to consult this important material in November 2014. The available Finetti's studies are: Angelo Finetti, 'Il ripostiglio di Fontana Antica', in *Le monete. Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia*, 10, ed. by Francesco Catalli (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1987), pp. 81–117; Angelo Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli: Moneta locale e forestiera in Italia centrale (XIII-XIV secolo)', in *Moneta locale, moneta straniera: Italia ed Europa XI-XIV secolo*, ed. by Lucia Travaini (Milan: Società Numismatica Italiana, 1999), pp. 67–86; Angelo Finetti, 'I provisini romani del primo Giubileo', in *Anno 1300, il primo Giubileo: Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. by Marina Righetti Tosti Croce (Milan: Electa Mondadori, 2000), pp. 188–89.

which discusses all of the issues struck by the Italian mints between the fifth century and 1861.³⁶ Finally, Alessandro Toffanin recently published a book on the monetary system of Rome between 651 and 1521; however, he discusses materials from a purely numismatic perspective, following Finetti's classification for the *denaro provisino*.³⁷

1.3. Sources of Study

Finetti's work opened up a new research path, but he never used the numismatic data collected in conjunction with other types of evidence to debate the economy of the Rome commune. My thesis intends to extend Finetti's research by combining the study of the numismatic material with the analysis of archival and notarial sources, and by proposing a fuller classification of the *denaro provisino* types issued across the whole minting period (from c.1184 to c.1398). To do so, this study will consider all the *denari provisini* kept in the coin cabinets of three of Rome's museums – the *Musei Capitolini*, the *Museo Nazionale Romano* and the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* – and those in the Department of Coins and Medals at The British Museum in London. As detailed in Section 2.2, these materials in total comprise 3351 *denari provisini* to which can be added a further six *denari provisini* recovered in Tuscolo (c.30 km south-east of Rome) and from Rome's Colosseum. Most of these examples remain unpublished and, in many cases, have never been studied before. Through their analysis, this thesis will enhance and expand Finetti's classification, and make more widely available a substantial body of numismatic material.

This sample also comprises 2321 foreign coins (*denari pavesi*, *denari lucchesi* and *deniers provinois*), which circulated in Rome and central Italy before the introduction of the *denaro provisino* in c.1184 (as detailed in Chapter 3). Through the close examination of these

³⁶ *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità* ed. by Lucia Travaini (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2011).

³⁷ Alessandro Toffanin, *Monete italiane regionali. Stato Pontificio. Vol. 1* (Pavia: Edizioni Numismatica Varesi, 2017).

examples, along with the noted *denari provisini*, this study creates a complete and detailed catalogue of the surviving coins circulating in Rome between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, but also questions the economy of medieval Rome from an original perspective, giving insights into the relationship between the city's two authorities – the Roman Senate and the pope.

This thesis examines this coinage in conjunction with 160 archival documents of Rome's monasteries and 588 fourteenth-century notarial acts (as detailed in Section 2.3). While these 748 documents have been already examined by a number of scholars (see Section 1.2.1), this has never been for monetary analysis. My study addresses this gap, considering all the references to the use of coins included in these manuscript sources. Such analysis will help to understand the use of coinage among Rome's medieval (elite and mercantile) society, as a means of exchange and/or as a unit of account in important and everyday transactions.

Overall, the high number of coins examined clearly reveals the importance of coinage within medieval Rome; however, in doing so a series of questions needs to be addressed. The first relates to the use of foreign coins in Rome in the Late Middle Ages: as outlined in Chapter 3, at the end of the tenth century, the city closed its mint and, until c.1184, used foreign coins to maintain a monetized economy. Interestingly, across these two centuries, Rome only adopted three issues struck by Italian and French mints: the pennies from Pavia and Lucca (*denaro pavese* and *denaro lucchese* respectively) and from Provins (*denier provinois*). But we must ask why Rome adopted these particular issues from amongst the many others circulating in Italy at that time? Was the success of these three issues in Rome due to their high fineness?³⁸ Can it instead be attributed to other causes? We must then ask about the reasons for reopening the Rome mint in c.1184, when a new type of coin was issued in the name of the Roman Senate:

³⁸ Fineness: the actual silver or gold content of a coin, measured in parts per thousand or by the percentage (%) of fine metal.

the *denaro provisino*. Why did Rome decide to lay claim to the right to mint after two centuries, and bear the high costs required for the management of the mint? Was that decision simply due to the economic growth then being experienced or else expected by the Rome commune?

This thesis also will discuss the meaning behind the iconography of the *denaro provisino*. As outlined in Section 4.2, its iconographic features are almost identical to those of the *denier provinois*. Why did Rome not replace these symbols?

Also, as will be seen, the close examination of thousands of *denari provisini* has enabled a reflection on the changing shape of this issue across the whole minting period. For example, *denari provisini* were quadrangular instead of circular from c.1200 until c.1280. But what are the reasons for these transformations? (See Section 4.3.1).

Furthermore, this thesis will assess fluctuations in the production of the *denaro provisino* over time – for example, observing how the number of *denari provisini* in circulation started decreasing in the late thirteenth century. What were the reasons for these fluctuations? (See Sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

A wider and more complex research question addressed in this study regards the actual role of coinage in the Middle Ages. More specifically: what can the numismatic and archival evidence reveal about the impact of coins in medieval Rome's society? What functions did coinage serve? (see Sections 5.2 and 5.3).

1.4. Thesis Structure

The research questions outlined above will be explored in the following six chapters: Chapter 2 will present the archaeological and archival materials used in this thesis, discussing coins and manuscripts in full. It will illustrate the methods used to catalogue the numismatic materials,

which will be divided into two groups – Group 1: coins from museum collections, and Group 2: coins recovered in excavations.

In Chapter 3 an overview will be offered of Rome's currency system between the tenth and twelfth centuries, when this city lacked a mint.

Chapter 4 will then discuss the introduction in Rome of the *denaro provisino* in c.1184, and explore the changes to this issue across the communal period until its withdrawal in c.1398. On the basis of the available numismatic evidence, this chapter will propose a classification of the *denaro provisino* that includes nineteen types, discussed through coincards – one per each type – which will include images of the coins and describe their iconographic and epigraphic features, as well as their average weight and diameter. Next will come an analysis of the changes in shape and weight of the *denaro provisino*; a production trend of this issue will be proposed, along with a discussion of the developments of the *denaro provisino* in its historical setting.

Chapter 5 will explore the multiple functions of Rome's medieval coinage, through the study of archival documents from Rome's monasteries, and through the registers of a number of notaries from the 1340s through to the 1390s. This chapter will reflect on the role of the *denaro provisino* as a unit of account and as a means of exchange in transactions; finally, it will consider two functions of the *denier provinois* and *denaro provisino* as offerings in ritual depositions and as means of saving in profane hoards.³⁹

Chapter 6 will then examine the hypothesis that the secular authority of Rome, the Senate, used the *denaro provisino* as a vehicle for political messages to justify its power, forming part of a complex propaganda programme. This political programme influenced a variety of aspects in the city, from legislation to architecture, popular culture and even military strategies.

³⁹ Hoard: a group of coins and/or objects of value purposely buried together (for a detailed discussion of this term, see Section 5.4).

Finally, Chapter 7 will revisit and assess the main research questions raised, and will consider ongoing needs and future research avenues.

Chapter 2

Rome's Medieval Currency:

Important and Yet Understudied Materials

2.1. Introduction

This chapter details the multidisciplinary approach of this research on the economics of medieval Rome, which combines the study and analysis of the available numismatic evidence with the examination of written sources.

Section 2.2 will discuss the numismatic sample considered in this study, which comprises 5986 coins mainly minted in the cities of Pavia (*denaro pavese*), Lucca (*denaro lucchese*), Provins (*denier provinois*) and Rome (*denaro provisino*). As discussed in subsequent chapters, these four coin types were the most popular issues in Rome and its surroundings in the Late Middle Ages (c.AD 1200-1400).

Section 2.3 will then discuss the written sources that this thesis has assessed in combination with numismatic evidence. More specifically, Section 2.3.1 will analyse 160 archival documents, which record transactions concluded in Rome across the Late Middle Ages and which mention the use of *denari pavesi*, *lucchesi* and *provisini* and of *deniers provinois*. These documents are preserved in Rome's *Archivio di Stato*, but were originally conserved in a number of monasteries. Specific examples of these archive texts will be discussed in Sections 3.2 and 5.2. Section 2.3.2 will outline a further 588 acts that are included in late fourteenth-

century registers of Roman notaries (*scrinarii*); these are discussed in full in Sections 5.2 and 5.3.

Finally, Sections 2.3.3 and 2.4 will discuss the lack of scholarly interest in numismatic materials, and will suggest some of the reasons for this.

2.2. Numismatic Evidence

The extensive numismatic basis for this thesis derives from two main sources: Group 1 consists of a full 5960 examples preserved in the coin cabinets of three of Rome's museums – the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, the *Medagliere Capitolino* and the *Medagliere Vaticano* – and a smaller sample at The British Museum of London (ninety-nine coins); Group 2 comprises twenty-six examples recently recovered at the Colosseum in Rome and in excavations at Tuscolo. In most cases, these findings have not been published, and have never been studied.

This thesis addresses such deficits by examining all of these coins systematically. The cataloguing method involves the full transcription of the obverse and reverse legends – letters were enclosed in brackets or replaced with dots when it was not possible to read them; the interpretation of types and symbols in the obverse and reverse fields; and the measurement of weights with high-precision scales and of the maximum diameter with callipers. In addition, the condition of each coin was evaluated on a scale of 1 to 4, these being: (1) Very Good; (2) Good; (3) Fair; and (4) Poor. Finally, each example of this sample was provided with bibliographical references – mainly the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*,¹ *Le monete dei papi e*

¹ Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI, IV (Lombardia, zecche minori)* (Rome: Tipografia della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1913); Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI, XI (Toscana, zecche minori)* (Rome: Tipografia Ditta Ludovico Cecchini, 1929); Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI, XV (Roma, dalla caduta dell'Impero d'Occidente al 1572)* (Rome: Tipografia Ditta Ludovico Cecchini, 1934).

*degli stati pontifici*² and *Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano*.³ The coin data collected through this analysis was arranged in a database that contains the following entries: inventory number, chronology, denomination, issuing authority, mint, type of metal, obverse and reverse legends, obverse and reverse types, shape, weight, diameter, conditions and bibliographical references (Fig. 2.1).

As Tables 2.1, 2.3, 2.4, 2.7, 2.9 and 2.10 indicate, this study identifies a wide range of coin types within the numismatic sample, with the *denier provinois* (Fig. 2.2) and the *denaro provisino* (Fig. 2.3) the most represented (2271 and 3357 examples, respectively – see Table 2.1). Thanks to the substantial number of examples available, this study observes how the epigraphic, iconographic and metrological features of these two issues changed across time, and identified different types of *denaro provisino* and *denier provinois*. More specifically, the analysis of the 2271 *deniers provinois* resulted in an updating of Finetti's chronology of this issue (see Section 3.2.3 and Table 3.7), while the study of the 3357 *denari provisini* revealed nineteen types. Each of these are detailed in Section 4.2. These nineteen *denaro provisino* types are ordered chronologically from 1186 to 1398 and this represents the first attempt to create a full classification covering the whole minting period.

Types	Nos. Examples
<i>denaro provisino</i>	3357
<i>denier provinois</i>	2271
<i>denaro pavese</i>	28
<i>denaro lucchese</i>	22
Total	5678

Table 2.1: Main medieval coin types included in the numismatic sample.

² Francesco Muntoni, *Le monete dei papi e degli stati pontifici*, Vol. IV (Rome: Santamaria, 1974).

³ Camillo Serafini, *Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie del Medagliere Vaticano*, Vol. 1 (Milan: Hoepli, 1910).

Each of the 3357 *denari provisini* and 2271 *deniers provinois* discussed in this thesis has undergone photographic documentation. The *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, the *Medagliere Vaticano*, the *EEHAR* and the *Università di Roma Tre* entrusted this documentation to team members with photographic expertise. The *Medagliere Capitolino*, however, generously assigned this task to me (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3). In most cases, the coins examined in this study have been made available through online coincards (Fig. 2.4) and papers in journals. However, for each museum the cataloguing and archiving of material followed different procedures. These will be discussed separately in the following sections.

It is important to highlight that the coins discussed in this thesis, and most specifically in Chapters 3 and 4, do not represent the total number of *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* so far recovered in Rome. For instance, other examples of these two issues were recovered at the Shrine of Saint Peter and at the Crypta Balbi, as listed in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

The term ‘Shrine’ (*Confessio* in Latin) refers to the place where, according to the legend, the body of St. Peter lies, and where he was venerated from at least the third quarter of the second century. The *Confessio* is located under the Church of San Pietro, and more specifically under the baldachin designed by the artist Gian Lorenzo Bernini and built between 1624 and 1633. The excavation of the site was commissioned by Pope Pius XII in 1939 and published in a monumental report in 1951.⁴ Excavators investigated a relatively large area including the Shrine and twenty-two tombs mainly built from c. 125 AD until the end of the century. The position of the tombs, which are in double rows much of the way, suggests that these followed the course of a long ancient road and only represented a small segment of a large necropolis. Archaeologists could identify the Shrine of St. Peter on the basis of numerous graffiti, on the

⁴ For an overview of the excavation of the Shrine of St. Peter, see *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949*, ed. by Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1951); Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of Saint Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1956).

wall of the Tomb, that refer to ‘Petrus’. Strikingly, c. 1900 coins dating from the first to the sixteenth century were recovered inside the Shrine. Their presence demonstrates that, from the beginning of St. Peter’s cult, devotees venerated this tomb as the Shrine of the Saint offering coins as a form of devotion. Amongst these coins, the medieval and modern ones (c. 1670 examples) come from all across Europe, including Italian cities, France, England, Ireland, The Low Countries, Scandinavia, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Spain and Portugal. As discussed in Section 5.4.2, this nucleus includes one *denier provinois* (Table 5.4) and fifty-three *denari provisini* (Table 5.5).⁵

A further thirty-two *denari provisini* were recovered in excavations at Rome’s Crypta Balbi (Table 5.5). However, like the examples from the Shrine of St. Peter, these coins are not considered in this study since they have already been published.⁶ Investigations took place in the 1980s in the courtyard of the abandoned nunnery of Santa Maria Domine Rose, not far from Piazza Venezia, and continued until 2000. The Crypta Balbi project marks a milestone in the history of archaeological methods: the project director, Daniele Manacorda, considered investigations at this site as an opportunity to follow a new research approach, which, for the first time, treats all eras and recovered materials as being of equal importance to reconstruct the past. The excavation investigated all of the occupation layers starting from the remains of nineteenth century, continuing with previous phases including the medieval occupation of the site and arriving to the ruins of a theatre, which was built by the proconsul Lucius Cornelius Balbus in 13 BC.⁷

⁵ These coins were published by Camillo Serafini in Camillo Serafini, ‘Appendice numismatica’, in *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949*, ed. by Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1951), Vol. 1 pp. 225–244.

⁶ Alessia Rovelli, ‘La Crypta Balbi: I reperti numismatici. Appunti sulla circolazione a Roma nel Medioevo’, in *La moneta nei contesti archeologici: Esempi dagli scavi di Roma. Atti dell’incontro di studio* (Roma, 1986) (Rome: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1989), pp. 49–95.

⁷ For an overview of the excavations of Crypta Balbi, see Daniele Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi: Archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano* (Milan: Electa Mondadori, 2001).

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Figure 2.1: Sample page of one of the catalogues created in Access for the Medagliere Capitolino.



Figure 2.2: Denier provinois preserved at the Medagliere of the Musei Capitolini; no. inv. Med20640, size: 19.2 mm (Photo courtesy: Medagliere Capitolino).



Figure 2.3: Denaro provisino preserved at the Medagliere of the Musei Capitolini; no. inv. Med18826, size: 16.6 mm (Photo courtesy: Medagliere Capitolino).

2.2.1. Group 1: Coins in Museum Collections

The first two years of my doctoral research required me to visit and consult museum collections containing *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi*, *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini*. In total, I examined 3477 examples kept in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, 2226 coins preserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Musei Capitolini*, 158 examples conserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* and ninety-nine coins kept in the Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum in London. As indicated in Table 2.2, this numismatic sample comprises a total of 5809 late medieval coins and 151 early medieval and modern coins.

Museums	Nos. Examples in Total	Nos. Medieval Examples
<i>Medagliere - Museo Nazionale Romano</i>	3477	3477
<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i>	2226	2075
<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>	158	158
<i>The British Museum</i>	99	99
Total	5960	5809

Table 2.2: Coins from museum collections in Rome and London included in the numismatic sample.

2.2.1.1. The Coins of the Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale Romano

Thanks to curator Dr Gabriella Angeli Bufalini, I was able to examine most of the medieval coins preserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*. These are four nuclei listed in order from the largest to smallest in Table 2.3 and detailed in Section 5.4.2. The first comprises 1199 *denari provisini* and is known as *Magazzini Nucleus*,⁸ since it was found in the storage room of the *Medagliere* (*‘magazzino’* is the Italian term for ‘storage room’). No documentation related to the place and date of the discovery of these 1199 coins has survived; nonetheless, the *Magazzini Nucleus* – named ‘Hoard 40’ in Section 5.4.2 – offers important information for a full understanding of the chronology of the *denaro provisino*, because of the large number of coins that it contains. Table 2.3 also lists a hoard of 923 *deniers provinois* and fourteen *denari provisini* found in Amatrice (c.150 km north-east of Rome) in 1914 (Hoard 9 in Section 5.4.2); a group of 781 *denari provisini*, which forms part of a collection of hoards found in Rome in the 1930s – around 5000 examples, known as the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* Hoard (Hoard 25 in Section 5.4.2); and a hoard of 560 *denari provisini*, which was

⁸ The term ‘nucleus’ in this thesis refers to any group of coins that has been found and/or preserved together, but which does not represent a hoard.

recovered in the Roman Forum probably sometime in the 1920s or 1930s (Hoard 26 in Section 5.4.2).⁹

Medieval Coins at the <i>Medagliere</i> of the <i>Museo Nazionale Romano</i>			
Nucleus	Issues Included	Mint	Nos. Examples
<i>Magazzini Nucleus</i>	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	1198
	<i>denaro senese</i>	Siena	1
<i>Amatrice Hoard</i>	<i>denier provinois</i>	Provins	923
	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	14
<i>MPI Hoard</i>	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	781
<i>Roman Forum Hoard</i>	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	560
Total			3477

Table 2.3: Coins of the *Medagliere* of the Museo Nazionale Romano.

2.2.1.2. The Coins of the *Medagliere* of the *Musei Capitolini*

I have collaborated with the *Medagliere* of the *Musei Capitolini* and its curator Dr Maria Cristina Molinari since 2013 and, so far, this has enabled me to examine 2226 examples in its collection. As shown in Table 2.4, the Capitoline sample includes 2075 late medieval coins, whereas a further 151 examples are early medieval or modern. Owing to their chronology, these coins are outside of the scope of this thesis.¹⁰

Most of the Capitoline coins within my numismatic sample belong to a single hoard that was recovered in 1932 at the nearby Torre delle Milizie – a thirteenth-century fortified tower

⁹ The collection of *denari provisini* conserved in the *Medagliere* has never been published; however, as agreed with Dr Angeli Bufalini, it will be made available to the public in a monograph, which I am currently working on, as a volume of the *BollNum*. This monograph will also include the whole *MPI* Hoard but which is only partially examined in this study (781 of 5000 examples) – it is anticipated that I will catalogue its remaining 4219 coins after the completion of my thesis.

¹⁰ Thirty-four of these 151 examples were published in Roberto Meneghini and Mariele Valci, ‘Lo scavo del monastero di S. Urbano al Foro di Traiano. Ritrovamenti di un ripostiglio monetale cinquecentesco’, *BullCom*, 115 (2014), 149–68. A further 36 modern examples will be discussed in Marta Barbato and Mariele Valci, ‘Monete dagli scavi dell’Area Sacra di Largo Argentina. Documenti d’archivio e nuove riflessioni’, *BullCom*, 118 (2019), in press.

located north of Trajan's Market (Hoard 24 in Section 5.4.2). As Table 2.4 indicates, this hoard includes one *solidus* minted by the Byzantine emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII between 962 and 1025; 1343 French *deniers* issued by the mints of Provins, Sens and Troyes between the eleventh and twelfth centuries; twenty-nine *denari* struck in Pavia and Lucca in the tenth and eleventh centuries; a focused stack of at least eleven *denari provisini* that still needs to be separated; and a *denaro* minted under Robert of Anjou (1309-1343).¹¹ The other three Capitoline hoards included in this study are smaller, but comprise multiple coin types. One contains 596 *denari provisini*, two *denari* from Ancona and one *denaro* from L'Aquila (Hoard 30 in Section 5.4.2).¹² Another hoard, recorded near Tor de' Specchi in Rome but still unpublished, includes a *bolognino*, a Byzantine *twenty-nummi* coin, five *grossi*, thirteen *semigrossi* and thirteen *samperini*. The third hoard was discovered in the Forum of Nerva in the 1930s and comprises thirty-two *denari* from Ancona and two *denari* from Ravenna.¹³ In addition to these four hoards, Table 2.4 lists a series of excavation finds: a group of seven *denari pavesi*, one *denaro lucchese* and four *denari provisini* recovered in the Imperial Fora and which is still unpublished; a nucleus of one *denaro pavese*, one *denaro senese* and one *quattrino* of the Roman Senate found in Largo Argentina between the 1920s and 1940s;¹⁴ and two unpublished *denari provisini* recently excavated near the Mausoleum of Augustus (numbered as 21 in Section 5.4.2). Finally, a group of nine unpublished Roman coins (two *semigrossi* and seven *samperini*) is conserved in a tray labelled 'Tray 8, Pio IX'.

¹¹ These materials will be published soon in the *BullCom*.

¹² Mariele Valci, 'A Hoard of Roman *Denari Provisini* Preserved in the Capitoline Museum, Rome', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 174 (2014), 227–44.

¹³ Mariele Valci, 'A Hoard of *Denari Anconetani* and *Ravennati* from the Forum of Nerva, Rome', *BullCom*, 117 (2016), 67–76.

¹⁴ Barbato and Valci, 'Monete dagli scavi dell'Area Sacra di Largo Argentina', in press.

Back Index Help	
[uncollectio001.med20557]	
Iconography	
Title:	denaro provvisorio medievale, denaro provvisorio
Typology:	
Administrational	
from 2010 >	Comune di Roma, Musei Capitolini, Inventario Medagliere Nuovo, Med 20557
Collocation	
from 2003 >	Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Medagliere Capitolino Commissione Archeologica
Creation	
from 1000 > until 1100	Place: Champagne, Provins et Sens
Technical data	
medievale	Measurements: Diameter 20.3mm Weight 0.37g Axis 12hour Material: MI Technique: struck
Notes:	
Finding	
from 1870 >	Place: Lazio, Roma Ripostiglio della Torre delle Milizie (E. Dupré Théseldier, Il tesoretto medievale della Torre delle Milizie, in Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. Roma, 60, 1933, pp. 249 - 252)
Description	
D/ Peline a denti diritti inscritto in circolo edonato, sormontato da crocetta tra due cerchielli 2 r. → RIL · DVNIS CATO	
R/ Croce potenciliata inscritta in circolo cordonato. I omega / II: alla / III: bisante / IV: bisante 2 r. → SEEI : DENIS CIVI	
Bibliography	
Print Resource:	Poey d'Avant, n. 5969 (139/17)
Editing	
Date:	2014-09-11
Name:	Mariela Valci
Notes:	
Image Avers / Reverse	
	 

Figure 2.4: Sample digital coincard of the online database of the Musei Capitolini – www.museicapitolini.net; example no. Med20557 (source: author).

Medieval Coins at the <i>Medagliere Capitolino</i>				
Nucleus/Hoard	Denomination	Mint	Nos. Examples	
<i>Torre delle Milizie hoard</i>	<i>solidus</i>	Byzantium	1	1385
	<i>denier</i>	Provins et Sens	2	
	<i>denier</i>	Troyes	1	
	<i>denier provinois</i>	Provins	1340	
	<i>denaro pavese</i>	Pavia	14	
	<i>denaro lucchese</i>	Lucca	15	
	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	11?	
	<i>denaro, R. of Anjou</i>	Naples	1	
<i>Denari provisini hoard</i>	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	596	599
	<i>denaro anconetano</i>	Ancona	2	
	<i>Bolognino</i>	L'Aquila	1	
<i>Tor de' Specchi hoard</i>	<i>XX nummi</i>	Rome	3	31
	<i>Grosso</i>	Rome	1	
	<i>Semigrosso</i>	Rome	11	
	<i>Samperino</i>	Rome	13	
	<i>Bolognino</i>	Bologna	2	
	<i>Unassigned</i>		1	
<i>Forum of Nerva hoard</i>	<i>denaro anconetano</i>	Ancona	32	34
	<i>denaro ravennate</i>	Ravenna	2	
<i>Imperial Fora nucleus</i>	<i>denaro pavese</i>	Pavia	7	12
	<i>denaro lucchese</i>	Lucca	1	
	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	4	
<i>"Tray 8, Pio IX"</i>	<i>semigrosso</i>	Rome	2	9
	<i>samperino</i>	Rome	7	
<i>Largo Argentina nucleus</i>	<i>denaro pavese</i>	Pavia	1	3
	<i>denaro senese</i>	Siena	1	
	<i>quattrino</i>	Rome	1	
<i>Mausoleum of Augustus nucleus</i>	<i>denaro provisino</i>	Rome	2	2
Total				2075

Table 4: Medieval Coins of the Medagliere Capitolino.

2.2.1.3. The Coins of the Medagliere of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

In 2016, the curator Dr Eleonora Giampiccolo gave me permission to catalogue the collection of 158 *denari provisini* conserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*.¹⁵

Amongst the nineteen *denaro provisino* types so far identified (and fully discussed in Section 4.2), the collection of the *Medagliere Vaticano* includes all types apart from my Group sixteen (see Tables 2.5 and 2.6). The Vatican collection, although small, is significant as it offers a near complete picture of the most important changes undergone by the *denaro provisino* between its introduction in Rome in c.1184 and its withdrawal from circulation in c.1398.

<i>Denaro Provisino Types at the Medagliere Vaticano</i>		
Type	Date	Nos. Examples
<i>Group 1</i>	1184-1188	2
<i>Group 2</i>	1188-1191	20
<i>Group 3</i>	1191-1208	1
<i>Group 4</i>	1208-1250	15
<i>Group 5</i>	1250s-1260s	2
<i>Group 6</i>	1250s-1260s	1
<i>Group 7</i>	1250s-1260s	4
<i>Group 8</i>	1250s-1260s	1
<i>Group 9</i>	1270	1
<i>Group 10</i>	1268-1278	3
<i>Group 11</i>	1280	2
<i>Group 12</i>	1291-1307	25
<i>Group 13</i>	1307-1347	31
<i>Group 14</i>	1307-1347	16
<i>Group 15</i>	1307-1347	2
<i>Group 17</i>	1347	19
<i>Group 18</i>	1347-1398	7
<i>Group 19</i>	1389-1398	3
<i>Unassigned</i>	-	3
Total		158

Table 2.5: *Denaro provisino types at the Medagliere Vaticano.*

¹⁵ Mariele Valci, 'Coinage in the Rome Commune (1143-1398). An overview of the *denari provisini* preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Historia Mundi*, 7 (2018), 38–53.

Denaro Provisino Types in Other Museums				
Type	Date	Medagliere MNR	Medagliere Musei Capitolini	The British Museum
<i>Group 2</i>	1188-1191	614	1	2
<i>Group 3</i>	1191-1208	87	0	0
<i>Group 4</i>	1208-1250	1561	0	1
<i>Group 6</i>	1250s-1260s	0	0	1
<i>Group 10</i>	1268-1278	1	0	0
<i>Group 11</i>	1280	0	1	0
<i>Group 12</i>	1291-1307	0	590	6
<i>Group 13</i>	1307-1347	0	4	11
<i>Group 14</i>	1307-1347	0	0	1
<i>Group 16</i>	1307-1347	0	2	0
<i>Group 17</i>	1347	0	0	3
<i>Group 18</i>	1347-1398	2	0	2
<i>unassigned</i>	-	288	15	0
Total		2553	613	27

Table 2.6: Denaro provisino types at the Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale Romano, Medagliere Capitolino and at the Department of Coins and Medals at The British Museum.

2.2.1.4. The Coins of the Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum

Between June and September 2017, I visited the Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum in London, to consult and study its unpublished collection of ninety-nine medieval Roman coins. This group comprises examples of different denominations, all minted in Rome during the communal period; of these I could identify: six gold *ducati senatoriali*, twelve *grossi rinforzati*,¹⁶ sixteen *grossi*, two *semigrossi rinforzati*, seven *semigrossi*, five *samperini*, twenty-seven *denari provisini*, seven *quattrini* and sixteen *piccioli* (these are discussed in full in Section 4.4 – see Table 2.7).

¹⁶ For the meaning of the term ‘rinforzato’, see Section 3.2.2, note 108.

The Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum is currently involved in the creation of digital coincards, in order to make its objects available to the public. However, none of these ninety-nine medieval coins has yet been put in this online database.¹⁷

Medieval Roman Coins at the Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum		
Denomination	Metal	Nos. Examples
<i>ducato senatoriale</i>	gold	6
<i>grosso rinforzato</i>	silver	12
<i>Grosso</i>	silver	16
<i>semigrosso rinforzato</i>	silver	2
<i>Semigrosso</i>	silver	7
<i>Samperino</i>	silver	5
<i>denaro provisino</i>	base-metal	27
<i>Quattrino</i>	base-metal	7
<i>Picciolo</i>	base-metal	16
Total		99

Table 2.7: Medieval Roman coins of the Department of Coins and Medals at The British Museum.

2.2.2. Group 2: Excavation Finds

This numismatic sample includes a further twenty-six coins that have been recovered in recent archaeological excavations within Rome at the Colosseum and outside of the city at Tuscolo. Although these coins only represent 0.4 percent of my sample (Table 2.8), they are very significant because, being excavation finds recovered in late medieval contexts, they can offer valuable details about ‘normal’ monetary circulation in Rome and its environs across the communal period.

¹⁷ During my stay at the Department, I was able to discuss with the curator Dr Barrie Cook the possibility of creating digital coincards for the 99 medieval Roman examples. Dr Cook does not exclude the possibility that The British Museum will support the digitalization of these materials within the next two years. The online catalogue of The British Museum can be accessed at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx.

	Museums	Nos. Examples	
Group 1	<i>Medagliere, Museo Nazionale Romano</i>	3477	5960
	<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i>	2226	
	<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>	158	
	<i>Dep. Coins and Medals, The British Museum</i>	99	
Group 2	<i>Tuscolo</i>	15	26
	<i>Colosseum</i>	11	
	Total	5986	

Table 2.8: Summary list of Groups 1 and 2 of my numismatic sample.

Fifteen of these twenty-six examples were found in different contexts in Tuscolo by the *EEHAR* between 1994 and 2017;¹⁸ they comprise: four *denari pavesi*, three *denari lucchesi*, six *deniers provinois* and two *denari provisini* – listed in chronological order in Table 2.9 but discussed in full in Sections 3.2 and 5.4. It should be noted that excavations at Tuscolo are ongoing and that further medieval coins were recovered between May and June 2018. I will update my database via future visits to the *EEHAR*.

Medieval Coins – Tuscolo	
<i>denaro pavese</i>	4
<i>denaro lucchese</i>	3
<i>denier provinois</i>	6
<i>denaro provisino</i>	2
Total	15

Table 2.9: The medieval coins found in excavations at Tuscolo between 1994 and 2017.

¹⁸ Some of these 15 examples were already published in Valeria Beolchini, *Tusculum II: Tuscolo, una roccaforte dinastica a controllo della Valle Latina* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2006); Valeria Beolchini et al., 'Il circuito murario medievale della rocca di Tusculum: Un rito di fondazione di XII secolo?', *Temporis Signa*, XI (2016), 21-36; Gianluca Mandatori, 'Un deposito di fondazione medievale dalle mura di Tusculum (XII secolo)', *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, 46 (2017), 175–95.

A further eleven coins were recovered at the Colosseum in Rome in the course of excavations by the *Università di Roma Tre* and the *Ministero dei Beni Culturali* between 2002 and 2016.¹⁹ As shown in Table 2.10, this group comprises two *denari pavesi*, three *denari lucchesi*, two *deniers provinois* and four *denari provisini* – all detailed in Sections 3.2 and 5.4. It is important to bear in mind that the data presented here is provisional, since, as at Tuscolo, the Colosseum excavation is ongoing. However, the preliminary results are noteworthy, showing that coins of various types circulated in similar proportions at both sites (see Chapter 3).

Medieval Coins – Colosseum	
<i>denaro pavese</i>	2
<i>denaro lucchese</i>	3
<i>denier provinois</i>	2
<i>denaro provisino</i>	4
Total	11

Table 2.10: The medieval coins found at the Colosseum in Rome.

As outlined in Section 2.2 and in Chapter 7, this study has considered different types of archaeological evidence, comprising excavation losses, hoards and unprovenanced materials. Unfortunately, hoards and excavation losses with certain chronology are very few. Since, in most cases, the deposit from which the coins were recovered remain uncertain, the study of these materials necessarily demands caution and needs to be combined with other methods. Amongst these, are iconographical and compositional analyses – in the absence of

¹⁹ Vitelmina Savo and Mariele Valci, ‘Le monete’, in *Anfiteatro Flavio. Trasformazioni e riusi* (Milan: Electa Mondadori, 2018), pp. 217–24; and Mariele Valci, ‘La circolazione numismatica medievale nell’area del Colosseo’, in *Anfiteatro Flavio*, pp. 225–27.

archaeological context, the study of the iconographic features and metal content can be used to assess the chronology of coins.

2.3. Written Sources

We are fortunate that medieval Rome is well documented on many levels, and this includes its economic activities.²⁰ Thus, in order to fully understand the data collected through the analysis of numismatic materials, this thesis has combined the cataloguing of coins with the study of documents recorded in Rome in the communal period, most specifically those which refer to transactions in *denari pavesi*, *lucchesi* and *provisini* and in *deniers provinois*. The sample of documents considered in the thesis comprises 160 acts of the *Archivio di Stato di Roma* originally preserved in the archives of Rome's monasteries and hospitals (Fig. 2.5), and 588 acts included in fourteenth-century notarial registers.

²⁰ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 171–76.

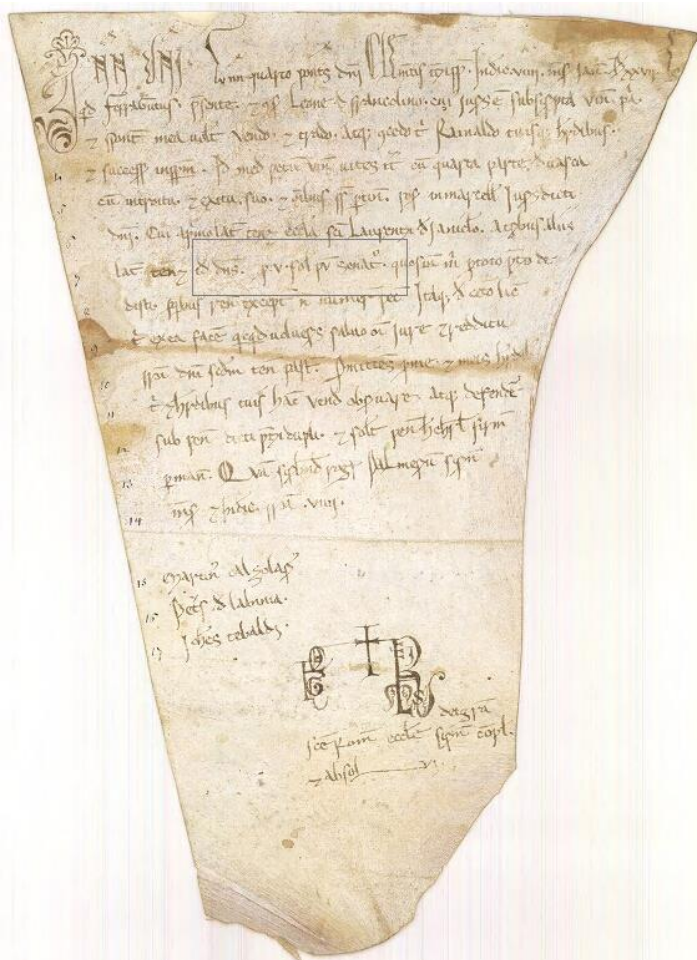


Figure 2.5: Sample manuscript from Santi Cosma e Damiano and detail of the section mentioning denari provisini: 5 shillings of provisini of the Senate (v sol pv senai); box no. 16bis, document no. 161, 2.01.1191 (source: <http://www.cflr.beniculturali.it/Pergamene/pergamene.php?lar=1920&alt=1080>).

2.3.1. Archival Documents of Rome's Monasteries and Hospitals

The group of 160 acts includes 146 documents from the monasteries of *San Silvestro in Capite* (fifty-eight acts),²¹ *Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea* (fifty-one acts),²² *Santi Alessio e*

²¹ ASR, 'Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite', box no. 38, document nos. 4, 13-15, 18, 20-25, 27-31, 33-38, 42-45, 48 and 50; box no. 38bis, document nos. 35, 51-53, 55, 60, 64 and 75; box no. 39, document nos. 107, 120, 121, 127, 133, 134, 137-1441; box no. 39bis, document nos. 151, 158, 159, 162, 172, 174, 176 and 179.

²² ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 15, document nos. 93, 94, 97-99; box no. 16, document nos. 102-08, 111, 113, 115, 119, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130, 132, 134, 135, 137-40, 143, 144, 146-49; box no. 16bis, document nos. 151, 153-55, 158-62, 164-68, 170, 177; box no. 17, document no. 204.

Bonifacio (twenty-six acts),²³ *Sant'Agostino* (ten acts)²⁴ and *Santa Susanna* (one act).²⁵ A further fourteen documents belong to the archives of the hospitals of *Santo Spirito*²⁶ and *Santa Maria della Consolazione*.²⁷

It is important to highlight that this group of 160 acts represents a very small percentage of the documents that record transactions concluded in Rome and its surroundings between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. However, considering the limited time available for data collection and given the numismatic perspective of this study, it was necessary to develop a set of criteria for selecting a small sample of acts. Therefore, it was decided to consider only the documents from Rome's monasteries and hospitals included in the project of the *Archivio di Stato di Roma* known as 'Progetto Imago', and mentioning *denari pavesi*, *denari lucchesi*, *denari provisini* and *deniers provinois*. Although there are largest samples of archival documents in print, it was decided to consider those included in the 'Progetto Imago' because this offers the opportunity not only to read the Latin transcription and the Italian translation of the document, but also to examine the original act through scans of its front and back sides. The project also offers digital access to the Alessandrino Cadastre, Urban Roman Cadastre, a selection of the Gregoriano Cadastre, to the cartography of the old Rural Cadastre and to some registers of the Tesorerie provinciali.²⁸

As Table 2.11 indicates, these 160 acts are of different types: rent and sales agreements are the most attested (seventy-five and forty-nine documents respectively) and these generally refer to houses and/or plots of land located in or close to Rome. Wills and pledges are also

²³ ASR, 'Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio', box no. 2, document nos. 2-4, 6-12, 14-19, 22, 29, 30, 37, 40, 51, 76, 82, 83 and 88; box no. 3, document nos. 51 and 76; box no. 4, document nos. 82, 83 and 88.

²⁴ ASR, 'Agostininani in sant'Agostino', box no. 1, document nos. 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17, 20, 21, 25; box no. 1bis, document no. 28.

²⁵ ASR, 'Cistercensi in Santa Susanna', box. no. 42, document no. 1.

²⁶ ASR, 'Ospedale Santo Spirito', box no. 59, document nos. 2, 7 and 23; box no. 60, document nos. 55, 65, 66, 74, 78, 82 and 85; box no. 61, document no. 118.

²⁷ ASR, 'Ospedale Santa Maria della Consolazione', box no. 49, document nos. 3, 19 and 21.

²⁸ The website of the Progetto Imago is as follows: <http://www.cflr.beniculturali.it/progetto.html>.

present in small numbers (eight and seven examples respectively) – the first being a document containing instructions on what should be done with one's goods after one's death, and the second being a deposit of personal property as a security for a debt or other obligations. Other types of legal documents are attested sporadically: receipts (four examples) – a written acknowledgement by one person of his/her having received money or property from another; dowry contracts (three documents) – a contract through which a bride brings a certain amount of money or property to her husband on their marriage; emphyteutic leases (three documents) – the right of enjoying an estate in exchange for a very small rent on condition of taking care of the property; renunciations (three examples) – the act of giving up a right that the law has established in one's favour; exchange agreements (two documents) – a reciprocal contract, by which the parties exchange equivalent properties. Only one form of the following documents are attested: cessions – the act of ceding one's claim to another; donations – the transfer of a certain amount of money or property to another without any consideration; loans – the act of lending money; powers of attorney – the authorization to act on another's behalf in legal matters; settlements – the resolution between disputing parties about a legal case; and usufructs – the right of enjoying another's property and its profits without damaging it. All of these documents make reference to money and often are very explicit in the coin type involved (see Chapters 3 and 5).

These 160 documents were composed between 1090 and 1397; accordingly, each tells us something about Rome's monetary system and changes in this across the communal period. More specifically, they inform us about which issues were most frequently used as a means of exchange and as a unit of account amongst the Romans (and incoming merchants) from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries.

Documents of Monasteries and Hospitals	
<i>rent agreement</i>	75
<i>sales agreement</i>	49
<i>will</i>	8
<i>pledge</i>	7
<i>receipt</i>	4
<i>dowry contract</i>	3
<i>emphyteusis</i>	3
<i>renunciation</i>	3
<i>exchange agreement</i>	2
<i>cession</i>	1
<i>donation</i>	1
<i>loan</i>	1
<i>power of attorney</i>	1
<i>settlement</i>	1
<i>usufruct</i>	1
Total	160

Table 2.11: The documents of Rome's monasteries and hospitals that refer to payments in *denari pavesi*, *lucchesi* and *provisini* and in *deniers provinois*.

2.3.2. Acts of Notarial Registers

In addition to these 160 manuscript sources, this thesis examines 588 acts mentioning *denari pavesi*, *denari lucchesi*, *denari provisini* and *deniers provinois*, and composed in the second half of the fourteenth century by the Roman notaries Paulus Serromani (1348-1355), Iohannes Nicolai Pauli (1348-1379), Marinus Petri Milconis (1357), Paulus Nicolai Pauli (1361-1362) and Lellus Pauli de Serromanis (1387-1398).²⁹ This group of acts, although large, does not

²⁹ Paulus Serromani, 1348-55. Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vols. 649/1-3bis; Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87. Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vols. 649/4-14 and 650; Iohannes Nicolai Pauli, 1348-79 (Renzo Mosti, 'I protocolli di Iohannes Nicolai Pauli. Un notaio romano del '300 (1348-1379)', *MEFRM*, 63 (1982), 3-361; Marinus Petri Milconis, 1357. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, vol. 1236, ff. 254r-323v; Paulus Nicolai Pauli, 1361-62 (in Renzo Mosti, 'Due quaderni superstiti del notaio

represent all of the notarial sample for the later fourteenth century – which also includes the registers of the notaries Anthonius Goioli Petri Scepte (1365),³⁰ Pietro di Nicola Astalli (1368),³¹ Lorenzo Staglia (1372),³² Francesco di Stefano di Caputgallis (1374-1386)³³ and Johannes Pauli Anthonii Goyoli (1397).³⁴ However, due to the limited time available, it was necessary to select specific documents. Therefore, this study mainly considers those registers produced in a large timespan, and which cover together the second half of the fourteenth century. Notarial documents are available from 1348 onwards, and the sample considered in this thesis covers the period between 1348 and 1398, with the sole exception of the years 1380-1386.

Like the group of archival documents discussed in Section 2.3.1, this substantial group of acts comprises multiple types of contract (Table 2.12). Sales agreements are the most attested (eighty-two documents), along with settlements (seventy-two examples), dowry contracts (seventy-one documents), wills (sixty-seven acts) and acknowledgments of debt (sixty-six documents). Receipts and rent agreements are equally widely attested (fifty-four and fifty-two examples respectively), while commitments – a promise to do something – and work contracts are present in smaller numbers (twenty-five and nineteen documents respectively). In addition, this sample includes an injunction – an order that restrains a person from continuing an action threatening the rights of another – and a renunciation. Finally, there are a further seventy-eight documents, which have been defined simply as ‘agreements’ since they do not fall in any of the categories listed above.

romano Paulus Nicolai Pauli (1361-62)’, *MEFRM*, 96, 2 (1984), 777-844); and *Lellus Pauli de Serromanis, 1387-98. Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vols. 763/1-5*.

³⁰ *Il protocollo notarile di Anthonius Goioli Petri Scepte (1365)*, ed. by Renzo Mosti (Rome: Viella, 1991).

³¹ *Il protocollo notarile di Pietro di Nicola Astalli (1368)*, ed. by Isa Lori Sanfilippo (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1989).

³² *Il protocollo notarile di Lorenzo Staglia (1372)* ed. by Isa Lori Sanfilippo (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1986).

³³ *Un notaio romano del Trecento. I protocolli di Francesco di Stefano di Caputgallis (1374-1386)*, ed. by Renzo Mosti (Rome: Viella, 1994).

³⁴ ‘Un protocollo del notaio romano Johannes Pauli Anthonii Goyoli (1397)’, *ASRSP*, 117 (1994), 120–69.

Notarial Acts	
<i>sales agreement</i>	82
<i>settlement</i>	72
<i>dowry contract</i>	71
<i>will</i>	67
<i>acknowledgement of debt</i>	66
<i>receipt</i>	54
<i>rent agreement</i>	52
<i>commitment</i>	25
<i>work contract</i>	19
<i>injunction</i>	1
<i>renunciation</i>	1
<i>agreement</i>	78
Total	588

Table 2.12: *The fourteenth-century notarial acts used in this study.*

2.3.3. Written Sources: A Small Corpus of Surviving Acts

Like the archival sources, these 588 notarial acts allow for a more complete monetary analysis to be undertaken. While the 160 documents from Rome's monasteries and hospitals cover a considerable timespan (1090-1397), these 588 notarial acts cover a more compact period – the oldest being of 27 December 1347³⁵ and the most recent of 15 December 1398.³⁶ The reason for the lack of earlier notarial acts is a topic of ongoing debate.³⁷ The Sack of Rome of 1527 might have been a factor, since, following that action, the mercenaries and the imperial army of Charles V seized whatever they could find in the city and set fire to houses, aristocratic buildings (*palazzi*), churches and archives for days. Therefore, many older archival acts

³⁵ *Paulus Serromani, 1348-55. Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vols. 649/1-3bis, document no. 2.*

³⁶ *Lellus Pauli de Serromanis, 1387-98. Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vols. 763/1-5, document no. 52.*

³⁷ On the scarcity of archival sources related to Rome in the communal period, see: Carbonetti Vendittelli, 'Privilegia represalie. Procedura giudiziaria e scritture documentarie connesse alla concessione del diritto di rivalsa a Roma nei secoli XIII e XIV', pp. 63–64.

recording the life of the Rome commune were lost along with other precious books, works of art, relics and sacred objects.³⁸ However, an alternative hypothesis can be proposed. As suggested by a small corpus of surviving acts,³⁹ the official documents issued by the Rome commune sought to celebrate the medieval Senate and highlight its connections with ancient Rome's authorities through the use of celebratory formulations and adjectives – amongst which 'eminent' and 'supreme' (*illustres* and *summi*) were very popular.⁴⁰ Given the celebratory purpose of these official documents, the papacy may have chosen to destroy these acts after the decline of the Roman Senate in the late fourteenth century, and so remove any trace of the Rome commune. Interestingly, these documents were written by Roman notaries (*scrinarii*), an elite group of highly skilled intellectuals, who also held the monopoly of private documents in Rome. Thus, it might be argued that the 588 notarial acts interrogated here represent what remains of a much larger collection of public and private notarial documents produced by supporters of the commune – which were 'removed' when the papacy regained sole authority in Rome.

In fact, the changes to Rome's coinage in the early fifteenth century seem to confirm the hypothesis that the papacy played a preponderant role in the destruction of the archives of the Rome commune. The Rome mint continued to issue coins showing the legends SENATVS.P.Q.R and ROMACAPVTMVNDI after 1398, but just a few decades later, Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) ordered the withdrawal of any issues showing such epigraphic features and introduced new types bearing papal symbols (see Section 4.4.3). Nonetheless, thousands of coins in the name of the Roman Senate still survive, and this study will

³⁸ Eric R. Chamberlain, *The Sack of Rome* (London: Batsford, 1979), pp. 137–203; Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma. Una storia dei romani all'epoca dei comuni (secoli XII-XIV)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2011), pp. IX–X.

³⁹ Most of the surviving documents of the archive of the Rome commune was published in *Codice diplomatico* ed. by Bartoloni.

⁴⁰ Carbonetti, 'Le scritture del comune di Roma nei secoli XII e XIII', pp. 332–34.

demonstrate that the analysis of these materials is essential in filling, at least partially, the gap left by the loss of much archival evidence.

2.4. ‘Neglected Materials’

As detailed in Section 1.2.1, scholars have been able to understand something of the socio-economic profile of Rome in the Late Middle Ages⁴¹ through the close examination of the documents discussed in this thesis, as well as other written sources such as chronicles,⁴² merchants’ notebooks,⁴³ papal registers⁴⁴ and pilgrims’ guides.⁴⁵

In contrast, the available numismatic evidence for the Rome commune has never been considered or recognised as an additional body of relevant data for this period. Unsurprisingly, therefore, academic and popular interest in this material has been lacking. To date, scholarly contributions considering on medieval Rome, although extremely valuable, either do not consider the numismatic evidence, discuss it for an earlier period, or mention it only in very general terms. Only Finetti made advances, but his important contribution was limited by his death (see Section 1.2.2). Strikingly, none of the coin examples discussed in this thesis have ever been exhibited; instead, all of them have been always kept in the storage rooms of coin cabinets. The *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano* does display some *denari provisini*,

⁴¹ The study of these information sources resulted in important contributions, which include in chronological order: Vendittelli, ‘Mercanti romani del primo Duecento’, pp. 87–136; Carocci, *Baroni di Roma*; Wickham, *Medieval Rome*; Carbonetti, ‘Le scritture del comune di Roma nei secoli XII e XIII’, pp. 293–342.

⁴² For example, see: Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. by Adolf Hofmeister (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1912); Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Giacomo Porta (Milan: Adelphi, 1979); *Gesta di Innocenzo III* ed. by Barone and Paravicini Bagliani.

⁴³ Their transcription is provided in Lucia Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica* (Rome: Jouvence, 2003).

⁴⁴ For instance, the papal registers from Honorius III (1216-1227) until Honorius IV (1285-1287) have been examined closely by Marco Vendittelli; see: Vendittelli, ‘Mercanti romani del primo Duecento’, pp. 87–136.

⁴⁵ Francis Morgan Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome, or A Picture of the Golden City* (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1889).

but these belong to the Vittorio Emanuele III collection, which is not part of my numismatic sample.⁴⁶

In summary, this research will enrich the range of information sources for the study of the Rome commune through consideration of this hitherto neglected medieval coinage as well as relevant archival documentation. My approach is thus a historico-numismatic one, exploring coins not just as money and metals, but as essential components of daily, economic and political life in communal Rome.

⁴⁶ However, as agreed with Dr Angeli Bufalini, after my thesis, I will study and publish the *denari provisini* of the royal collection on the *Bollettino di Numismatica online - Materiali*.

Chapter 3

Foreign Coins and Roman Traders

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss how Rome coped with the closure of the mint, which occurred by the will of the papacy in the late tenth century.¹ In order to maintain a monetized economy, Rome's authorities adopted multiple coins from elsewhere in Italy and in France, which circulated in central Italy at different times between the late tenth century and 1208. Amongst these, the most popular were the *denaro pavese*, *denaro lucchese* and *denier provinois*. These are all discussed in this chapter, asking questions about take-up, scale, durability and roles.

Section 3.2.1 will discuss the imperial *denaro pavese*, which was the penny minted in Pavia under the Ottonian and Salian emperors, and which appeared to gain much popularity in Rome from c.1041 until the late 1140s. Then, Section 3.2.2 will examine the imperial *denaro lucchese*, the penny minted in Lucca. This *denaro lucchese* circulated in Rome for roughly a decade in the 1150s, to be then replaced by the *denier provinois*.² The latter issue is detailed in Section 3.2.3, which will explore the political and economic context of the *denier provinois* and its changes over time, and consider the archival documents attesting to its use in Rome and central Italy. Unlike the previous two sections, this section will not discuss related archaeological materials, since these are detailed in full in Section 5.4.

¹ Alessia Rovelli, Luigi Londei, Lucia Travaini, Micaela Antonucci, Marco Bazzini, and Rosa Maria Villani, 'Roma (Lazio)', in *Le zecche italiane* ed. by Travaini, p. 1077.

² This sequence of coins is discussed in Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 172.

Overall, this chapter investigates the use of foreign coinage in Rome and its environs through the study of the numismatic finds so far recovered in three monumental areas in Rome, namely, the Colosseum, Forum of Nerva, and Torre delle Milizie, as well as in the medieval settlement of Tuscolo. As shown in the following sections, these materials are not numerous. Such scarcity of evidence can be partially explained by the fact that numismatic finds have only been systematically documented in recent years. For instance, the demolition works that affected the Forum of Nerva in Rome between the 1920s and 1930s reveal a lack of interest by excavators towards numismatic finds: the demolition of this area was supervised by Amleto Paroli, who recorded activities and archaeological finds in a journal, but this diary only refers to architectural and sculptural evidence, apart from one note about ‘some bronze coins found together with medieval pottery’, dated 8 May 1931. It could be argued that Paroli found coins in the Forum of Nerva only on that day, but another note in his journal would suggest differently. This second note is dated 16 May 1931 and says that ‘we did not find any coins this week’, implying that coins were actually relatively regular finds in the Forum of Nerva, but they were not viewed as ‘interesting’ as architectural or sculptural evidence.³

The analysis of the available archaeological evidence will be combined with the study of ninety archival documents of the monasteries of *Santi Cosma e Damiano*,⁴ *San Silvestro*,⁵ and *Santi Alessio e Bonifacio*.⁶ Now preserved in Rome’s *Archivio di Stato*, these consist mainly of sales and tenancy agreements related to properties in the city and its surroundings.

³ Valci, ‘A Hoard of *Denari Anconetani* and *Ravennati*’, p. 70.

⁴ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 15, document nos. 93, 94, 97-99; box no. 16, document nos. 102-08, 111, 113, 115, 119, 121, 124, 126, 127, 130, 132, 134, 135, 137-39, 140, 143, 144, 146-49; box no. 16bis, document nos. 151, 153-55, 158-62, 164-68, 170, 177; box no. 17, document no. 204.

⁵ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 38, document nos. 4, 13-15, 18, 20-25, 27-31, 34-38, 42-45, 48 and 50; box no. 38bis, document nos. 51-53, 55, 60, 64 and 75; box no. 39, document no. 138; box no. 39bis, document nos. 159 and 179.

⁶ ASR, ‘Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio’, box no. 2, document nos. 2 and 18.

Section 3.3 will focus on the reasons behind the introduction of the *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* and of the *denier provinois* in Rome. Given the siting of their mints along the major tenth-century pilgrimage route connecting Rome to Canterbury, the Via Francigena, this chapter will question what role this route played in the movement of coinage between France and Italy. Also, three possible complementary causes for the success of these coins will be discussed in full – namely, the Italian merchants involved in national and international trade (Section 3.3.1); those pilgrims on the way to Rome and Jerusalem (Section 3.3.2); and soldiers who joined the First, Second and Third Crusades (1096-1099, 1145-1149 and 1189-1192 respectively) (Section 3.3.3). A final discussion, Section 3.3.2.1, will offer a comparative study between Rome and another famous pilgrim destination: Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. The historiography suggests that, similar to what happened in Rome, the monetary system in Galicia was considerably influenced by the influx of religious (and other) travellers from all across Europe throughout the Late Middle Ages.⁷ This comparison between Galicia and Rome will attempt to demonstrate that medieval currency systems could be strongly influenced by external factors. Indeed, such a phenomenon is particularly evident in pilgrimage centres, where thousands of travellers, including pilgrims, flowed in for many different reasons every year, bringing along money from their own kingdoms or using and depositing coins encountered or picked up en route.

⁷ The studies of Suarez Otero and Roma Valdes are essential references for a new understanding of the monetary system in medieval Galicia. See for example: José Suarez Otero, 'Apuntes sobre peregrinacion jacobea y circulacion monetaria en la Galicia medieval', *NVMISMA*, 248 (2004) and Antonio Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage: The XIII Century. Textos de Numismatica*, Vol. 7 (Morabetino Es, 2011).

3.2. *Denaro Pavese, Denaro Lucchese and Denier Provinois: From the Mid-Eleventh until Late Twelfth Century*

Rome's mint was closed after around two centuries of producing *denari antiquiores* – as the first papal coins have been called from the eighteenth century onwards.⁸ It is still unclear whether this decision was taken under Pope Benedict VI (973-974) or under his successor Benedict VII (974-983). Similarly, it remains unclear why the papacy took this choice, renouncing not only an important right, but also a useful vehicle for its political messages. The accepted hypothesis is that papal Rome could not cope with the competition of Pavia, Milan, Verona and Lucca – all city mints, which, in the late tenth century, started producing coins with a high percentage of silver at very competitive costs, as a result of centralization policies promoted by the Holy Roman Emperors.⁹ Most probably, Rome lacked the economic strength to match these issues. Instead, the popes preferred to stop minting and adopt these same widely circulating imperial coins.

3.2.1. *The Introduction of the Denaro Pavese*

In the late ninth century, the Italian *denari* started to undergo devaluation because of the growth of demand for coinage; amongst them was the *denaro pavese*,¹⁰ whose fine weight had

⁸ For an overview of the *denari antiquiores*, see: Giorgio Fusconi, *Gli antiquiores romani. Le monete coniate dalla zecca di Roma da Adriano I (772-795) a Benedetto VII (975-983)* (Pavia: Varesi, 2012).

⁹ Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *MEC, Vol. 1 - The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 265–66.

¹⁰ For an overview of the *denaro pavese*, see: Camillo Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia raccolte e ordinatamente dichiarate da Camillo Brambilla* (Pavia: Premiata Tipografia Fratelli Fusi, 1883); Vincenzo Capobianchi, 'Il denaro pavese e il suo corso in Italia nel XII secolo', *RIN*, 9 (1896), 21–60; Alessia Rovelli, 'Il denaro di Pavia nell'Alto Medioevo (VIII-IX)', *BSPSP*, 47 (1995), 71–90; Andrea Saccocci, 'Il ripostiglio dall'area "Galli Tassi" di Lucca e la cronologia delle emissioni pavesi e lucchesi di X Secolo', *BollNum*, 36–39 (2008), 167–204; Marco Bazzini and Maila Chiaravalle, 'Pavia (Lombardia)', in *Le zecche italiane*, ed. by Travaini, pp. 993–97; William R. Jr Day, Michael Matzke, and Andrea Saccocci, *MEC, Vol. 12 - Italy (1) (Northern Italy)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 30–48.

decreased from 1.6g to 1.2g by the late tenth century.¹¹ However, compared to other currencies, its devaluation was contained due to the centralization policies of Emperors Otto I (962-973) and Otto II (973-983) and to the discovery, in the 960s, of a new silver mine above the town of Goslar in the Harz mountains, which the Ottonians exploited increasingly until c. 1025.¹² As a result, the *denaro pave* of the Ottonian dynasty – also known as the *denaro ottolino* – quickly became one of the strongest and most successful issues in Italy.¹³ Because of its high value, it may well have been introduced into Rome to compensate for the recent lack of local issues.

The Ottonian dynasty minted numerous types of *denaro pave*, which differ from each other in terms of their legends. Nonetheless, these types are very similar, all showing the imperial monogram (OTTO) on the obverse and the name of the city (PAPIA) on the reverse (Fig. 3.1). Amongst the few studies so far conducted on this issue, the important work of Saccocci includes a relative chronology of all types (Table 3.1).¹⁴

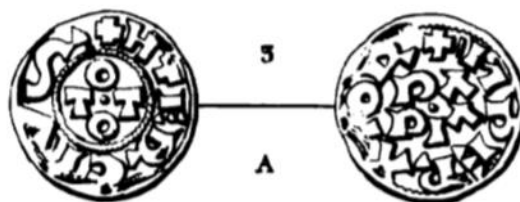


Figure 3.1: Denaro pave in the name of Emperor Otto III, 996-1002 (source: Brambilla 1883, Table 5, no. 3; coin size: not provided).

¹¹ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Le avventure della lira* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001), pp. 24–26.

¹² Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 74, 95.

¹³ Andrea Saccocci, 'La monetazione del Regnum Italiae e l'evoluzione complessiva del sistema monetario europeo tra VIII e XII secolo', in *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid 2003, Vol. 2*, ed. by Carmen Alfaro, Carmen Marcos, and Paloma Otero (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Bienes Culturales, Subdirección General de Museos Estatales, 2005), pp. 1037–49 (p. 1044).

¹⁴ Saccocci, 'La monetazione del Regnum Italiae', in *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática*, pp. 1037–49.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
<i>Emperor Otto I, King Otto II</i>	<i>Emperor Otto I, Emperor Otto II</i>	<i>Emperor Otto II</i>	<i>Regency of Otto III</i>	<i>Emperor Otto III</i>	<i>Emperor Otto III</i>
962-67	967-73	973-83	983-96	after 996	996-1002
D\ IMPERATOR R\ OTTO PIVS REX	D\ IMPERATOR R\ IMPERATOR	D\ IMPERATOR R\ AVGVSTVS	D\ IMPERATOR R\ INCLITA CIVITAS	D\ HTERCIVS R\ CIVITAS GLORIO	D\ HTERCIVS R\ IMPERATOR

Table 3.1: Chronology of the Ottonian denaro pavese (source: Saccocci 2008, p. 174).¹⁵

The available numismatic finds would indicate that the *denaro pavese* minted in the names of the Ottonians was very popular in Rome and its environs (Table 3.2). Fourteen *denari pavesi* in the names of Otto II and III are contained in the hoard of 1385 examples numbered as ‘Hoard 24’ in this study (see Section 5.4.2). These materials were found in 1932 in Rome, near the thirteenth-century Torre delle Milizie.¹⁶ Also, seven Ottonian *denari pavesi* were discovered during recent excavations by the *Università di Roma Tre* at the Rome’s Forum of Nerva. However, because of their bad preservation, only three of these seven examples – which remain unpublished – can be certainly identified as *denari* of Otto III. Also, two *denari pavesi*, one of Otto II and the other of Otto III, were found at the Colosseum.¹⁷ Finally, four Ottonian *denari pavesi* are attested to via excavations at the medieval settlement of Tuscolo by the *EEHAR*. These comprise three *denari* in the name of Emperor Otto I and King Otto II, and one example of Emperor Otto II.¹⁸

¹⁵ Saccocci has proposed minor changes in this sequence recently; see: Day et al., *MEC*, Vol. 12, pp. 45–46.

¹⁶ Eugenio Duprè Thesèider, ‘Il tesoretto medievale di Torre delle Milizie’, *BullCom*, 60 (1933), 249–52.

¹⁷ The example of Otto III was published by Antonetti in Stefano Antonetti, ‘Appendice 1 - Schede numismatiche’, in *Rota Colisei*, ed. by Rea, p. 328. However, Antonetti identified it as a *denaro pavese* of Otto II; the recent research by Saccocci (Table 3.1) would indicate instead that this example was minted by Otto III (Saccocci’s Type IV).

¹⁸ One of the three earlier examples was published in Beolchini, *Tusculum II*, p. 367.

Site	Nos. <i>Denari Pavesi</i>
Rome, <i>Torre delle Milizie</i>	14 type III: 3 type V: 7 unknown: 4
Rome, <i>Nerva's Forum</i>	7 type V: 1 type VI: 2 unknown: 4
Rome, <i>Colosseum</i>	2 type III: 1 type IV: 1
<i>Tuscolo</i>	4 type I: 3 type III: 1

Table 3.2: *Denari pavesi of the Ottonians found in Rome and Tuscolo (source: author).*

The death of Otto III in 1002 marked the beginning of a period of major instability in Italy: the Italian aristocracy fought the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire by supporting the rise of Arduino di Ivrea, who was elected King of Italy in 1002.¹⁹ During his reign, Arduino minted *denari pavesi*, although these are attested neither in Rome nor in its surroundings. Emperor Henry II eventually recovered power in Italy and was elected as King of Italy in 1014, but he died without heirs in 1024. Conrad the Salic was then elected *Rex Romanorum* and Holy

¹⁹ Day et al., *MEC*, Vol. 12, p. 42; Massimo Montanari, *Storia medievale* (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2002), p. 124.

Roman Emperor in 1024 and 1027 respectively. He was the first emperor of the Salian dynasty, and minted *denari pavesi* that are very similar to those of the Ottonians – but instead show Conrad’s name in place of the monogram OTTO.²⁰ Conrad’s successors Henry III (1039-1056), IV (1056-1105) and V (1106-1125) minted *denari pavesi* as well – these featuring the monogram HRICN in the obverse field (Fig. 3.2). The coin types in the names of the Salians did not undergo significant changes. Indeed, the main distinguishing feature is the name of the city on the reverse, which appears as PAPIA CI (the abbreviation for *Papia Civitatis*) on the *denari* of Henry III, and as PAPIA on the other two coin types.²¹

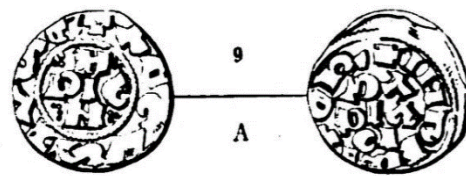


Figure 3.2: Denaro pavesi in the name of Henry III, 1039-1056 (source: Brambilla 1883, Table 6, n. 9; coin size: not provided).

My own research sample indicates that the *denari pavesi* of the Salian dynasty are attested to in central Italy, but are fewer in number compared to those of the Ottonians. Two examples, one of Henry III and the other of either Henry IV or V, were recently found at the Colosseum, during excavations by the *Università di Roma Tre* and the *Ministero dei Beni Culturali*.²² Similarly, two *denari* of Henry III were discovered in the Tuscolo excavations.²³

As asserted by Wickham, ‘*denarii* from Pavia dominated [Rome’s] documents until the late 1140s’.²⁴ Interestingly, however, among the ninety archival sources examined in this chapter, forty-five refer to transactions in *denari pavesi*, and more than a half of these are dated

²⁰ Day et al., *MEC*, Vol. 12, pp. 43–44.

²¹ Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia*, p. 228; Day et al., *MEC*, Vol. 12, p. 45.

²² The example minted by Henry III or IV was published in Antonetti, ‘Appendice 1’, in *Rota Colisei*, ed. by Rea, p. 328.

²³ The *denaro pavesi* of Henry III was published in Beolchini, *Tusculum II*, p. 367.

²⁴ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 172.

between 1162 and 1299 (Table 3.3).²⁵ For example, one informs us that, on 20 December 1170, Bobone, abbot of the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano*, rented out a house in Trastevere to two brothers, Albanello and Albitrio, for three generations at an annual price of two *denari pavesi*²⁶ – a sum which they had to pay at the Feast of All Saints.²⁷ Another act asserts that, on 3 April 1192, Rustico, abbot of the monastery of *San Silvestro*, rented out a vineyard outside the *Porta Flaminia* to one Rusticello at the annual price of 1d. *pavese*, to be given at the Feast of St. Valentine.²⁸ Similarly, a document signed on 25 November 1207 declares that Sergio, monk and rector of *San Silvestro*, rented a house with its vegetable garden in the district of *San Lorenzo in Lucina* in Rome to Alessio Siginetta. The latter agreed to pay a sum of two shillings²⁹ of *denari provisini* and an annual rent of 1d. *pavese*, to be given at the Feast of St. John.³⁰ Again, a document of 6 February 1281 informs us that Stefania and Boniza, daughters of Agnese, rented three vineyards in Ariccia (26 km south of Rome) at the annual price of 2d. *pavesi*,³¹ while another act of 11 November 1282 asserts that a certain Cecilia was renting a house from the monastery of *San Silvestro* in exchange for 3d. *provisini* and an additional annual rent of 1d. *pavese*.³²

These documents might suggest that issues from Pavia continued to circulate in Rome and its environs until the late thirteenth century, albeit sporadically. The fact that Pavia continued to strike coins, including *denari*, until the death of Francesco I Sforza (1466) would

²⁵ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’: box no. 38, document nos. 21-23, 25, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 42-44 and 50; box no. 38bis, document nos. 55 and 60; box no. 39, document no. 138; box no. 39bis, document nos. 159 and 179. ASR, ‘Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio’: box no. 2, document nos. 2 and 18. ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’: box no. 16, document nos. 137, 140, 144 and 146.

²⁶ Two pennies (*denari*) = 2d. (see Table 5.1).

²⁷ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16, document no. 140.

²⁸ ASR, ‘Clarisse of San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 38, document no. 36.

²⁹ Two shillings (*soldi*) = 2s. (see Table 5.1).

³⁰ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 38, document no. 50.

³¹ ASR, ‘Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio’, box no. 2, document no. 18.

³² ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 39bis, document no. 159.

support this hypothesis.³³ It might be argued, however, that the forty-five documents considered in this section, although covering a three-hundred-year period, always refer to the coins from Pavia as ‘*denari pavesi*’. Owing to the lack of any other qualification to help distinguish between the multiple issues minted by Pavia in such a timespan, it is more likely that the *denari pavesi* mentioned in Rome’s documents after the 1140s are units, or measures, of accounts (this function of money is detailed in Section 5.2). Roman notaries had usually measured sums in *denari pavesi* from the 1040s up until then. Therefore, counting payments in this issue type was a deep-rooted habit, which people might have found difficult to break. Twelve of the twenty-five documents dated after the 1140s and considered in this section were written between 1162 and 1177. Due to their chronology, these acts might therefore suggest that the *denaro pavese*, although replaced by other issues, continued in Rome as a traditional formula of measurements.

A different explanation might be given of the use of the *denaro pavese* in nine other documents, dated between 1191 and 1207, and between 1269 and 1299. Interestingly, from 1191 to 1207 the *denaro* minted by the Rome commune (*denaro provisino*) experienced significant debasements, which in 1208 led Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) to take measures aimed at relaunching this issue. The *denaro provisino* minted from 1191 until 1207 has been defined as ‘Group 3’ in my study (see Table 4.4). The documents discussed above indicate that, in that period, people used to lease lands or houses in exchange for an initial down payment and a small annual rent – which was paid over a specific term of years. While the first was generally calculated in *denari provisini*, the second was measured in *denari pavesi*. It can be argued that annual rents, as long-term payments, were more exposed to the risk of devaluations. Therefore, when the *denaro provisino* experienced devaluations, people perhaps preferred to calculate rents in *denari pavesi* – whose value they knew exactly, since this issue had been

³³ Bazzini and Chiaravalle, ‘Pavia (Lombardia)’, in *Le zecche italiane*, ed. by Travaini, p. 997.

withdrawn from circulation, and, therefore, could not change in its fineness. A similar explanation might be offered for the increase in use of the *denaro pavese* as a unit of account in documents between 1269 and 1299: in that period, the *denaro provisino* experienced significant debasements once more, and therefore people might have trusted it less. As will be discussed in Section 4.3.3, these new devaluations eventually led to the replacement of the *denaro provisino* with other currencies in the fourteenth century.

Type	Object	Year	Nos. Examples
<i>Sales</i>	land	1098; 1102; 1116	3
	salt pan	1136	1
<i>Rent</i>	land	1097; 1102; 1103 (2); 1105; 1121; 1131; 1138; 1139 (2); 1147; 1162; 1165 (2); 1166; 1169; 1191 (2); 1281; 1299	20
	house	1095; 1145; 1170; 1175; 1176; 1177 (2); 1194; 1195; 1207;	10
	land + house	1133; 1163; 1196; 1199; 1200; 1282	6
	workshop	1203	1
<i>Exchange</i>	land	1124	1
<i>Emphyteusis</i>	land	1162	1
<i>Transfer</i>	house	1269	1
<i>Will</i>	goods + real estate	1090	1
Total			45

Table 3.3: Archival documents of Rome's monasteries that refer to the use of the *denaro pavese* in transactions (source: author).

3.2.2. The Introduction of the Denaro Lucchese

In the early twelfth century, the *denaro pavese* experienced repeated debasements. As a result, possibly in the 1150s, it was replaced with a different and stronger imperial issue, namely the *denaro lucchese*.³⁴

Like Pavia, Lucca minted pennies with the monogram OTTO on the obverse and the name of the city (in this case, LVCA) on the reverse. Henry II (1014-1024) replaced this monogram with an 'H' perhaps to be interpreted as a degeneration of the Ottonian monogram, obtained by removing the two Os and tying the two Ts (Fig. 3.3). His successors Henry III, IV and V did not change this coin type significantly (Fig. 3.4).



Figure 3.3: Transformation of the Ottonian monogram into the Salian monogram (sources: a. Sixbid.com auction, Lot 549, 08/02/2015; b. Brunetti auction, Lot 143, 18/11/2009; coin size: not provided).



Figure 3.4: Denaro lucchese of the Salian dynasty (source: Brunetti auction, Lot 143, 18/11/2009; coin size: not provided).

³⁴ For an overview of the *denaro lucchese*, see: Michael Matzke, 'Von Ottolinus zum Grossus: Munzprägung in der Toskana vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, 72 (1993), 135–92; Monica Baldassarri, 'Da un "Enrico" all'altro: La monetazione lucchese tra il Mille e gli inizi del Trecento', in *Scoperta armonia. Arte medievale a Lucca*, ed. by Chiara Bozzoli and Maria Teresa Filieri (Lucca: Fondazione Ragghianti Studi sull'Arte, 2014), pp. 89–106; Franca Maria Vanni, 'Lucca (Toscana)', in *Le zecche italiane*, ed. by Travaini, pp. 785–93.

The *denari lucchesi* so far found in Rome and its environs only give the names of the Salian emperors. As Table 3.4 indicates, the hoard recovered near the Torre delle Milizie in 1932 comprises fifteen *denari lucchesi*,³⁵ whereas three examples were found in the Colosseum,³⁶ and another three examples were recovered at Tuscolo.³⁷

Site	Nos. <i>Denari Lucchesi</i>
<i>Torre Milizie, Rome</i>	15
<i>Colosseum, Rome</i>	3
<i>Tuscolo</i>	3

Table 3.4: *Denari lucchesi of the Salian dynasty found in Rome and Tuscolo (source: author).*

The archives of the monasteries of *San Silvestro* and *Santi Cosma e Damiano* include twenty-one documents referring to transactions in *denari lucchesi*; amongst them, sixteen are dated between 1161 and 1219, showing that the *denaro lucchese* continued to be mentioned in sales and tenancy agreements after the mid-twelfth century (Table 3.5).³⁸ Interestingly, only one of these twenty-one acts refers to properties in Rome. This particular document asserts that, on 3 July 1177, the monastery of *Santi Cosma and Damiano* rented out a house in Trastevere to Nicola de Alfedocia, in exchange for an initial sum of 5s. of ‘good *denari provisini*’ and an annual rent of either a 1/2 d. *pavese* or 1 *afforziato*.³⁹ Lucca minted *denari* known as *afforziati*⁴⁰ in the eleventh century. However, this term only appears in documents after the 1140s. Due to

³⁵ Duprè Thesèider, ‘Il tesoretto medievale di Torre delle Milizie’, 249–52.

³⁶ One of these three examples was published in Rovelli, ‘Reperti numismatici del Sottoscala XXXVI’ in *Rota Colisei*, ed. by Rea, p. 404.

³⁷ Of these three examples, two are still unpublished, whereas one has been identified as a *denaro lucchese* of Henry V in Mandatori, ‘Un deposito di fondazione medievale’, 175–95.

³⁸ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’: box no. 38, document nos. 18, 21, 22, 37 and 38; box no. 38bis, document nos. 52, 53, 64 and 75. ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 15, document nos. 93 and 99; box no. 16, document nos. 106, 107, 134, 139, 146–49; box no. 16bis, document no. 151; box no. 17, document no. 204.

³⁹ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16, document no. 146.

⁴⁰ Sometimes issuing authorities ordered an increase in the silver content of popular issues such as the *denaro*, *grosso* or *semigrosso*; once the metal content was made stronger, these coins were defined as ‘*rinforzati*’ or ‘*afforziati*’.

the fact that Lucca started to issue new coins in the 1140s, it has been argued that the term *afforziato* was actually used in twelfth-century acts as a general reference to those old *denari* minted by Lucca before the 1140s;⁴¹ this seems an entirely reasonable supposition.

The other twenty acts all refer to properties in places north of Rome – such as Sutri (c.55 km distant) and Vasanello (c.75 km away). One of these acts asserts that, in December 1168, the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano* rented out a house in Sutri to Kaciaguerra di Paolo de Guarnerio, in exchange for 14s. of *denari lucchesi* and for an annual rent of 4d. *lucchesi*.⁴² Similarly, in January 1194, the monastery of *San Silvestro* rented out a plot of land in Vasanello to Bonifazio and Bonomo, in exchange for an initial sum of 26s. of ‘good *denari lucchesi*’ and for an annual rent of a *staio*⁴³ of wheat or corn.⁴⁴ Again, on February 1201, this same monastery gave two pieces of land near Vassanello to Saraceno, Pietro, Crescio and Angelo the Priest, and it received a payment of 113s. of *denari lucchesi* and an annual rent of 2d. *lucchesi*.⁴⁵

The relatively small size of the sample of documents considered in this section probably reflects the fact that the *denaro lucchese* circulated in Rome and its environs for only a single decade, in the 1150s. As a result, unlike the *denaro pavese*, it did not have enough time to become ingrained as a common unit of account among Romans.

⁴¹ *Palaeographica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli, II*, ed. by Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell’Università di Roma, Storia e Letteratura (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979), pp. 205–6.

⁴² ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16, document nos. 139.

⁴³ Staio: average consumption rate of grain per person per month; see: Giuliano Pinto, *Il libro del biadaio. Carestie e annona a Firenze dalla metà del '200 al 1348* (Florence: Olschki, 1978), pp. 77–78.

⁴⁴ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 38, document no. 37.

⁴⁵ ASR, ‘Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite’, box no. 38bis, document no. 53.

Type	Object	Year	Nos. Examples
Sales	Land	1100; 1181; 1211	3
	house	1214	1
	use of mill	1104 (2)	2
Rent	Land	1162; 1181; 1194; 1201 (2)	4
	house	1156; 1168; 1177	2
	castle	1194	1
Pledge	Land	1178 (2)	2
	hemp	1161	1
Emphyteusis	Land	1162; 1219	2
Usufruct	land + house	1093	1
Total			21

Table 3.5: Archival documents of Rome's monasteries that refer to the use of the *denaro lucchese* in transactions (source: author).

Whilst it has been generally agreed that the *denaro lucchese* was mostly used in transactions in the 1150s,⁴⁶ the available evidence indicates that, sometimes, people in Rome measured sums in *denari lucchesi* before and after this decade. Thus, four acts of the research sample discussed in this section were signed between 1093 and 1104, sixteen documents between 1161 and 1219, compared to only one act in the 1150s (1156). As proposed for the *denaro pavese*, there might be the possibility that the documents considered actually refer to the *denaro lucchese* as a means of exchange. Those four acts signed between 1093 and 1104 might support this hypothesis: by then, the *denaro lucchese* had not had time to spread in Rome. Accordingly, its use in transactions cannot be explained as the result of a deep-rooted habit. However, between the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the *denaro lucchese* circulated widely in Lucca and its environs. Therefore, it could be argued that the authors of these four

⁴⁶ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 172.

acts knew the notarial formulary used in Tuscany at that time and were influenced by it. Although this hypothesis cannot easily be verified, it would explain the use of the *denaro lucchese* as a means of account in Roman documents before its actual introduction as currency in Rome.

Like the twenty-five documents examined in Section 3.2.1, the sixteen acts mentioning *denari lucchesi* dated after the withdrawal of this issue (1161-1219), could suggest that, even after the replacement of the *denaro* of Lucca, people still occasionally reckoned sums in *denari lucchesi*. Following this hypothesis, the presence of *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century documents might be interpreted simply as the persistence of a notarial habit because of the memory of its perceived value.

3.2.3. *The Introduction of the Denier Provinois*

The available written and archaeological sources indicate that another foreign issue was introduced into Rome's monetary system in the 1150s: the *denier provinois*, minted by the Counts of Champagne in Provins (north-eastern France). The archival and numismatic materials so far recovered in Italy (detailed in Sections 3.2.3.3 and 5.4.2.1 respectively) would suggest that the *denier provinois* replaced the *denari* from Pavia and Lucca in a relatively short time. Owing to its high silver content, the *denier provinois* remained popular in central Italy, even after the reopening of Rome's mint.

3.2.3.1. *The County of Champagne between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*

Until the first quarter of the twelfth century, the County of Champagne was a fragmented zone dominated by prelates, local counts and barons. Nevertheless, this region became more cohesive in 1125 when Thibault II (1125-1152), Count of Brie, assumed the title of Count of

Champagne.⁴⁷ In order to promote cultural and economic growth, Thibault and his successors patronized poets and writers, creating a vibrant literary atmosphere at court. For instance, the illustrious writer of Arthurian romance Chrétien of Troyes featured in this circle.⁴⁸ Moreover, the Counts encouraged rural migration by founding new villages with favourable terms of residence and tenure, they supported the diffusion of Cistercian monasteries and they promoted travelling trade fairs, aimed at improving the economy in the most populous towns of the County.⁴⁹

Thibault II was the first to organize trade fairs in the County: in 1137, he defined an area in Provins where local and foreign merchants could trade goods securely. His son, Henry I (1152-1180), enlarged this area and established detailed regulations, and, as a result, the Champagne fairs became well-known across Europe.⁵⁰ Henry's rules included the requirement that both foreign and local merchants lodged along with their goods within the boundaries of the fairs. Only if all the available lodges were filled could merchants stay outside the prescribed area.⁵¹ The Counts also employed officials to police the streets, and established public law-courts, which judged lawsuits and officially witnessed contracts. The most serious cases involving foreign merchants were judged by the Counts in person, whereas judgement in less serious cases went to bailiffs and provosts. Much attention was paid to accommodation and commercial infrastructures: the Counts supported the construction of hostelries and

⁴⁷ As for the history of the county of Champagne, see: Theodore Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France. Documents from the County of Champagne* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁴⁸ Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France*, pp. 20–21. Key bibliographical references for the fairs of Champagne are: André Allix, 'The Geography of Fairs: Illustrated by Old-World Examples', *Geographical Review*, 12.4 (1922), 532–69; Charles Verlinden, 'Markets and Fairs', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 3, ed. by Michael M. Postan, Edwin E. Rich, and Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 119–54; Rosalind K. Berlow, 'The Development of Business Techniques Used at the Fairs of Champagne from the End of the Twelfth to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 8 (1971), 3–31; Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), pp. 143–52.

⁵⁰ Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France*, p. 28.

⁵¹ Evergates, *Feudal Society in Medieval France*, pp. 28–30 doc. 20.

warehousing or selling space for the visitors at the fairs. Furthermore, they ensured security through the construction of fortifications around the Champagne fair-towns and of roads connecting them.⁵²

The efficiency of road networks was an important issue, since the fairs were events that moved around the County and, by c.1200, an annual cycle of six fairs had become established. Such a cycle was almost continuous throughout the year; it only provided breaks for merchants to move to the next event, in case they wanted to attend all six fairs. The latter were held in Provins, Troyes, Bar-Sur-Aube and Lagny – all towns situated near rivers – and they lasted approximately six weeks each. The cycle began at Provins (from 14 September), this fair was followed by a second event at Troyes (from 12 November), and by a third at Lagny (from 2 January). The fourth fair was held at Bar-Sur-Aube (from the Tuesday before mid-Lent), while the fifth at Provins (from the Tuesday before Ascension Day) and the sixth at Troyes (from the first fortnight in July).⁵³

Among the four cities that accommodated these fairs, Troyes and Provins were also important cloth-producing centres. In the thirteenth century, cloth produced by northern French cities was in fact one of the most traded items at the fairs. Italian merchants attending these events usually offered their local products, or else Eastern goods, such as silk and spices, which Genoese and Venetian mariners had imported from Arab lands and traders, in exchange for unfinished French cloth. Once carried to Italy, this material was finished and resold at a higher price.⁵⁴

⁵² Jeremy Edwards and Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, ‘What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw from the Champagne Fairs?’, *CESifo Working Paper Series 3438*, 2011; Charles Alengry, *Les foires de Champagne: Etude d’histoire économique* (Paris: Rousseau et Cie, 1915), pp. 108, 110, 113.

⁵³ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 146.

⁵⁴ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 147.

The Champagne fairs started to decline only in c.1285 when the County became French, and, therefore, lost its neutral character.⁵⁵ A resident court disappeared in Champagne and a new commercial sea route was opened from the Mediterranean via the Strait of Gibraltar to Bruges. Merchants, Italians included, started to exploit these new opportunities, purchasing unrefined cloth in Bruges and bringing it back by sea.⁵⁶

3.2.3.2. *Changes Underwent by the Denier Provinois over Time*

Symbols of the Champagne fairs were the *denier* minted in Provins – a coin type denominated as the *denier provinois* – and the weight standard of Troyes – which was known as *troy weight*. The latter was originally local, but the expansion of the fairs saw its adoption as an international standard in both London and Paris.⁵⁷ For the same reason, the local *denier provinois* became the dominant currency of eastern France and was even introduced into central Italy, probably in the 1150s, as will be discussed later.

The obverse of the *denier provinois* shows a cross surrounded by symbols – namely, degenerate Greek letters (alpha and omega), pellets, rings and stars organized in different combinations. It also bears the name of the issuing authority – TEBALT COMES in the coin types minted by Thibault II, III and IV, and HENRY COMES in those of Henry I and II. The reverse always depicts a carding comb surmounted by a T and symbols – either two rings, or one star to the left and one ring to the right, or two crescents. The comb, surrounded by the legend CASTRI PRYYINS, was a very clear reference to the production of woollen cloth, one of the major industries in Provins, whereas the letter T refers to Thibault II, initiator of this issue (Fig. 3.5).

⁵⁵ Allix, 'The Geography of Fairs', 532–69.

⁵⁶ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, pp. 147–48.

⁵⁷ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 146.



Figure 3.5: Denier provinois minted by Thibault II, 1125-1152; size: 19.3 mm (photo courtesy of Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale Romano).

Due to the fact that the obverse legend of the *denier provinois* simply mentions the first name and title of the minting authority and, since the Counts did not change this coin over time, the relative chronology of the *denier provinois* is still debated. Amongst the few scholars to have studied this issue, in the 1830s Bourquelot carefully described the iconographic features of the *denier provinois*, identifying the reverse type as a carding comb.⁵⁸ Although he did not propose any relative chronology, later studies by Poey D'Avant,⁵⁹ Maxe-Werly,⁶⁰ Capobianchi,⁶¹ Dieudonné,⁶² Dumas and Barrandon,⁶³ Finetti⁶⁴ and Travaini⁶⁵ suggested a sequence for this issue. The work published by Finetti in 1993 is one of the most recent and significant: he illustrated his relative chronology in a discussion of a hoard of 171 *deniers provinois*, which was found in the town of Montecelio, near Rome. The sequence he proposed is reproduced in Table 3.6:

⁵⁸ Félix Bourquelot, 'Monnaies de Provins', *Revue Numismatique*, 1838, 35–46.

⁵⁹ Faustin Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Camille Rollin, 1862), pp. 248–52.

⁶⁰ Léon Maxe-Werly, 'Essai sur le type de la monnaie de Provins', *Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne*, 1877, 217–41 (p. 232).

⁶¹ Vincenzo Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento delle monete coniate dal Senato Romano dal 1184 al 1439 e degli stemmi primitivi del comune di Roma', *ASRSP*, 18 (1895), 417–45.

⁶² Adrien Blanchet and Alphonse Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, Vol. 4 (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1936), p. 133.

⁶³ Françoise Dumas and Jean-Noël Barrandon, *Le titre et le poids de fin des monnaies sous le règne de Philippe Auguste: 1180-1223* (Nice: Centre de publications de Sophia-Antipolis, 1982), I, pp. 58–59, 79–80.

⁶⁴ Finetti, 'Il ripostiglio di Montecelio (Roma)', 61–96.

⁶⁵ Lucia Travaini, 'Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia: Problemi di datazione', *Revue Numismatique*, 6.154 (1999), 211–29.

TEBALDO II		ENRICO I e II				TEBALDO III	
D/							D/
R/							R/

Table 3.6: Denier provinois types of the Counts Thibault II, Henry I and II and Thibault III (source: Finetti 1993, p. 69, Fig. 3).⁶⁶

When the Rome mint reopened in c.1184, the *deniers provinois* circulating in central Italy would have been those of Henry II (1180-1197). Given that the first *denari provisini* of the Roman Senate – which blatantly imitated the *denier provinois* – showed two crescents, it might be argued that the *deniers* with crescents taken as a model by the Rome mint were types of Henry II. These considerations, combined with Travaini's study of *denier provinois* hoards found in Southern Italy,⁶⁷ have allowed me to modify the sequence proposed by Finetti in 1993, as indicated in Table 3.7:

	Thibault II	Henry I		Henry II		Thibault III
	1125-1152	1152-1181		1181-1197		1197-1201
O\						
R\						

Table 3.7: Denier provinois types of the Counts Thibault II, Henry I and II and Thibault III.

⁶⁶ D\: abbreviation for *dritto* ('obverse', in English).

⁶⁷ Travaini, 'Provisini di Champagne', 211–29.

The available archaeological and documentary sources indicate that the *denier provinois* was used in Rome both as a means of exchange and as a unit of account already in the 1150s/1160s. However, the available archaeological evidence suggests that the production of *deniers provinois* and their flow into central Italy increased from the later 1170s/1180s. Most probably, this phenomenon should be explained by the discovery, at that time, of silver supplies at the Erzgebirge mountains (Freiberg), which became rapidly the major source for the striking of *deniers provinois* in the Champagne.⁶⁸

3.2.3.3. Archival Evidence

The available archival evidence suggests that the *denier provinois* was extensively used as a means of exchange and as a unit of account in central Italy between the 1150s and 1170s. However, because in archival documents the denomination *denaro provisino* indicates both the French *denier provinois* and Rome's *denaro provisino*, the distinction between these two coin types is not always straightforward. However, it can be argued that acts signed by 1184 – i.e. before the reopening of Rome's mint – certainly refer to *deniers provinois*. Moreover, since documents generally define the French type as '*denaro provisino*' and the Roman type as '*denaro provisino* of the Roman Senate', it is very likely that the acts mentioning *denari provisini* and dated before 1208 – the year when the *denier provinois* was withdrawn from circulation in central Italy – actually refer to the Champanoise issue. On the basis of these assumptions, a survey of Rome's documents kept in the *Archivio di Stato* has enabled me to identify thirty acts that were originally preserved in the monasteries of *Santi Alessio e*

⁶⁸ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 111–112.

Bonifacio,⁶⁹ *San Silvestro*⁷⁰ and *Santi Cosma e Damiano*,⁷¹ and which certainly, or very likely, mention *deniers provinois*.

The first of these is dated 15 January 1156, and this has generally been used as a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the *denier provinois* in Italy.⁷² This act asserts that Giovanni, abbot of the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano* paid 24s. of *deniers provinois* (*pro viginti III^{or} solidis de priviscinis*) to buy a vineyard in Ciciliano (c.35 km east of Rome) for the church of *Santi Filippo e Giacomo* in Rome. Another document of this same monastery declares that, on 12 May 1159, a certain Vassilia stopped any arguments with the abbot of *Santi Cornelio e Cipriano* and with his successors, in exchange for 30s. of *denari provisini*.⁷³ Again, on 4 March 1162, Teodora, widow of the late Rusticello and guardian of her children Romanocta, Lorenzo and Erminia, sold a vineyard to Placido, priest of the church of San Lorenzo in Rome, for 28s. of *denari provisini*.⁷⁴ Similarly, on 30 April 1165, Agostino, priest of the church of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, rented two arable lands and a meadow outside *Porta San Giovanni* in Rome, at the price of £27⁷⁵ of *denari provisini* and £12 of *denari pavesi*; Agostino also agreed to pay an annual pension of 4s. of *denari provisini*.⁷⁶ This act is extremely interesting because it shows that, in 1165, multiple issues could be used together in payments – at least as units of account. In addition, the document seems to confirm once more that, in the twelfth century, rents were normally measured in *denari pavesi*, whereas those sums that could be paid immediately were usually counted in *deniers provinois* or *denari provisini* (this practice is discussed in full in

⁶⁹ ASR, 'Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio', box no. 2, document no. 2.

⁷⁰ ASR, 'Clarisse in San Silvestro in Capite', box no. 38, document nos. 20, 24, 27-29, 31 and 44; box no. 38bis, document nos. 55 and 60.

⁷¹ ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 16, document nos. 130, 132, 135, 138, 143, 144 and 146; box no. 16bis, document nos. 153-55, 158-60, 162, 164-68 and 170.

⁷² ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 16, document no. 130. Capobianchi discussed this document in Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1985), p. 421.

⁷³ ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 16, document no. 132.

⁷⁴ ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 16, document no. 135.

⁷⁵ 27 pounds (*lire*) = £27 (see Table 5.1).

⁷⁶ ASR, 'Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio', box no. 2, document no. 2.

Section 3.2.1). Another act attesting to the co-existence of *denari pavesi* and *deniers provinois* in transactions was signed on 5 April 1176. It asserts that, on that date, Bobone, abbot of the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano*, rented out a house in the Trastevere district in Rome, in exchange for an initial sum of 12s. of ‘good’ *denari provisini* and an annual rent of 2d. *pavesi*.⁷⁷ This reference to ‘good’ *denari provisini* would imply that *deniers provinois* with different percentages of silver circulated in the late twelfth century in central Italy and the fact that documents drawn up in Champagne from 1161 onwards mention both old and new *deniers provinois* would support this hypothesis.⁷⁸

One of the most significant documents examined asserts that, on 21 August 1184, the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano* gave Gulferano two plots of land near Porta San Pancrazio in Rome, *pro (...)III libris⁷⁹ bonorum provisinorum de manganello. ad manganum de XXV. provisinis posteriores uncia pro libra.⁸⁰ According to Capobianchi, Gulferano paid in *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* weighing 25 per ounce.⁸¹ Following this hypothesis, the act of 21 August 1184 offers a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the *denaro provisino* of the Roman Senate, since it gives the equivalent between *deniers provinois* (*denari provisini de manganello ad manganum*)⁸² and the new *denari provisini* (*denari provisini posteriores*). The abundance of detail in the description of these two issues is remarkable and might be explained by the fact that, at the time of the transaction, the Roman *denaro provisino* had only just been introduced into the monetary system. Most probably, the signatory of the act was aware that people were still not familiar with this new issue – hence, his intention to be as specific as possible to ease the payment process.*

⁷⁷ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16, document no. 144.

⁷⁸ Thomas Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon (c.1000-1225 AD)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 131.

⁷⁹ Due to the bad condition of the document, the sum paid by Gulferamo is uncertain.

⁸⁰ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16bis, document no. 153.

⁸¹ Capobianchi, ‘Appunti per servire all’ordinamento’ (1985), p. 425.

⁸² The formula ‘*provisini de manganello ad manganum*’ would mean ‘provisini with comb’; see: Capobianchi, ‘Appunti per servire all’ordinamento’ (1985), pp. 424–27.

However, Finetti proposed an alternative interpretation, arguing that the document actually refers to two types of *denier provinois*, minted in different periods and containing different fineness.⁸³ According to the scholar, the earliest *denari provisini* were minted by Pietro II, when he was elected Prefect of Rome in 1186, as suggested by the fact that the *denaro* of Pietro is almost identical to the *denier provinois* of Henry II (see Section 4.2.1). The hypothesis that the *denaro provisino* was introduced in c. 1186 is supported by the fact that the first explicit reference to the use of ‘senatorial’ *denari provisini* appears in a document signed in that year. This refers to a pledge by the nuns of the monastery of *San Ciriaco in Via Lata* for the rents of Reatina (in the *Agro Romano*). The sum, which is counted in *denari provisini* of the Roman Senate, was paid back in 1201.⁸⁴

In summary, the document signed on 21 August 1184 cannot be considered as a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the *denaro provisino* because it probably refers to two different types of *denier provinois*. Most probably, the *denaro provisino* was first minted in c. 1186, but its introduction did not mean the immediate withdrawal of the *denier provinois* from Rome. In fact, the available documentary sources indicate this coin continued to be used widely as a means of exchange and as a unit of account until 1208. For example, the combined use of *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* is attested in a document signed on 16 October 1194. It is a sales agreement related to a vineyard in Cassano (Tivoli), which Romano de Combeneo bought from Berniczone and his wife Maria, for £15 6s. of ‘old *denari provisini* with comb’, and for 14d. of ‘*provisini* of the Roman Senate’.⁸⁵ Similarly, on 18 October 1194, a certain Sorentina sold a vineyard and a piece of land in Cassano to Giovanni Benincasa and his wife

⁸³ Finetti, *Denari provisini*, p. 4.

⁸⁴ Fondo *S. Maria in Via Lata*, document no. 229; see *Ecclesiae S. Maria in Via Lata Tabularium*, ed. by Ludo Moritz Hartmann and Margarete Merore, vol. 3 (Wien: Sumptibus et Typis C. Gerold filii, 1913); Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 75.

⁸⁵ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16bis, document no. 166.

Maria, for £10 of ‘old *denari provisini*’ – namely, *deniers provinois* – and for £3 of *denari provisini* of the Roman Senate.⁸⁶

3.3. Thousands of Travellers on Pilgrimage Routes

This section will focus on pilgrimage roads and the people who used them for different purposes, as a mechanism through which foreign currency and, more specifically, *denari pavesi*, *denari lucchesi* and *deniers provinois* flowed into Rome. Most probably, amongst the coins circulating in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Rome’s authorities adopted the *denari* from Pavia and Lucca and the *denier* from Provins because these three issues had a high percentage of silver, and, therefore, could be easily used in national and international transactions. However, the factors involved in their introduction and success in Italy have never been examined systematically. Below it will be argued that the spread of foreign issues in Rome and its environs was greatly facilitated by the existence of pilgrimage routes to Rome and onward to Jerusalem. In other words, roads traversed every year by thousands of travellers of diverse types (including pilgrims).

Interestingly, the *denaro pavese*, *denaro lucchese* and *denier provinois* were produced in cities located along a major pilgrimage route that connected Rome to Canterbury, passing through England, France, Switzerland and Italy: the Via Francigena, known also as ‘Via Romea’ (Fig. 3.6). Sigeric the Serious, archbishop of Canterbury, referred to this road when in 990 he went to Rome, in order to receive his pallium from the pope.⁸⁷ As he asserted in his

⁸⁶ ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16bis, document no. 165.

⁸⁷ Veronica Ortenberg, ‘Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy’, in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Clifford H. Lawrence (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965), p. 49.

diary, he returned to Canterbury traversing a route of eighty stages, of which Lucca is the 26th, Pavia the 41st, and nine stages, from the 62nd to the 70th, lay within the county of Champagne.⁸⁸

Most probably, the Via Francigena originated in the late sixth century AD as a strategic link between the northern and southern territories of the Lombard kingdom in Italy and, by the ninth century, it connected Rome and the Frankish world, becoming a popular route. Its use as a pilgrimage route is already attested to in the eighth century. The *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* by Flodoardus (894-966) informs that, in 718, Moderanno, bishop of Rennes, went to Rome as a pilgrim traversing the Cisa Pass, which is part of the Via Francigena.⁸⁹ In the following century, the influx of travellers became high and led to the increase of hostels and inns along the road and to the development of towns nearby, such as Bolsena.⁹⁰

The importance of the Via Francigena in the flow of coinage into Rome is also suggested by the presence here of *denari* from Siena – which, like Pavia, Lucca and a number of cities in the County of Champagne, is a stage of this pilgrimage road. Although poor, the available archaeological and documentary evidence indicating the circulation of *denari senesi* in Rome is very significant, as it demonstrates that, indeed, the Via Francigena played a crucial role in the movement of money across northern and central Italy. More specifically, this evidence comprises a *denaro senese* and a rent agreement. The *denaro* is dated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was found in the Area Sacra of Largo Argentina in Rome in the early

⁸⁸ *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. by William Stubbs (London: Longman & Co., 1874), pp. 391–97.

⁸⁹ Flodoardus, ‘*Historia Remensis ecclesiae*’, in *MGH SS, Vol. 18*, ed. by Georgius H. Pertz (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1881), p. 435; Pier Luigi dall’Aglia, ‘Viabilità romana e viabilità altomedievale: Continuità e discontinuità. La Via Francigena da Piacenza a Lucca’, in *La viabilità medievale in Italia. Contributo alla carta archeologica medievale. Atti del V Seminario di Archeologia Medievale (Cassino, 2000)*, ed. by Stella Patitucci Uggeri (Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio, 2002), iv, 73–88 (p. 76).

⁹⁰ For an overview of the Via Francigena and its development, see: Cristina Corsi and Elisabetta De Minicis, *In viaggio verso Sud. La Via Francigena da Acquapendente a Roma. Daidalos. Studi e ricerche di archeologia e antichità del Dipartimento di Scienze dei Beni Culturali*, 14 (Viterbo: Università degli Studi della Tuscia, 2012).

twentieth century,⁹¹ while the rent agreement is from the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano*, and attests that, on 10 February 1181, this monastery rented out a plot of land in Corniano for 7s. of *denari senesi* and for an annual rent of 2d. *lucchesi*.⁹²



Figure 3.6: Via Francigena and key cities on its route (source: author).

3.3.1. Merchants and Creditors Involved in International Trade

Owing to the fact that the Via Francigena connected Rome to the County of Champagne – namely to the most important international market between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – it might be argued that Roman merchants and creditors involved in trade with the County

⁹¹ These three coins and other numismatic finds recovered in Largo di Torre Argentina in the early twentieth century are to be published in Barbato and Valci, ‘Monete dagli scavi dell’Area Sacra di Largo Argentina’, in press.

⁹² ASR, ‘Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea’, box no. 16, document no. 149.

played a preponderant role in the flow of foreign money into Rome. The documentary evidence duly attests to the presence of Roman merchants and creditors at the Champagne fairs: among the available written sources are thirteenth-century merchants' notebooks, which refer to Champagne fairs simply as 'The Fairs' (*I Fieri*). The absence of any geographical indication imply that these events were extremely important and well-known in Italy – so well-known that they did not need any qualifications to be recognized.⁹³ Also, some acts signed by the notary Guglielmo Cassinese and dated between 1191 and 1192 refer to loans made by Roman merchants in Champagne.⁹⁴ One of these acts is dated 11 November 1191 and mentions a credit granted by the Roman Nicola di Pietro Uguccone to Walzerus from Cambrai.⁹⁵

Moreover, late twelfth- and thirteenth-century papal registers clearly indicate that Roman merchants and creditors attended the fairs of Champagne especially in the early thirteenth century.⁹⁶ Among them is Giovenale Mannetti, who granted credit to bishops and prelates in different parts of Europe and recouped his money by himself or through representatives. One of the most important documents that refers to Giovenale's activity is a letter of 1235 by Pope Gregory IX to the Count of Champagne Thibault II. In this, Gregory asserts that Giovenale entrusted his nephew Iuvenettus with the care of his interests in the County of Champagne. However, once reaching France, Iuvenettus betrayed Giovenale's trust by pursuing his own interests and marrying a woman from Troyes. Gregory concludes his letter with the request to Count Thibault to take immediate action in defence of Giovenale.⁹⁷

⁹³ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 145.

⁹⁴ Margaret W. Hall, Hilmar C. Kreuger, Robert L. Reynolds, *Guglielmo Cassinese. Notai liguri del sec. XII*, vol. 2 (Turin: Editroce Libreria Italiana, 1938), pp. 80-81 (document nos. 1318 and 1319), 83-87 (document nos. 1325, 1327-1329 and 1333), 191 (document no. 1590) and 252-53 (document no. 1750).

⁹⁵ Hall, Kreuger and Reynolds, *Guglielmo Cassinese*, p. 80, document no. 1318.

⁹⁶ Vendittelli has conducted a systematic study of the papal registers from Honorius III (1216-1227) until Honorius IV (1285-1287); see: Vendittelli, 'Mercanti romani del primo Duecento', pp. 87-136.

⁹⁷ For an overview of Giovenale Mannetti and a full analysis of Pope Gregory's letter to Count Thibault II, see: Vendittelli, 'Un'inedita lettera di Gregorio IX', in *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus operatus*, ed. by Cherubini and Nicolaj, 447-62.

This document is significant since it not only offers a clear example of the close relationship that existed between Roman merchants and the papacy, but also demonstrates that Rome's commercial elite expanded its international trading interests between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As they mainly date to the thirteenth century, papal registers can only provide evidence of the role of Roman traders at the Champagne fairs *after* the spread of the *denier provinois* in central Italy – a spread, which probably occurred in the 1160s. However, given that the activity of these businessmen in the County was intense in the thirteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that it took a while, possibly some decades, before they could develop efficient financial services and a strong trade network. Most probably, therefore, they had already started to attend the fairs in the twelfth century.

It is important to highlight that, already in this period, merchants involved in this long-distance trade preferred using credit instruments such as letters or bills of exchange rather than actual coin.⁹⁸ On the basis of that, Marco Vendittelli has suggested that Roman merchants did not contribute significantly to the spread of the *denier provinois* in Rome, and that, more generally, the number of *deniers provinois* introduced into central Italy in the late twelfth century has been overrated.⁹⁹ However, the available numismatic evidence seems to contradict this and suggest that the *denier provinois* did circulate in the peninsula. Examples of this issue have been found both in the form of hoards and as single finds in central and southern Italy. Moreover, they are discernible in Rome's Colosseum and Tuscolo in similar proportions to *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* (see Tables 2.9 and 2.10) which were very popular in Rome in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Even though, as suggested by Vendittelli, Roman merchants often used credit instruments in long-distance transactions, it might be argued that these

⁹⁸ Pieces of paper that could be used in place of hard money; they first appeared at the end of the twelfth century (see: Spufford, *Power and Profit*, pp. 34; Amedeo Feniello, *Dalle lacrime di Sybille. Storia degli uomini che inventarono la banca* (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2013), p. 25).

⁹⁹ Marco Vendittelli (pers. comm., 10 January 2018).

entrepreneurs still played an important role in the spread of the *denier provinois* in central Italy. This hypothesis is examined below.

There is limited evidence about the type of goods that Roman merchants sold in France, but the study of their requests for compensation for damage caused by pirates and bandits suggests that they traded a variety of goods, including gold and silver, refined and unrefined cloth, arms and armours, as well as spices, hemp, grain, wood and money.¹⁰⁰ Arguably, numerous Italian merchants reached the fairs traversing the Via Francigena, which was the most straightforward way to Champagne. Merchants could have travelled by sea, embarking from Ostia to Genoa or Marseilles and then going north through France, but it is a far shorter journey by road. Roman merchants bought bills of exchange from some creditors in Rome and cashed these at the fairs in the local currency, the *denier provinois*.¹⁰¹ At the fairs, Roman merchants sold their goods on credit or were paid for these Roman goods in the official currency in the County, the *denier provinois*, by French buyers. If they sold their goods on credit, they would have ultimately been repaid – possibly by bill of exchange redeemed in Rome – in *deniers provinois*, the currency of the French buyers. Furthermore, credit transactions tended to require some form of down-payment in cash,¹⁰² which would also have been paid to the Roman merchants in *deniers provinois*. The latter would have bought goods at the fairs, probably finished cloth and other items, and then returned these to Rome along the Via Francigena. When buying wholesale goods at the fairs they would have been required to pay in *deniers provinois*, either in cash or on credit. If they bought these goods on credit, the Roman merchants would have had to both pay a down-payment in cash and ultimately repay the amount extended to them, probably at a subsequent fair in the cycle, in cash. The preferred currency of

¹⁰⁰ Vendittelli, 'Istituzioni, società, economia', p. 28.

¹⁰¹ A similar use of bills of exchange is attested by Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of Brecon, in his autobiography *De rebus a se gestis* (see: Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 147).

¹⁰² Richard Goddard, *Credit and Trade in Later Medieval England, 1353-1532* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 57-8.

the French traders was the *denier provinois*, since this was the strongest – and therefore more convenient – issue in circulation in Europe at that time. Furthermore, these merchants required cash to pay for small transactions, such as their food and board whilst in Champagne. These payments would have, by necessity, been in *deniers provinois*, clearly indicating the requirement and use of the *denier provinois* and thereby explaining its popularity amongst Rome's merchants.

3.3.2. *Pilgrims to Rome and Jerusalem*

It is very likely that pilgrims to Rome contributed much to the movement of coinage from France southwards, even if they probably had only a minor impact on Rome's currency system, compared to traders. In order to verify this hypothesis, it is important to estimate the annual influx of devotees travelling to Rome and Jerusalem. However, numbers are hard to determine due of the scarcity of data. Amongst the available evidence are two descriptions of the crowds gathered in Rome for the first Jubilee in 1300. Both descriptions are written by Italian merchants, Giovanni Villani (1276-1348) and Guglielmo Ventura (1249-1322), who participated in this event. Although their estimates refer to a later period and do not coincide at all, Villani and Ventura provide very interesting information: the first asserts that in Rome there were 200,000 pilgrims (*CCm*),¹⁰³ whereas the second cites 2,000,000 people, both men and women (*viginti centum millia virorum et mulierum*).¹⁰⁴ Most probably, Villani and Ventura simply used *CCm* and *viginti centum millia* as uncountable numbers to describe massive crowds of people. Indeed, this interpretation would explain the inconsistency between the two authors,

¹⁰³ Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, lib. 9; source discussed in Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (New York: IB Tauris, 2001), p. 117.

supporting the hypothesis that the flow of pilgrims in central Italy was very intense and, as such, had an impact on Rome's currency system.

Whilst the numbers of annual pilgrims to Rome in the twelfth century cannot be closely determined, other types of written sources shed some light on the relationship between pilgrims and money in this period. The available medieval handbooks for pilgrims imply that pilgrims of the twelfth century with financial resources were numerous. Amongst these handbooks, perhaps the most famous is the *Guide of Saint James (Liber Sancti Jacobi)*, written in the twelfth century and addressed to the devotees travelling to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia.¹⁰⁵ This manual indirectly shows the use of travel money by pilgrims in speaking of the presence of money-changers along pilgrimage routes and just outside Santiago de Compostela itself.¹⁰⁶ This same guide also highlights the need for pilgrims to be financially prepared for giving alms and votive offerings en route and at the actual shrine of St James.¹⁰⁷ Although, comparable guides are not available for Rome, it might nevertheless be argued that devotees on the Via Francigena and travellers on Jacobean routes had similar needs. If so, it is logical to think that the pilgrims heading to Rome and Jerusalem used 'travel money' to fulfil their duties as devotees and, therefore, played a role in the movement of coins across Italy. This hypothesis is tested here through the examination of several primary sources and a comparative case study (see Section 3.3.2.1).

Interestingly, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, a number of medieval authors referred to pilgrimage as a corrupted practice due to the large sums of money involved. For example, in his *Elucidarium*, Honorius of Autun (1080-1154) criticized those who spent

¹⁰⁵ Also known as *Codex Calixtinus*, this guide is preserved in the archives of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, where it was rediscovered by padre Fidel Fida in 1886; see: Jan Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotions and Pilgrimages in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 356–58. The guide was translated into English in William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993).

¹⁰⁶ Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ Horton Davies and Marie-Helene Davies, *Holy Days and Holydays. The Medieval Pilgrimage to Compostela* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1982), p. 74.

large amounts of money during visits to Jerusalem, and who could have instead used their money for works of charity.¹⁰⁸ A few decades later, the reformer Lambert de Bègue (1131-1177) came to the same conclusion, arguing that the economic resources spent upon pilgrimage might be used better to support the poor.¹⁰⁹ In this same period, the bishop of Paris Maurice of Sully (1160-1196) described pilgrims as people able to leave behind their villages but not their vices.¹¹⁰ These sources imply that, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, those who decided to undertake pilgrimage carried money and spent it during the course of their journey.

It might be argued that pilgrims actually used letters of credit instead of actual coinage for reasons of safety. Noticeably, however, the available written sources never refer to this tool. On the contrary, they mention money exchangers and refer to bandits as a real risk. For instance, Jacques de Vitry (1170-1240), bishop of Acre and one of the greatest preachers of his time, insisted on poverty as an essential requirement for any pilgrims who wanted to be saved from their sins, and asserted that those who fell foul of robbers had only themselves to blame.¹¹¹

Indeed, pilgrimage was an expensive experience, at least for those who decided to travel in comfort. In the course of their journey, devotees needed supplies, food and equipment, and many of them had to travel by sea and, thus, had to pay for transportation and food on board. However, due to the scarcity of evidence for the twelfth century, many questions are still open: for example, how much did devotees have to spend upon pilgrimage exactly? Also, assuming that pilgrims carried real money instead of letters of credit, what coins did they use on their journey? The traveller William Wey (1407-1476) provides very interesting information on the use of money by pilgrims in the fifteenth century – information, which can indirectly give clues

¹⁰⁸ Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium*, PL 172, cols. 1109-1176 (col. 1152); Yves Lefèvre, *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954), pp. 361–446.

¹⁰⁹ Giles Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', in *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th Centuries)* (London: Ashgate, 1979), note 41, p. 144.

¹¹⁰ Charles A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 108-109.

¹¹¹ Debra J. Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage', in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. by Jennie Stopford (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), pp. 83–85.

on the relationship between coinage and devotees in the previous period.¹¹² In his itineraries, he specified the amount of money he used during his two pilgrimages to Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462. Noticeably, Wey counted these sums in gold *ducats*, namely thirty-six spent in 1458 and seventeen used in 1462, although it seems that he actually used silver issues exchanged in Venice (*grossi*, *galley halfpennies* and *tornesi*).¹¹³ This information is crucial, since it confirms not only that the costs met by pilgrims to travel were high, but also that devotees used a variety of coins in the course of their journey through Italy, rather than credit. There is no reason why a similar scenario could not have existed in c.1100: presumably, pilgrims of that time had the same needs as those of Wey – and therefore had to meet similar expenses. As a result, it is very likely that they carried large sums of silver coins – including the *denier provinois*, which was the strongest issue in circulation at that time.

In summary, the available archaeological and written sources indicate that pilgrims contributed to the introduction to Rome of foreign coins – more specifically, *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* and *deniers provinois*. Of course, the carrying of real silver coinage could put the life of pilgrims at risk, but devotees may have reduced the possibility of misfortunes by travelling with other people and using highly frequented roads – such as the Via Francigena. Most probably, pilgrims acted as a secondary cause compared to Roman traders, who generally had high financial liquidity and achieved leading positions in Rome, lending money and exchanging goods at the Champagne fairs. Nonetheless, the analysis of pilgrimage flows is essential to fully understand the complexity of Rome's medieval numismatic network – a network which constantly changed under the influence of a variety of factors.

¹¹² William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, AD 1458 and AD 1462, and to Saint James of Compostelle, AD 1456: From the Original Manuscript in the Bodleian Library*, ed. by Bulkeley Bandinel and William Geo (London: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1857).

¹¹³ The sums of money changed in Venice by William Wey is fully discussed by Laura Di Stefano in her PhD thesis *The Business of Pilgrimage in Fifteenth-Century Venice*, pp. 212–228 (The University of Nottingham, July 2018).

3.3.2.1. A Santiago de Compostela Case Study

A comparative study between Rome and Santiago de Compostela will be undertaken next, both to evaluate the impact of devotees and also, more generally, of pilgrimage routes on the development of numismatic networks in the Late Middle Ages.

Like Rome, Santiago de Compostela was a Christian pilgrimage centre of high popularity across Europe, and which did not have the right to mint coins before the late eleventh century.¹¹⁴ A cathedral-sanctuary was built over the tomb of St. James in the ninth century and grew gradually as the number of pilgrims increased. The *Guide of Saint James* relates the presence of numerous money changers, hospitals, hospices and inns along the roads to and from Santiago de Compostela – the key routes being the *Via Turonensis*, *Via Tolosana*, *Via Lemovicensis* and *Via Podiensis*, named after Tours, Toulouse, Limoges and Notre-Dame-du-Puy respectively (Fig. 3.7). As asserted in the fifth book of the *Guide*, these organizations were under royal, ecclesiastical or even lay institutional patronage, and most of them were of humble nature and only provided rudimentary facilities. However, there were also institutions of great quality, such as the hospice of Mount-Joux on the Great St. Bernard Pass and that of Santa Cristina on the Somport Pass, which not only provided food and beds, but also clinics, shelters for the animals and money-exchange services.¹¹⁵ The *Via Turonensis*, *Via Tolosana*, *Via Lemovicensis* and *Via Podiensis* were traversed by people from every social class and cultural background, including poor and sick people, traders, bankers, travellers, aristocrats, monks, hermits, and even criminals and kings. Many well-known figures undertook the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, such as St. Francis of Assisi.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ The role played by pilgrimage routes in the introduction of foreign coinage in Galicia throughout the Late Middle Ages is detailed in Mariele Valci, 'Pilgrims, Merchants and Coins: A Santiago de Compostela Case Study', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 62 (2018), 41–59.

¹¹⁵ Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide*, pp. 87–88.

¹¹⁶ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, p. 186.

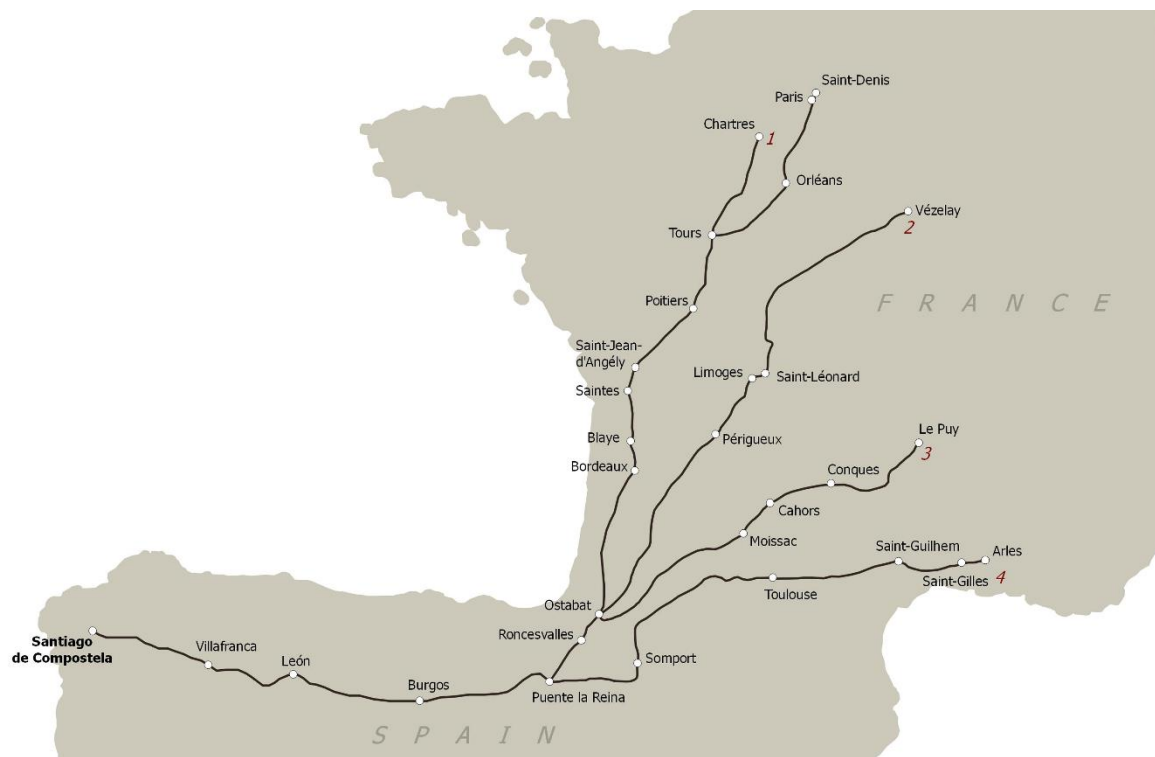


Figure 3.7: Main pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela: 1: Via Turonensis, 2: Via Lemovicensis, 3: Via Podiensis, and 4: Via Tolosana (source: author).

In the absence of adequate data, it is not possible to evaluate the actual influx of pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. We know that the *Confrerie des Pelerins de St-Jacques de l'Hospital* – the confraternity founded in Paris in 1315 – received no fewer than 16,690 Jacobean pilgrims between 13 August 1368 and 25 July 1369.¹¹⁷ We also know that the greatest number of royal permits to cross the Channel from England was generated in 1434: namely, fifty licenses for a total of 2310 people travelling to Galicia.¹¹⁸ These examples, although only two in number, clearly suggest that thousands of visitors gathered in Santiago de Compostela every year. Despite the fact that some of those were potentially penniless, a crowd of such a size must have had a huge impact on currency in Galicia.

¹¹⁷ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, pp. 19–20.

¹¹⁸ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, pp. 62–63.

Parts of the vast Santiago de Compostela complex have been excavated at various times since the 1870s. In 1878, the Archbishop Cardinal Paya and his cathedral canon, Antonio Lopez Ferreiro, decided to conduct ‘a general cleaning of the vault, walls and floors’ of the cathedral,¹¹⁹ in order to retrieve the physical presence of St. James – his relics and tomb. Three skeletons were found behind the cathedral main altar,¹²⁰ and, on the basis of anthropological analysis, it was postulated that they might indeed have been the bodies of St. James and his two disciples.¹²¹ These investigations also recovered coins, but since the first aim of this work was the recovery of James’ relics, all the attention of Paya and Lopez Ferreiro was on the three skeletons. In fact, in their report, numismatic evidence was only briefly described as a group of examples minted between the Early Middle Ages and the sixteenth century.¹²² Systematic study of these numismatic materials came from Suarez Otero in the 1990s,¹²³ identifying these coins as *deniers* from Le Puy, Poitiers, Toulouse, Arles, Albi and from Narbonne, and as *dineros* minted by Alfonso VI. After Ferreiro, no further excavations occurred inside or around the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela for over half a century. In the 1940s, however, the removal of the Renaissance-period wooden choir in the main nave offered the opportunity to conduct additional excavations. These investigations were led by Manuel Chamoso Lamas, from 1946 until 1959. In the 1960s, he extended his research to the surroundings of the sanctuary, revealing part of a medieval cemetery and recovering further pennies from Le Puy,

¹¹⁹ Juan J. Cebrian Franco, *Obispos de Iria y arzobispos de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela: Instituto Teologico Compostelano, 1997), p. 294.

¹²⁰ Sasha D. Pack, ‘Revival of the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: The Politics of Religious, National and European Patrimony, 1879–1988’, *Journal of Modern History*, 82 (2010), 335–67.

¹²¹ The results of compositional analysis on the bones found by Ferreiro are contained in a letter dated July 20, 1879, signed by Antonio Casares, Francisco Freire, and Timoteo Sanchez Freire. The letter was published in Fidel Fita and Aurelio Fernandez-Guerra, *Recuerdo de un viaje a Santiago de Galicia*, (Madrid: Leczano, 1880), pp. 109–11.

¹²² José Suarez Otero, ‘Apuntes sobre peregrinacion jacobea’, p. 27.

¹²³ José Suarez Otero, ‘La moneda en el edículo apostolico de la catedral de Santiago. Siglos X-XII. Vellón y plata’, in *Santiago, camino de Europa. Culto y cultura en la peregrinacion a Compostela* ed. by Moralejo, Serafin and López Alsina, Fernando, (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), pp. 275–79.

Poitiers and Melgueil. In spite of their importance, however, his results were illustrated in only a short commentary and by a few photographs.¹²⁴

Crucial numismatic works by Suarez Otero¹²⁵ and Roma Valdes¹²⁶ have recently addressed this absence of information, offering very clear overviews of the developments experienced by the currency system in Galicia between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. In particular, they divide this long period into three different phases: (i) from the late tenth to the twelfth century – when the *deniers* from Le Puy, Poitiers and Melgueil were the most popular foreign issues in Galicia; (ii) between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – when the *denier* from Melgueil maintained its popularity and circulated together with pennies from Angers and Tours; and (iii) from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century – when the number of Portuguese and northern Europe coins increased, but the numbers of French coins reduced dramatically. Each of these phases will be examined in turn below. However, it will not be possible to provide precise quantitative data for any of them, since there are no studies describing in detail the hoards and single finds so far recovered.

3.3.2.1.1. *First Phase (Tenth to Twelfth Centuries): Deniers from Le Puy, Poitiers, and Melgueil*

The first foreign coins introduced into Galicia as soon as Jacobean pilgrimage started to develop were from south-western France. In the eleventh century, these were mainly from Le Puy, whereas they mostly came from Poitiers between the eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries, and

¹²⁴ Manuel Chamoso Lamas, 'Noticias de las excavaciones arqueológicas en la cathedral de Santiago', *Compostellanum*, I, 2 (1956), 5–48; Manuel Chamoso Lamas, 'Noticias de las excavaciones arqueológicas en la cathedral de Santiago', *Compostellanum*, I, 4 (1956), 275–328; Manuel Chamoso Lamas, 'Noticias de las excavaciones arqueológicas en la cathedral de Santiago', *Compostellanum*, II, 4 (1957), 225–330; and José Suarez Otero, 'Historia de las excavaciones arqueológicas en la catedral de Santiago', in *Xacobeo '99. Misterios, leyendas, milagros, historia y arte en el Camino de Santiago*, ed. by Manuel A. Castiñeiras (Madrid: Xunta de Galicia 1999), 106–114.

¹²⁵ Suarez Otero, 'Apuntes sobre peregrinacion jacobea', 23–48.

¹²⁶ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*.

from Melgueil in the later twelfth century.¹²⁷ Noticeably, Poitiers, Le Puy and Melgueil are located along the *Via Turonensis*, *Via Podiensis* and *Via Tolosana* respectively, neatly showing that there was a connection between the spread of French coinage in Galicia and Jacobean pilgrimage routes (Fig. 3.8).

Interestingly, pilgrims also brought in Galicia *deniers* from Arles, Albi, Narbonne, Toulouse, Carcassonne or from the Viscounty of Bearn. Among all these issues, however, those of Le Puy, Poitiers and Melgueil became predominant, probably because they contained a higher percentage of silver, thus increasing demand for them.¹²⁸

Once introduced into Galicia, not only were French coins used as alms and votive offerings by pilgrims, but also as means of exchange in important transactions by the Galician elite. A few documents attest to this practice, including a letter of 1119, in which Diego Gelmirez Bishop of Santiago de Compostela tells Pope Callistus II that they have collected nine marks, 100 *morabitanos*, 211 *solidi* from Poitiers, sixty *solidi* of coins from Milan, twenty *solidi* from Toulouse, etc. (*novem marcharum, centum morabitanos, et CC XI solidos Pictavienses, sexaginta solidos Mediolanensis monetae, XX solidos de Tolosanis, et cetera*) to buy a golden coffer.¹²⁹ This document not only suggests that foreign coins widely circulated in Galicia, it also shows that currency diversification was not a relevant factor in transactions, providing that coins could be adapted to the local accounting system. The monetary system in Galicia was based on the *moravedì*, which was both a unit of account and a gold issue of 20-21 carats until the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284), as, under Alfonso, the *moravedì* was transformed into a silver issue.¹³⁰ As shown in this document, although a wide array of coins reached Galicia

¹²⁷ Regarding foreign coins circulating in Galicia between the tenth and twelfth centuries, see: Suarez Otero, 'Apuntes sobre peregrinacion jacobea', pp. 31–33; Suarez Otero, 'Moneda, peregrinacion y comercio. Una nueva perspectiva del Camino de Santiago en la Edad Media', *VIII Memorial Filgueira Valverde. Reflexos da peregrinación e do culto a Santiago*, (Pontevedra: Xunta de Galicia, 2009), pp. 87–92.

¹²⁸ Suarez Otero, 'Moneda, peregrinacion y comercio', p. 88.

¹²⁹ *Historia Compostelana*, Chap. X, 274.

¹³⁰ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*, pp. 29, 58.

through pilgrimage, only issues with a high percentage of silver, namely those that could be adapted to the *moravedi* accounting system, were actually used as a means of exchange. Among them were the silver pennies from Poitiers, Toulouse and Milan. This letter also suggests that in the twelfth century the distinction between currency as a medium of exchange and as a unit of account was not always clearly specified. Indeed, the coins mentioned here are *marcharum*, *morabitinos*, *solidos Pictavienses*, *solidos de Tolosanis* and *solidos Mediolanensis monetae*. Both *marcha* and *solidus*, however, were only measures of account, namely nominal monetary units of measurement used to gauge the value of any good and service. The *morabitino* was instead both an actual gold coin and a measure of account. Noticeably, one *solidus Pictaviensis* (shilling of Poitiers) was equivalent to twelve *denarii Pictavienses* (pennies of Poitiers). Similarly, one *solidus Tolosanis* (shilling of Toulouse) corresponded to twelve *denarii Tolosanis* (pennies of Toulouse). Like the *morabitino*, the penny was both an actual coin and a measure of account. Arguably, therefore, the transaction recorded in the letter of 1119 was paid in *morabitinos* and in pennies of Poitiers, Toulouse and Milan. Most probably, however, whoever wrote the document counted the sum in shillings instead of pennies for convenience and clarity, since the shilling format enabled him to deal with smaller numbers.

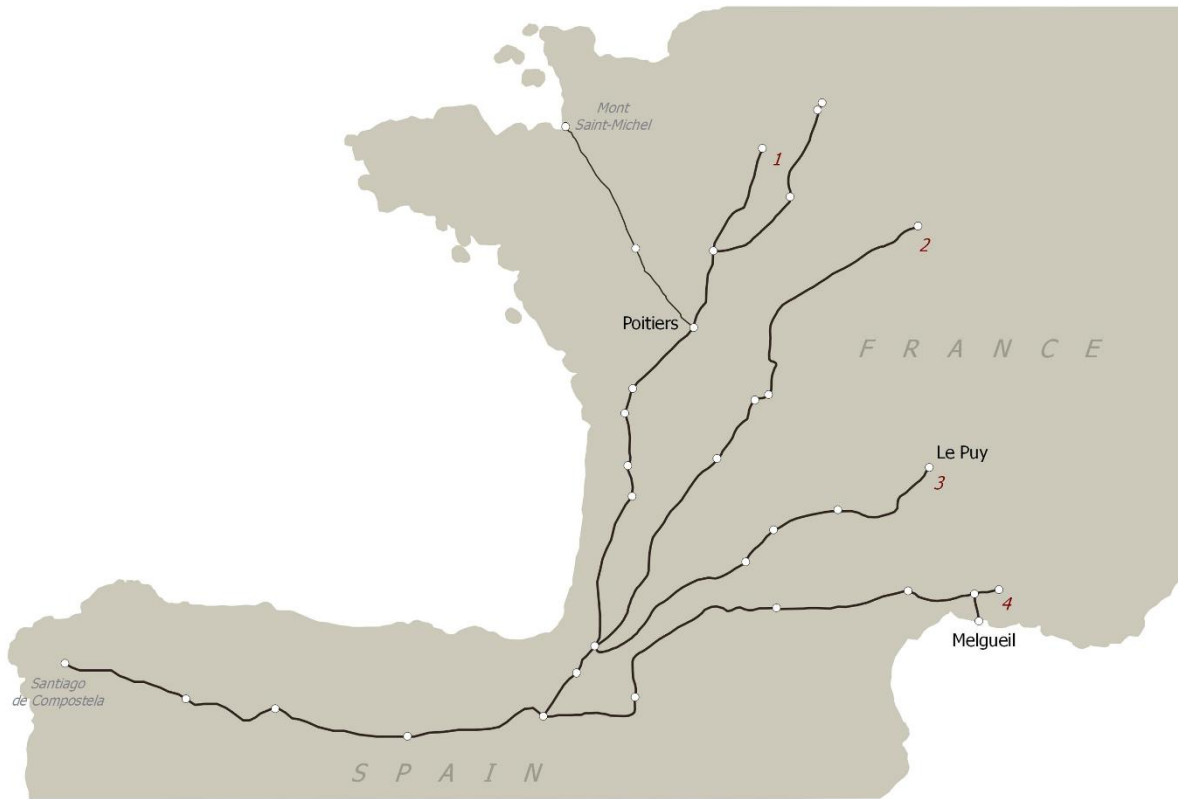


Figure 3.8: Poitiers, Le Puy and Melgueil – mints of the most popular French coins in Galicia between the tenth and twelfth centuries (source: author).

3.3.2.1.2. Second Phase (Twelfth to Thirteenth Centuries): Deniers from Melgueil, Angers and Tours, and the Monetary Reform of Alfonso IX

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *deniers* from Melgueil, Angers, and Tours were the most popular foreign issues in Santiago de Compostela and its surroundings. As in the First Phase, a clear connection can be observed between these issues and pilgrimage routes: Tours is located along the *Via Turonensis*, Melgueil lies on the *Via Tolosana*, and Angers is situated on a minor pilgrimage road that starts in Mont Saint-Michel and is associated with the *Via Turonensis* (Fig. 3.9)

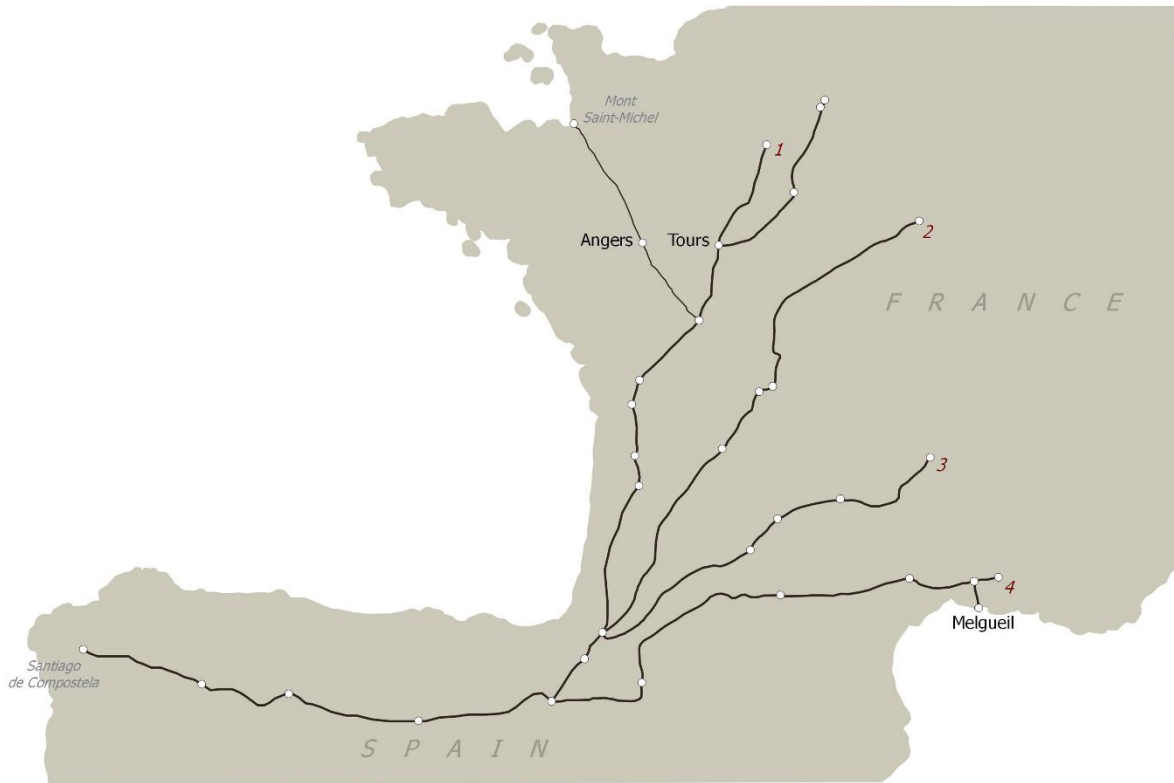


Figure 3.9: Location of the mints issuing the most popular French coins in Galicia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (source: author).

Numerous *deniers* from Tours, Angers, and Melgueil have been found in Galicia, but they are single finds, or else part of hoards of different sizes. Two large hoards have been recovered in Louro (Fig. 3.10, n. 1) and A Coruña (Fig. 3.10, n. 2),¹³¹ and three smaller hoards have been discovered in Noia (Fig. 3.10, n. 3), Arzua (Fig. 3.10, n. 4),¹³² and Ourense (Fig. 3.10, n.5).¹³³ Their locations along pilgrimage routes also suggest that, during this phase, the most popular foreign coins in Galicia were carried to Santiago de Compostela and its environs by travellers on pilgrimage roads.

¹³¹ Mar Zabaleta Estévez, 'Tesorillo de Ribadelouro (Tuy) en el Museo de Pontevedra', *Actas del X Congreso Nacional de Numismática* (Madrid: Casa de la Moneda, 1998), 589–597.

¹³² Fermin Bouza Brey, 'La moneda de Tours y la peregrinacion', *Compostellanum*, 11 (1966), 613–620.

¹³³ José Suárez Otero, 'Tesorillo de moneda tornesa', in *Santiago, camino de Europa: culto y cultura en la peregrinación a Compostela*, ed. by Serafín Moralejo and Fernando López Alsina (Santiago: Xunta de Galicia, 1993), 284–286.

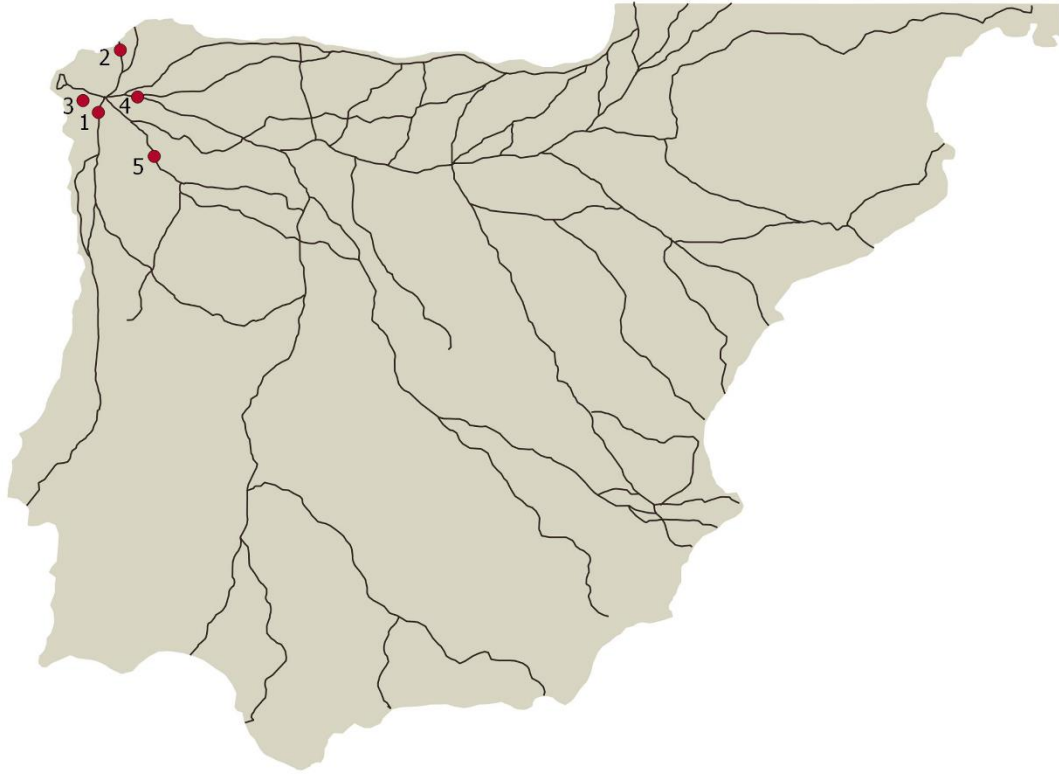


Figure 3.10: French deniers hoards positioned on the lines of the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela (source: author).

If we look at the archaeological evidence and written sources together, we can also see that, during the Second Phase, French coins were widely circulated as a means of exchange in Galicia. They were even preferred to local issues in high-value transactions, in spite of the efforts of King Alfonso VI (1073-1109). For example, in 1087, he promoted a monetary reform by introducing into the kingdom a massive amount of coins, and, because of the shortage of raw material, he also re-minted Caliphate *dirhams*, which had still circulated until that time, into new *solidi*.¹³⁴ In the same period, King Alfonso granted Santiago de Compostela the right to issue its own coinage. This was an exceptional privilege since, unlike in France, in Castile

¹³⁴ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*, p. 14.

secular or ecclesiastical authorities were never allowed to strike coins.¹³⁵ Elites, however, continued to prefer French to local coins in important transactions, because the *deniers* were stronger than the new *dineros*. Furthermore, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Jacobean pilgrimage developed significantly. This phenomenon led to an increase in the number of pilgrims in Galicia and, consequently, in the demand for food and hospitality services. The need for ready currency in the kingdom must therefore have become higher than in the past. Indeed, we can assume that the king was forced to rely on both local and foreign issues not only because people trusted *deniers* more than *dineros*, but also because the kingdom could otherwise not yet meet the demand for money.¹³⁶

The absence of coins of Fernando II (1157-1188) in contemporary hoards, and the large number of documents which refer to French coins in transactions clearly show that, in the Second Phase, foreign money was much more successful in comparison to local issues.¹³⁷ The use of *deniers* from Melgueil in transactions is attested to for the first time in San Vicente de Oviedo (1142),¹³⁸ Tojos Outos (1144),¹³⁹ and in the Cathedral of Leon (1147),¹⁴⁰ whereas the oldest documents mentioning *deniers* from Angers and Tours date back to 1152¹⁴¹ and 1164¹⁴² respectively. Most of the available evidence belongs to the period between 1160 and 1205, and consists of bequests, donations or agreements used to purchase vacant lands, houses or other properties in the kingdom. In the 1970s, Gautier Dalche analysed documents attesting to the use of French coins in the following archives: (i) GALICIA: monasteries of Sobrado, Tojos Outos, Jubia, Lorenzana, Armenteira, Meira, Osera, and cathedrals of Santiago de Compostela

¹³⁵ Suarez Otero, 'Moneda, peregrinacion y comercio', p. 89; José Suarez Otero, 'Coins and art, coins as art: A Medieval Coin Minted in Santiago de Compostela with the Bust of St. James and the Work of Master Mateo', *Boletín Auriense*, 43 (2013), p. 361.

¹³⁶ Suarez Otero, 'Coins and art, coins as art', p. 362.

¹³⁷ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*, pp. 36, 38–39.

¹³⁸ *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo*, 199, 190–91.

¹³⁹ *Archivo Historico Nacional, Codices, Cartulario de Tojos Outos*, fol. 86.

¹⁴⁰ *Archivo Capitular de Leon*, IV, 314.

¹⁴¹ *Archivo Historico Nacional, Codices, Cartulario II, Sobrado*, fol. 43.

¹⁴² *Archivo Historico Nacional, Codices, Cartulario de Tojos Outos*, fol. 86.

and Lugo, (ii) ASTURIAS: monasteries of San Vicente de Oviedo, Villanueva de Oscos, San Pelayo, Corias, and the cathedral of Oviedo, and (iii) LEON: monasteries of Sahagun, Corraedo, Espinareda de la Vega, Carbajal, Carrizo de la Ribera, and the cathedral of Leon. This study enabled Gautier Dalche to recognize acts attesting to the use of *deniers* of Melgueil (twenty-seven acts), *deniers* of Tours (sixty-eight acts), and of *deniers* of Angers (eighty-three acts).¹⁴³ Amongst these documents, one informs us that a certain Peronela Lugildiz sold half of a house to the monastery of Sobrado for 300s. from Tours (*CCC solidos turonensis*), on 6 August 1189;¹⁴⁴ whilst another, signed on 2 January 1192, attests to the fact that the priest Pelayo bought two houses in Oviedo for 100s. from Angers (*centum solidos de aniovinos*).¹⁴⁵

King Alfonso IX (1188-1230) was aware of the fact that such a dependency on foreign coins implied that his kingdom could not control the currency in circulation. He therefore reinforced the national monetary system by introducing new royal coins¹⁴⁶ and, later, by reminting the French issues still in circulation into royal money. As shown by available written sources, this operation started in around 1197 and continued in a systematic pattern after 1202 – but after this year documents attesting to the use of French coins in transactions are very rare.¹⁴⁷

The monetary reform promoted by Alfonso IX is well documented in the last section of the report of a plenary court which was convoked by the king in Benavente in 1202 (*Judicium Regis Alfonsi et Aliorum Regni Sui*).¹⁴⁸ Although numerous copies of this report exist, the oldest

¹⁴³ Jean Gautier Dalche, 'Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées dans le nord-ouest de la Péninsule ibérique, XII^e-XIII^e siècles', in *Economie et société dans les pays de la Couronne de Castille*, ed. by Jean Gautier Dalche (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982), pp. 75-97.

¹⁴⁴ *Archivo historico nacional, Codices, Cartulario II, Sobrado*, fol. 61; Gautier Dalche, 'Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées', p. 84, no. 9.

¹⁴⁵ Gautier Dalche, 'Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées', p. 95, no. 80.

¹⁴⁶ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴⁷ Roma Valdes, *Notes on Castilian Coinage*, p. 42.

¹⁴⁸ Rafael Gonzalez Rodriguez, 'Las cortes de Benavente de 1202 y 1228', in *El Reino de Leon en la epoca de las cortes de Benavente*, ed. by Martin Viso Iñaki (Benavente: Centro de Estudios Benaventanos 'Ledo del Pozo', 2002), pp. 191-221.

two versions were both written in the early thirteenth century and are now preserved at the Cathedral de Zamora. The first is a rectangular parchment, and the second a copy of this included in a manuscript known as *Tumbo Negro*.¹⁴⁹ The assembly convened in Benavente was attended by bishops and vassals from each city of the realm and made numerous decisions. One of these was the introduction of a strong royal currency with the intention, I would argue, to seek economic stability in the kingdom. In order to achieve this goal, Alfonso IX officially banned the foreign coins that had circulated up to that time and offered the opportunity to ‘buy’ the new money to the people who lived in Extremadura and in the area between the river Duero and the coast. The state undertook not to alter the value of his new coin for a period of seven years, in exchange for a capitation tax of one gold *morabitino* from every non-exempt person – the canons of cathedral churches (*canonicus cathedralis ecclesie*), the knights (*miles*) and their households (*cassarius ipsius militis*) were excused.¹⁵⁰ Owing to this monetary reform, Alfonso IX could rely on a stable source of revenue, namely, the earnings from the conversion of the banned foreign coins. Nonetheless, the king faced some difficulties in the imposition of the new royal coins, as shown by a handful of documents published by Gautier Dalche, which attest to the use of French coins even after 1202. Amongst these documents, a sales agreement attests that, in February 1215, a piece of land in the municipality of Quintana (Asturias) was sold at the price of 50s. of *deniers* of Melgueil (*L. solidos de merguelieses*).¹⁵¹ Also, on 17 October 1220, a certain Johannes Froyle made his will, leaving 40s. of *deniers* of Tour (*XL solidos tornenses*) to different monasteries and 200s. of *deniers* of Tour to one of his sons (*CC solidos turonensium*).¹⁵² Similarly, on 25 August 1232, Adam, Archdeacon of Compostela,

¹⁴⁹ Gonzalez Rodriguez, ‘Las cortes de Benavente de 1202 y 1228’, p. 194.

¹⁵⁰ Evelyn S. Procter, *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072-1295* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 54.

¹⁵¹ Gautier Dalche, ‘Monnaies d’outre-Pyrénées’, p. 83, no. 27.

¹⁵² Gautier Dalche, ‘Monnaies d’outre-Pyrénées’, p. 89, no. 66.

made his will and, as reported in this document, his wealth included £180 of *deniers* of Tour (*CLXXX libras turonensis*).¹⁵³

3.3.2.1.3. Third Phase (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries): English and Portuguese Coins

The monetary reform promoted by the kings of Castile and Leon in the thirteenth century led to a drastic decrease in the number of French coins in Galicia, and, as highlighted by Suarez Otero, the scarcity of *deniers* in thirteenth-century layers at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela reflects this phenomenon.¹⁵⁴ That royal monetary operation, however, did not prevent the circulation of other strong foreign coins in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, namely, northern European and Portuguese issues, whose success was due to the development of maritime pilgrimage and to their high percentage of silver, respectively:

(i) English Coins

English pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela are discernible from the twelfth century onward.¹⁵⁵ After crossing the Channel and arriving in France, they continued their pilgrimage on land, or undertook a further sea journey to A Coruña.¹⁵⁶ The first recorded English pilgrim in Galicia is a certain Ansgot, from Burwell in Lincolnshire,¹⁵⁷ who travelled sometime between 1093 and 1123. The number of pilgrims from England increased in the thirteenth century for two main reasons: in that period, pilgrimage came to be an imposed, as well as a voluntary penance, and

¹⁵³ Gautier Dalche, *Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées*, p. 89, no. 67.

¹⁵⁴ Suarez Otero, 'Apuntes sobre peregrinacion jacobea', p. 35.

¹⁵⁵ Constance Storrs, 'Peregrinos ingleses a Santiago en el siglo XIV', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 20 (1965), 193-224; and Derek W. Lomax, 'Algunos peregrinos ingleses a Santiago en la Edad Media', *Principe de Viana*, 31 (1970), 159-69.

¹⁵⁶ Wendy R. Childs, 'Perils, or Otherwise, of Maritime Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in the Fifteenth Century', in *Pilgrimage Explored* ed. by Stopford, pp. 123-44.

¹⁵⁷ Jesús Carro García, *A pelengrinaxe ao Xacobe de Galicia* (Vigo: Galaxia, 1965), p. 72; Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, p. 61.

the Royal Chancery started to grant privileges to Jacobean pilgrims. Among these privileges was the protection granted by the king to pilgrims' property during their absence. Interestingly, numerous members of the aristocracy undertook the journey to Santiago de Compostela in the knowledge that their property was protected.¹⁵⁸

At the end of the fourteenth century, the system of privileges promoted by the English Royal Chancery became even more structured through the introduction of letters that pilgrims had to present to foreign officials during their journey. The Chancery requested that pilgrims who bore such letters be favoured by the rulers they met on the way to Santiago de Compostela.¹⁵⁹ The earliest royal permit to carry a boatload of pilgrims rather than the normal cargo dates back to this century (1394), and the greatest number of permits generated was in 1434, a Holy Year, when around fifty ships carried 2310 pilgrims.¹⁶⁰

Most of the English and northern European coins recovered so far date back to this period, reflecting the growth in maritime pilgrimage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, a hoard found in the reliquary of Santiago Alfeo in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela includes a groat and a penny, both minted in London under Edward III, King of England (1327-1377). This also contains a long cross penny that Suarez Otero considers to be a forgery because of its poor condition.¹⁶¹ Another hoard from Galicia, of the last third of the fifteenth century and now preserved at the University of Santiago, contains six groats and two half-groats minted in the name of Henry VI (1422-1461), and a groat of Edward III in poor condition.¹⁶² A document of 1288 from the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela reveals that by then English pennies were already used in Galicia as a means of payment. This archival source in fact reports that the scribe of the Cathedral earned two English pounds a week during

¹⁵⁸ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁹ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁰ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago*, pp. 62–63.

¹⁶¹ Suarez Otero, 'Arqueología y peregrinación', p. 205.

¹⁶² Suarez Otero, 'Arqueología y peregrinación', pp. 203–09.

pilgrimage and one pound outside the pilgrimage season (*in peregrinatione habeat qualibet septimana duos sterlingos pro scriptura et extra peregrinationem unum*).¹⁶³ In the Third Phase, numismatic evidence also shows an increase in the number of Jacobean pilgrims from across northern Europe. For instance, among the examples recovered so far are two coins minted in Utrecht¹⁶⁴ and Hamburg.¹⁶⁵

(ii) Portuguese Coins

Portuguese coins were introduced into Galicia in the thirteenth century and their presence in this area increased in the following two centuries. This phenomenon was due not only to the geographical proximity of Portugal and Galicia, but also to their strong commercial relationship. Furthermore, Galicia still lacked local currency (this was an endemic problem in Galicia throughout the Middle Ages) and, consequently, needed foreign coins to meet the high demand for money.¹⁶⁶ Among the archaeological materials attesting to the spread of Portuguese coins into Galicia are a *dinero novo* of Pedro I (1357-1367), which was found inside the cloister of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, and a hoard discovered in Ribadavia in Galicia.¹⁶⁷

3.3.2.1.4. Links between Rome and Santiago de Compostela

Interestingly, Rome and Santiago de Compostela were forced by similar circumstances to adopt money from outside. The available numismatic sources suggest that, in both cities, foreign coins remained in circulation for a while after the reopening of the local mint – Santiago de Compostela re-opened its mint at the end of the eleventh century and Rome around a century

¹⁶³ *Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago, Tumbo C*, fol. 280.

¹⁶⁴ Suarez Otero, 'Arqueología y peregrinación', p. 205.

¹⁶⁵ Suarez Otero, 'Arqueología y peregrinación', p. 208.

¹⁶⁶ Suarez Otero, 'Apuntes sobre peregrinación jacobea', p. 39.

¹⁶⁷ Fermin Bouza Brey, 'Tesorillo de monedas medievales de vellon de Ribadavia', *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, 58 (1964), 251–256.

later. In Rome, foreign coins were definitively banned in 1208, whereas in Galicia they circulated until the fifteenth century, in spite of the official royal ban of 1202. The long-lasting use of foreign coins in Galicia might be explained by the fact that this region had always suffered from a scarcity of metal, and therefore both foreign and local issues were needed to meet the demand for money. By contrast, central Italy could draw on silver mines in Tuscany, Sardinia and the Bergamasco.¹⁶⁸

In summary, the numismatic materials recovered in Santiago de Compostela and along the *Via Turonensis*, *Via Lemovicensis*, *Via Podiensis* and *Via Tolosana* indicate that, in the Late Middle Ages, the *Via Francigena* was not the sole pilgrimage route in Europe to act as a catalyst for the introduction of foreign coinage. Instead, this was part of a wider and more complex phenomenon, whereby travellers of different types used pilgrimage routes as religious, trade and social networks, and therefore strongly influenced monetary systems by bringing coins with them during their journeys through Europe.

3.3.3. Crusaders Travelling to the Holy Land

Given the success of the *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* and of the *denier provinois* in central Italy, it is very likely that it was not only traders and pilgrims who acted as concurrent agents for the movement of these coins through Italy. Other causes might also have contributed to this phenomenon, although on a marginal scale. More specifically, finds recovered in southern Italy¹⁶⁹ and in the Levant¹⁷⁰ would suggest that the influx of soldiers, who participated in great numbers in the First, Second and Third Crusades (1096-1099, 1145-1149, 1189-1192 respectively), was accompanied by a heavy flow of money. The link between the movement of

¹⁶⁸ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 175.

¹⁶⁹ Travaini, 'Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia', 211–29.

¹⁷⁰ David M. Metcalf, 'Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East: Some New Hoards and Site Finds', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 147 (1987), 84–105.

coins across Italy and Crusaders is particularly evident for the *denaro lucchese* and *denier provinois*. Examples of both issues occur in Italy, along the Via Francigena, Via Appia and Via Traiana, those roads traversed by some of the major European armies en route to set sail to Jerusalem during the First Crusade,¹⁷¹ and in the Levant: a hoard of 409 examples was found in Allifae (Caserta), just off the Via Appia (numbered as ‘Hoard 33’ in Section 5.4.2.1). Another hoard, including forty-two examples, was recovered along the Via Traiana in San Cataldo (Bari) (Hoard 35); whilst a third hoard of 654 *deniers provinois* came from Montescaglioso (Matera) (Hoard 37). Meanwhile, single finds have been found in Ortona (Foggia), Otranto and Messina (numbered as 34, 38 and 39, respectively); French feudal coins, including *deniers provinois*, were recovered in the 1970s in the vicinity of Caesarea in Israel;¹⁷² whilst another hoard of ten *denari lucchesi* and five *deniers* of Valence was found in Gritille (c.6 km from Samsat, in the Adiyaman Province of Turkey) in 1984.¹⁷³

The use of foreign coins by Crusaders in the Holy Land is also attested to in the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, in which Raymond d’Aguilers records the events of the First Crusade, which he had personally experienced. His chronicle even includes a list of the coins that soldiers could use as travel money, namely *deniers* of Poitou, Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Valence, Melgueil and of Le Puy, with the latter being worth one half the value of the others, as Raymond specifies (*pictavini, cartenses, mansei, lucenses, valentinenses, mergoresi, et duo poges pro uno istorum*).¹⁷⁴ Although Raymond only refers to the First Crusade, it is logical that soldiers continued to use their own currencies as travel money in the following decades. Amongst these was the *denier provinois*, which was introduced in Italy in the 1160s – namely, between the Second and Third Crusades.

¹⁷¹ Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War. A New History of the Crusades* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), pp. 90–91.

¹⁷² Metcalf, ‘Coinage of the Crusades’, p. 101.

¹⁷³ Metcalf, ‘Coinage of the Crusades’, pp. 92–95.

¹⁷⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, xxvi: *RHC, Occ.*, Vol. 3, IV (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1866), p. 278.

The hypothesis that Crusaders from all across Europe might have contributed to the influx of money – and more specifically of the *denier provinois* – to Italy and the Levant is supported by the fact that high numbers of French soldiers participated in the Second and Third Crusades. Indeed, although most travelled by sea, embarking from Marseilles and Genoa, the troops led by Amadeus III Count of Maurienne, William VII Count of Auvergne and William V Marquis of Montferrat traversed the Via Appia and Via Traiana in 1147, whereas the army of Richard I of England reached Messina via southern Italy, between 1190 and 1191.¹⁷⁵ In summary, the available evidence suggests that Crusaders might have played a role in the flow of foreign coinage into Rome. However, they probably acted only as a secondary cause, as suggested by the fact that most of the soldiers joining the Second and Third Crusades travelled by sea, instead of land.

3.4. Discussion

The archaeological materials attesting to the use of foreign coins in Rome, especially of those from Pavia and Lucca, are admittedly not numerous, with just twenty-seven *denari pavesi* and twenty-one *denari lucchesi*.¹⁷⁶ This scarcity of evidence can be partially explained by the fact that coinage was mainly used in important transactions, such as property sales and rents. In effect, the numbers of coins minted may not have been high. Moreover, as highlighted in Section 3.1, scholars have only started to document numismatic finds in recent years. Most probably, such lack of interest has caused the loss of a significant amount of archaeological

¹⁷⁵ Tyerman, *God's War*, pp. 302–3, 400–401.

¹⁷⁶ In addition to the *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* discussed in this chapter, other coins recovered in central Italy, and defined simply as ‘Ottonian *denari*’, are discussed in Giulio Cordero Di San Quintino, *Monete del decimo e dell'undicesimo secolo scoperte nei dintorni di Roma nel 1883* (Turin: Stamperia Reale, 1846); Lucia Travaini, ‘Grottaferrata (Roma) 1951’, *Ripostigli monetali in Italia. Schede anagrafiche. Civiche raccolte numismatiche di Milano* (Milan: Edizioni ET, 1980); Lucia Travaini, ‘Monete medievali in area romana: Nuovi e vecchi materiali’, *RIN*, 94 (1992), 163–82 (pp. 165, 171); Saccocci, ‘Il ripostiglio dall’area “Galli Tassi” di Lucca e la cronologia delle emissioni pavesi e lucchesi di X secolo’, p. 193.

data, and, in effect, the foreign coins discussed in this chapter can only offer a very partial picture of the real influx of money into Rome between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Like what happened in Rome, most of the archaeological investigations in Santiago de Compostela were conducted between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the level of attention paid to medieval layers was much less than that given to other kinds of evidence, such as architectural and sculptural finds. As a result, it is not possible, in the absence of adequate publications or records, to know even an approximate number of medieval coins recovered so far in Santiago de Compostela and its surroundings.

Despite the partial evidence, the study of the coins circulating in Italy and Galicia across the Late Middle Ages clearly supports travellers on pilgrimage roads as a factor influencing currency systems. As highlighted throughout Section 3.3, it is important to bear in mind that, in medieval times, people traversed pilgrimage routes for many different reasons. Of course there were pilgrims who ventured to find purification or health cures, and people forced to make penance for their crimes or moral misdemeanours, but there were also property owners who wanted to benefit from the protection of property granted by the king, merchants, entertainers and artisans who had economic interests in undertaking pilgrimage, as well as people who simply considered it an adventure.¹⁷⁷ As pilgrimage routes were much safer than others, and since they connected large population/commercial centres throughout Europe, they were actually traversed by a great variety of people from completely different economic and cultural backgrounds, even by those with considerable financial means.

However, Section 3.3 reveals, among all these actors, traders should be probably considered as the preponderant grouping, with devotees and soldiers acting as secondary causes. It is important to highlight that the *denier provinois* was an essential prerequisite of

¹⁷⁷ Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide*, 39–40.

Roman trade with Champagne. Also, between the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth century, Roman Senators were elected from amongst the members of Rome's commercial elite – the very merchants who undertook this trade with Champagne. They were thus in the optimum position to influence important decisions affecting the city, particularly the introduction of foreign coins. It was in their interest to adopt the *denier provinois* because, at that time, Rome was in need of foreign coins to maintain a monetized economy, and the *denier provinois* was the strongest issue available in Europe at that time. Nonetheless, pilgrims travelling to Rome and/or Jerusalem on the Via Francigena are likely secondary contributors to the introduction of foreign coinage into Italy. This hypothesis is supported by the case study of Santiago de Compostela, whose monetary system was strongly influenced by the influx of pilgrims between the tenth and fourteenth centuries (see Section 3.3.2). Finally, the high number of hoards and single finds recovered in southern Italy and in the Levant seems to suggest that Crusaders travelling on land through the peninsula represented a further, lesser cause for this phenomenon (see Section 3.3.3).

As shown in this chapter, the impact of pilgrimage routes on the development of numismatic networks across Europe is a very intriguing issue, with important implications for national and international trade as well as for everyday transactions. Nonetheless, it has never been studied systematically. The comparison between Rome and Galicia partially addresses this lack of research, and highlights that Rome is not a unique case, but rather the expression of a complex and widespread phenomenon. Both sites reveal that pilgrimage routes were not simply devotional itineraries, but also commercial circuits and places of cultural exchange, each stimulating the movement of coins in the medieval world.

Chapter 4

Denaro provisino: A Mutable, Enduring Issue

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine the monetary system of the Rome commune, with particular attention to the changes of the *denaro provisino* between c.1186 and c.1398. It will infact propose a complete and refined chronology for this issue, based on the cataloguing of 3357 unpublished coins (Section 4.2). Section 4.3 will then present the quantitative data collected during this doctoral research, outlining the changes in shape and weight of the *denaro provisino* and its evolution over time and proposing a production trend of this issue. Finally, Section 4.4 will provide an overview of the monetary system of the Rome commune, a system which was extremely complex and not fully understood – the chronology of the *picciolo* and *quattrino*, for instance, is still a matter for debate. By examining the currencies circulating in the Rome commune, this section will assess the relationship between the *denaro provisino* and its multiples, and, therefore, understand the real impact of this issue on medieval Rome's society.

En route, this chapter addresses the lack of systematic studies on the coinage of medieval Rome. It updates Finetti's previous, unpublished chronology of the *denari provisini* minted between 1186 and 1278, and examines for the first time the coin types issued from 1278 to 1398.

4.2. The Main Changes to the *Denaro Provisino* (c.1186-c.1398)

This section will explore the changes made to the *denaro provisino* from its introduction into Rome's monetary system in c.1186 until its withdrawal in c.1398. As an imitation of the French *denier provinois* (Fig. 4.1), the *denaro provisino* (Fig. 4.2) displays a carding comb on one side and a cross on the other. From c.1186 to c.1280, it showed the cross on the obverse and the comb on the reverse, but in 1280 the arrangement was reversed. Around seventy years later, under Cola di Rienzo (1347), the cross returned to the obverse and the comb to the reverse, and this arrangement was maintained until its withdrawal from production (c.1398). The legends of the Rome *denaro provisino* distinguish it from the French model by naming the local issuing authority - SENATVS.P.Q.R. (an abbreviation for SENATVS POPOLVSQVE ROMANVS), instead of the Counts of Champagne, and Rome (ROMA CAPVT MVNDI) as the place of issue in place of the town of Provins. On the basis of the symbols above the carding comb, this study has distinguished nineteen groups of *denaro provisino*, each with variants based on the symbols in the angles of the cross (Table 4.1). The order of these nineteen groups indicates a relative chronology, which I am able to propose after having catalogued 3351 *denari provisini* preserved in Rome's coin cabinets (*Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, *Medagliere Capitolino* and *Medagliere Vaticano*) and in the Department of Coins and Medals of The British Museum at London, and a further 6 *denari provisini* found in the Rome's Colosseum and at Tuscolo. Numismatic data have then been compared with the available results collected by Finetti via X-Ray fluorescence analysis via the Volhard method in the 1990s (see Section 1.2.2, note 133), with archaeological evidence from other contexts of Lazio (Tuscolo) and with information from the available written sources – two pawn agreements of 1184 and 1186, a receipt of payment of 1191, a papal bull of 1208 and coin lists contained in medieval ledgers

and merchants' handbooks.¹⁷⁸ Finally, the picture reconstructed through these multiple research lines has been compared with documented economic and social changes in Rome between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

4.2.1. Twelfth-Century Denari Provisini: An Imitation of the Denier Provinois

The first coin issued by the Rome commune was called '*denaro provisino*' because it took the *denier provinois* as a model. According to Capobianchi, the *denaro provisino* was introduced in c.1184, as indicated by a pawn agreement signed in Rome on 21 August 1184.¹⁷⁹ This document refers to *bonorum provisorum* and *provisinos posteriores*, which Capobianchi interpreted as French *deniers provinois* and Roman *denari provisini* respectively. Finetti, however, argues that '*provisinos posteriores*' is a general term, which might actually refer to a later type of *denier provinois*. As discussed in Section 3.2.3, the first explicit reference to the use of senatorial *denari* occurs in a pawn agreement of 1186 from the archive of the monastery of *San Ciriaco in Via Lata*.¹⁸⁰ At this stage of research, this document can be therefore considered as the *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the *denaro provisino*. From 1186 onwards, an increasing number of acts refer to '*provisini Senatus*' or '*provenienses Senatus*'.¹⁸¹ Among the numerous *denari provisini* issued between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, that with the 'T' most resembles the *denier provinois*. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that this coin type, defined as 'Group 1' in this study, was the first to be produced, between c.1186 and 1188 (Table 4.2).

¹⁷⁸ Lucia Travaini has transcribed these coin lists in her *Monete, mercanti e matematica* (2003).

¹⁷⁹ ASR, 'Benedettini e Clarisse in Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea', box no. 16bis, document no. 153. See: Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1985), pp. 424.

¹⁸⁰ Fondo SMVL, document no. 229.

¹⁸¹ Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1985), p. 425.

Rome's mint also struck a *denaro provisino* with a T above the carding comb in the name of Pietro II (Fig. 4.3) – only one example of this coin type is known.¹⁸² Pietro was Prefect of Rome from 1186 to 1228, and he likely first ordered minting of *denari provisini* in his own name in 1186 to celebrate his election.¹⁸³ Other symbols of Pietro's issue are identical to those of the *denaro provisino* with the T struck in the name of the Senate, which clearly indicates that the two issues were chronologically contiguous. Available evidence would suggest that Pietro II was the only Rome Prefect to mint coins in his own name. What prompted this act? And to whom did Pietro give the minting right? According to Greenaway, the Prefect was primarily a papal officer, exploited by the leaders of the communal revolution as a link between the pope and the emperor.¹⁸⁴ According to Calisse, this office was held by the powerful Di Vico family, who also controlled an extensive area north of Rome – the Patrimonio di San Pietro in Tuscia. He described them as a family of excessive ambition, who usually had a problematic relationship with the pope.¹⁸⁵ As a member of this family, Pietro was an opponent of the pope, although in 1198 he became his vassal, an act implying that, by then, his relationship with the papacy had changed substantially.¹⁸⁶ However, the recent work of Berardoizzi seems to replace Calisse's view, offering a new perspective on the Prefects of Rome. According to Berardoizzi, at the time of Pietro II, Di Vico was not yet an appropriate family name, as suggested by the fact that the castle of Vico first appeared among the properties of the Prefects in 1247. Therefore, only from that year onwards it is possible to refer to the Prefects of Rome as members of the Di Vico family.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² Originally included in the collection of Francesco Muntoni, it has been sold at auction in 1984 (Montenapoleone, Milan, Auction 28 February 1984, lot 31). For an overview of the *denaro provisino* in the name of Pietro II, see: Muntoni, *Le monete dei papi e degli stati pontifici*, vol. 4, p. 179; Francesco Muntoni, 'Hanno battuto moneta a Roma i prefetti dell'urbe?', *RIN*, 69 (1967), 123–29 (p. 124).

¹⁸³ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

¹⁸⁴ George W. Greenaway, *Arnold of Brescia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 101–2.

¹⁸⁵ Carlo Calisse, 'I prefetti di Vico', *ASRSP*, 10 (1887), 1–136 (p. 1).

¹⁸⁶ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 194.

¹⁸⁷ Antonio Berardoizzi, *I Prefetti. Una dinastia signorile tra impero e papato (secoli XII–XV)* (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 2013); Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 227–229.

Pietro II was elected Prefect at the beginning of a new conflict between Pope Urban III (1185-1187) and Henry VI, whom he supported,¹⁸⁸ and in the middle of that popular revolt that spread in Rome until the ratification in 1188 of the Concord Pact (examined in Section 4.3.1). We might therefore argue that, as soon as he became Prefect, Pietro used his authority to issue *denari provisini* in his name as a form of protest against the papal authority. It can be argued that it is unlikely that Pietro minted *denari provisini* after 1188 because, even if he remained Prefect of Rome until 1228, in 1188 the Senate formally gave the mint back to the pope. This was one of the clauses of the Concord Pact.

Through the Concord Pact, Pope Clement III and the Roman Senate accepted each other as co-rulers in Rome. Arguably, the return of peace to the city led the mint to create a new type of *denaro provisino*, which, for the first time, alluded directly to the Roman Senate – an S appeared above the comb in place of the T. Examples of *denari provisini* with S between crescents have recently been found in excavations at Tuscolo conducted by the *EEHAR* in strata antedating the destruction of the town in 1191. This context confirms that the *denari provisini* with S between crescents circulated outside of Rome in Tuscolo before 1191. Therefore, this type has been defined as ‘Group 2’ (Table 4.3).



Figure 4.1: Denier provinois of Count Thibault II, 1125-1151, 19.5 mm (source: Finetti 1993, Table 2).

¹⁸⁸ Calisse, ‘I prefetti di Vico’, p. 15; Joseph P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066-1307)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 121.



O\ SENATVS.P.Q.R.
Cross surrounded by omega,
pellet, pellet, alpha

R\ ROMACAPVTMVN
Comb surmounted by T
between crescents

Figure 4.2: Denaro provisino of Group 1, c.1186-c.1188, 19 mm (photo courtesy of Medagliere Vaticano).



O\ PETRVSDEIGRATIA
Cross surrounded by pellet, omega,
alpha, pellet

R\ PREFECTVS.VRBIS
Comb surmounted by T between
crescents

Figure 4.3: Denaro provisino of Pietro II, c.1186-c.1188, 19 mm (source: Muntoni 1967, p. 124).

4.2.2. Thirteenth-Century Denari Provisini: An Expression of Local Identity

Written sources indicate that the similarity in fineness between the *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* ended in 1191. A receipt in the archives of the monastery of *Santi Cosma e Damiano* in Rome dated 26 October 1191 reports a payment of 18d. *provisini* of the Senate (*provenienses Senatus*) and states that this amount was equivalent to twelve French *deniers provinois* (*provisini veteres*).¹⁸⁹ On the basis of compositional analysis, Finetti proposed that the *denari provisini* mentioned in this act are not examples from Group 2, but instead a successive coin type. It can be therefore argued that the *denari provisini* of Group 2 were produced until 1191 at the latest. Through his analyses, Finetti identified the *denaro provisino* mentioned in the receipt of 1191 with a coin type showing the S flanked by a crescent to the left and a star to the

¹⁸⁹ *Provenienses Senatus dantur et accipiuntur per Urbem de decem et octo pro XII proveniensibus veteribus.* (*Santi Cosma e Damiano* archive, n. 177, year 1191, October 26th. See also: Capobianchi 1895, p. 430).

right.¹⁹⁰ Noticeably, this type, which is defined as ‘Group 3’ in this study (Table 4.4), has yet to be recovered in Tuscolo. This absence suggests that this coin type had not yet been minted when Tuscolo was destroyed in 1191.

Even after the *denaro provisino* was introduced in Rome, the *denier provinois* continued to circulate in central Italy, although its value began to decrease. Due to the debasement of the French coin, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) issued a bull in 1208 (*Cum ex paucitate*) to ban it from the Campagna – now the province of Frosinone in Lazio. The bull states:

Because the decrease in the fineness and weight of the *denari de Flore* [*deniers provinois*] cause numerous problems, and since we want to act for the public good, we order that you only use our coin, which is commonly named ‘of the Senate’, in wholesale as in retail trade, everywhere. You should make sure that this coin is used across [the region of] Campania, by ordering that none will weigh *denari de Flore* and these will not be exchanged for goods, from now onwards. If anyone dares either to use or to weigh them, he will have to pay a fee of forty *solidi* to our Curia. Whoever owes *denarios censuales* (tributes), should pay sixteen *denari* of the Senate for twelve [*denari*] *de Flore*.

Issued in Sora on 5th August, in our eleventh year of Pontificate.

Cum ex paucitate denariorum de Flore ac ponderatione ipsorum multa impedimenta proveniant, communi super hoc utilitati providere volentes, universitati vestrae praesentium auctoritate mandamus atque praecipimus quatinus passim de cetero tam in magnis commerciis quam in parvis nostram recipiatis monetam, quo vulgo dicitur de Senatu, et per totam Campaniam recipi faciatis, inhibentes districtius ut denarii de Flore amodo non ponderentur ab aliquo, nec pro mercimoniis exigantur.

¹⁹⁰ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

Si quis autem eos exigere, vel ponderare praesumpserit, quadraginta solidos curiae nostrae pro poena persolvat. Quicunque vero debet denarios censuales, pro duodecim de Flore reddat sedecim de Senatu.

*Datum Sorae Nonis Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.*¹⁹¹

The bull clearly shows that Innocent III forbade the use of the *denier provinois* as part of a re-launch of the *denaro provisino* of the Senate. It is therefore likely that, in 1208, Rome issued a new type of *denaro provisino* with a higher silver content. On the basis of Finetti's compositional analysis, this coin type – defined as 'Group 4' in this study (Table 4.5) – contains a higher percentage of silver (31.29%-31.37%) than the *denari provisini* of Group 3 (29.28%).¹⁹² As the coins of Group 3 show an S between a crescent to the left and star to the right, whilst the Group 4 bears an S flanked by a star to the left and a crescent to the right, the increase in silver might have been underlined with the transposition of the symbols alongside the S. Noticeably, the fact that Group 4 is the only one that attests to a revaluation of the *denaro provisino* over the whole minting period, would support the hypothesis that this coin type was the one put into circulation in 1208.

The *denari provisini* of Group 4 circulated until around 1250, when they were probably replaced by other *denaro provisino* types that, like the coins of Group 4, feature an S flanked by a star to the left and a crescent to the right. Unlike the Group 4 coins, however, they bear thin lines on the obverse that connect the symbols to the cross. These coin types – defined as Group 5 (Table 4.6), Group 6 (Table 4.7), Group 7 (Table 4.8) and Group 8 in this study – remained in circulation until the 1260s.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Bull transcribed in Giuseppe La Farina, *Studi sul secolo decimo terzo* (Florence: Fabris, 1842), p. 634.

¹⁹² Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

¹⁹³ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

Denari provisini in the name of Charles I of Anjou¹⁹⁴ are also attested to in the coins analysed. Charles I, Count of Provence from 1246 and King of Sicily and Naples from 1266, ruled in Rome as sole Senator for three legislatures between 1263 and 1266, from 1268 to 1278, and again from 1281 until 1284. The pope originally supported his government, which was a tripartite alliance between Charles, the Roman Church and Florence.¹⁹⁵ However, Charles gradually established a political monopoly which was not much different in structure from the papal *signoria*. It is generally asserted¹⁹⁶ that the mint struck *denari provisini* in the name of Charles only during his second government (1268-1278). Two elements suggest so: firstly, on this coin type Charles is defined as *rex* (+KAROLVS.REX.SEN.), a title received in January 1266, when he became king of Sicily; secondly, in 1282 Pope Martin IV (1281-1285) ordered that coins could be struck in Rome only with special permission of the Church (*speciali licentia Sedis Apostolice*) – accordingly, it is unlikely that Charles minted *denari provisini* after 1282.

It is important to highlight, however, that the collection of medieval Roman coins of The British Museum includes three silver examples in the name of Charles (two *grossi* and one *semigrosso*) that are still unpublished and which define him simply as KAROLVS (+KAROLVS.S.P.Q.R.). Also, the *CNI* lists numerous variants of the *grosso* and *semigrosso* with the obverse legend KAROLVS.S.P.Q.R.¹⁹⁷ The absence of the title *rex* in the legend strongly suggests that these examples were struck before Charles became king of Sicily, during his first government in Rome (1263-1266). It is very likely that the mint of Rome produced not only *grossi* and *semigrossi* under Charles during his first government, but also *denari provisini*.

¹⁹⁴ On Charles I of Anjou and his political experience in Rome: Elena Di Gioia and Claudio Parisi Presicce, *Carlo I d'Angiò re di Sicilia e senatore di Roma: Il monumento onorario nel Campidoglio del Duecento* (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2009).

¹⁹⁵ See: George Holmes, *Florence, Rome and the origins of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

¹⁹⁶ Adolfo Sissa, 'Un denaro provisino "regale" fra la monetazione senatoriale romana', *Panorama Numismatico*, 312 (2015), 11–17 (pp. 11–17); Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI, XV (Roma, dalla caduta dell'Impero d'Occidente al 1572)* (Rome: Tipografia Ditta Ludovico Cecchini, 1934), pp. 109-112 and 115.

¹⁹⁷ Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI, XV*, pp. 109–112, nos. 75–99.

The numismatic sample discussed in this thesis includes a rare *denaro provisino* type in the name of the Senate very similar to the *denaro provisino* of Charles, and which therefore might have circulated contemporaneously with the latter. Potentially, the senatorial type could be identified with a *denaro provisino* described in the coin list included in *La Pratica della Mercatura* by Pegolotti¹⁹⁸ and dated c.1290.¹⁹⁹ This list refers to ‘new *provisini* from Rome, issued in 1270 and having 3 ounces and 15 ½ *denari*’ (*provigiani nuovi di Roma fatti nel 1270 a onc. 3 den. 15 ½*), and after them, it mentions ‘*provisini* issued under King Charles, with 3 ounces and 4 *denari*’ (*provigiani fatti nel tempo del re Carlo a onc. 3 den. 4*). Based on the information provided by Pegolotti’s list, the senatorial type and the type of Charles I are defined in this study as ‘Group 9’ (Table 4.9) and ‘Group 10’ (Table 4.10) respectively. Only new compositional analysis, however, would confirm that the identification of the Group 9 with the *denari provisini* of 1270 is correct.

The coin list by Pegolotti also refers to *denari provisini* issued in Rome in 1280 as having 2 ounces and 8 *denari* (*provigiani fatti in Roma nel 1280, a onc. 2 den. 8*). Based on his compositional analysis, Finetti identified this coin type with a rare *denaro provisino* that has an S between a star and a crescent with the legend +SENAT’POPVLV’Q.R. on the obverse, and a cross with empty quadrants and the legend +ROMACAPVDMVND’. This coin type makes up ‘Group 11’ in this study (Table 4.11) on the reverse. In 1285, the mint of Rome struck another *denaro provisino* which was very similar to that of Group 11, but had two pellets around the cross. Again based on compositional analysis, Finetti identified this type with the ‘new *provisini* from Rome struck in 1285, showing two pellets around the cross, and having two ounces and one *denaro*’ of silver per libra (*provigiani nuovi di Roma fatti nel 1285, che ànno*

¹⁹⁸ For the transcription of Pegolotti’s coin list see: Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, pp. 123–30; for its dating see: Allan Evans, ‘Some coinage systems of the 14th century’, *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 3 (1931), 481–496.

¹⁹⁹ Philip Grierson, ‘The Coin List of Pegolotti’, in *Studi in onore di Armando Saponi* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1957), pp. 485–92.

2 punti nella +, onc. 2 den. 1).²⁰⁰ As the numismatic sample discussed in this study does not include examples of this type, the *denari provisini* of 1285 will not be considered as a group.

In the 1290s, the *denaro provisino* underwent significant changes: the proportion of silver decreased; its flan became thinner and its dimensions reduced; a larger comb intersected the legend; new combinations of symbols complemented the cross and innovative abbreviations of the formulae SPQR and ROMA CAPVD MVNDI appeared. Compiled for the most part around 1290, Pegolotti's list does not mention this *denaro provisino*, which suggests that it had not yet gone into production by that time. Examples of *denari provisini* with the larger comb have also been found in excavations at the fortified settlement of Caprignano (province of Rieti, in Lazio) in strata immediately antedating the site's destruction in 1307. This indicates that the type circulated in and around Rome after 1290 and at least until 1307. The *denari provisini* with the larger comb are defined in this study as 'Group 12' (Table 4.12).

4.2.3. Fourteenth-Century Denari Provisini: A Debased Issue

In the fourteenth century, the comb of the *denaro provisino* became much smaller, new combinations of symbols appeared on both obverse and reverse, and the dimensions as well as the proportion of silver were reduced still further. Through the examination of the examples preserved in Rome's museums and in The British Museum at London, this study has identified seven groups of fourteenth-century *denari provisini*. Among them, the *denari provisini* minted by Cola di Rienzo (Group 17, Table 4.16) and those of Pope Boniface IX (Group 19, Table 4.19) are the only ones with secure chronology. Owing to the scarcity of both archaeological evidence and written sources, and since no compositional analyses have ever been conducted on fourteenth-century *denari provisini*, it is not possible to propose a detailed relative

²⁰⁰ Finetti, 'I provisini romani del primo Giubileo', in *Anno 1300, il primo Giubileo*, ed. by Righetti Tosti Croce, pp. 188–89.

chronology of this coin in the last phase of the communal period. However, the following hypothesis has been formulated here:

Four groups, defined in this study as ‘Group 13’ (Table 4.13), ‘Group 14’ (Table 4.14), ‘Group 15’ and ‘Group 16’ (Table 4.15), show the comb and the legend SENATVS.P.Q.R. on the obverse, like the Groups 11 and 12, which were minted between 1280 and 1307. On the basis of this similarity, it can be argued that the Groups 11 and 12 and the Groups 13-16 were struck in adjacent periods. Also, the Groups 13-16 were probably issued after the Groups 11 and 12 – namely, after 1307 – since their average weight is lighter (0.32-0.54gr) than that of the previous coin types and because their epigraphic features and symbols above the comb are similar to those of the *denari provisini* of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 and by Boniface IX between 1389 and 1398.

Unlike the coins of Groups 13-16, the *denari provisini* of Cola di Rienzo (Group 17), a few senatorial *denari provisini* (Group 18, Table 4.17) and those struck in the name of Pope Boniface IX (Group 19) bear the cross on the obverse and the comb on the reverse. It is unclear whether the coins of Group 17 were issued before those of Group 18 because the senatorial *denari provisini*, with the obverse cross and reverse comb, unlike the examples of Cola, do not have a secure chronology. It is nevertheless worth considering the important role of images, coins and rituals in Cola’s propaganda programme (see discussion in Chapter 6). It can therefore be argued that Cola was the first to transpose the obverse and reverse types in an attempt to develop an original typology in his name, with the Roman Senate and Boniface IX following Cola’s model.

In 1398 the Senate, which could no longer manage Rome’s internal tensions, formally gave temporal power over the city back to the pope, thus sanctioning the end of the Roman commune. The return of papal rule in Rome is reflected very clearly in the *denari provisini* of this period, which show the legends +.BONIFATIVS.PP.NO and +IN.ROMA.S.P.Q.R (Table

4.18). This very rare coin type was probably minted in 1389 to celebrate the beginning of Pope Boniface IX's pontificate (1389-1404), and possibly in the following years. However, in 1398, its production ended, as did the Rome commune.

	<i>Medagliere of the Museo Nazionale Romano</i>	<i>Medaglere Capitolino</i>	<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>	<i>Dept. Coins and Medals, The British Museum</i>
<i>Group 1 (1184-1188)</i>	0	0	2	0
<i>Group 2 (1188-1191)</i>	672	1	20	2
<i>Group 3 (1191-1208)</i>	98	0	1	0
<i>Group 4 (1208-1250)</i>	1563	0	15	1
<i>Group 5 (1250s-1260s)</i>	0	0	2	0
<i>Group 6 (1250s-1260s)</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Group 7 (1250s-1260s)</i>	0	0	4	0
<i>Group 8 (1250s-1260s)</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>Group 9 (1270)</i>	0	0	1	0
<i>Group 10 (1268-1278)</i>	1	0	3	0
<i>Group 11 (1280)</i>	0	1	2	0
<i>Group 12 (1291-1307)</i>	0	590	25	6
<i>Group 13 (1307-1347)</i>	0	4	31	11
<i>Group 14 (1307-1347)</i>	0	0	16	1
<i>Group 15 (1307-1347)</i>	0	0	2	0
<i>Group 16 (1307-1347)</i>	0	2	0	0
<i>Group 17 (1347)</i>	0	0	19	3
<i>Group 18 (1347-1398)</i>	2	0	7	2
<i>Group 19 (1389-1398)</i>	0	0	3	0
<i>unassigned</i>	217	15	3	0
Total	2553	613	158	27
	3351			

Table 4.1: The denari provisini considered in this study.

Group 1	
1186-1188	
Variant 1. Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, omega; 2, pellet; 3, pellet; 4, alpha (illustrated). Variant 2. Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, omega; 2, star; 3, pellet; 4, alpha. Rv ROMACAPVTMVN Comb surmounted by T between inverted crescents.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-28, Vol. 1, p. 32, n. 9.	
Nos. examples: 2 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>)	
Example 1: 1,07 gr	19 mm
Example 2: 0,78 gr	19,50 mm
Flan: sub-circular	
Rarity: URS-2	

Table 4.2: Group 1 (source: author).

Table 4.3 Group 2 (source: author).

Group 2	
1188-1191	
Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with pellet, star, omega, alpha ordered in 7 variants. Rv ROMACAPVTMVN Comb surmounted by S between inverted crescents.	
Bibl. <i>CNZXT</i> , p. 100, n. 3; <i>CNZXT</i> , p. 101, n. 9.	
Nos. examples: 695 (<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i> : 1, <i>Medagliere Museo Nazionale Romano</i> : 673, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i> : 20, <i>The British Museum</i> : 2)	
Variant 1: 598 (pellet, star, omega, alpha)	Variant 5: 1 (pellet, omega, star, alpha)
Variant 2: 70 (pellet, alpha, omega, star)	Variant 6: 1 (omega, star, pellet, alpha)
Variant 3: 12 (omega, pellet, star, alpha)	Variant 7: 1 (alpha, star, omega, pellet)
Variant 4: 3 (star, pellet, omega, alpha)	Illegible: 9
Mean: 0,96 gr	19,55 mm
Flan: circular: 15% sub-circular: 54%	polygonal: 9% quadrangular: 22%
Rarity: URS-11	

Group 3	
1191-1208	
Obv: SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with pellet, star, omega, alpha ordered in two variants. Rev: ROMACAPVTMVI Comb surmounted by S between inverted crescent and star.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 51, n. 292.	
	
Nos. examples: 99 (<i>Medagliere Museo Nazionale Romano</i>: 98, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>: 1) Variant 1: 96 (pellet, star, omega, alpha) Variant 2: 2 (pellet, alpha, omega, star) Illegible: 1	
Mean: 0,96 gr	19,48 mm
Flan: circular: 5% sub-circular: 58%	polygonal: 12% quadrangular: 25%
Rarity: URS-§	

Table 4.4: Group 3 (source: author).

Group 4	
1208-1250	
Obv: SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with pellet, star, omega, alpha ordered in 12 variants. Rev: ROMACAPVTMVI Comb surmounted by S between star and inverted crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 33, n. 22.	
	
Nos. examples: 1579 (<i>Medagliere Museo Nazionale Romano</i>: 1563, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>: 15, <i>The British Museum</i>: 1) Variant 1: 754 (pellet, alpha, omega, star) Variant 2: 338 (pellet, star, omega, alpha) Variant 3: 153 (pellet, omega, alpha, star) Variant 4: 130 (omega, pellet, star, alpha) Variant 5: 107 (alpha, pellet, star, omega) Variant 6: 26 (pellet, omega, star, alpha) Variant 7: 2 (alpha, omega, pellet, star) Variant 8: 2 (pellet, alpha, star, omega) Variant 9: 1 (alpha, star, omega, pellet) Variant 10: 1 (star, alpha, omega, pellet) Variant 11: 1 (star, pellet, omega, alpha) Variant 12: 1 (omega, star, pellet, alpha) Illegible: 63	
Mean: 0,93 gr	19,81 mm
Flan: circular: 3% sub-circular: 22%	polygonal: 8% quadrangular: 67%
Rarity: URS-12	

Table 4.5: Group 4 (source: author).

Group 5	
1250s–1260s	
Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, pellet with stem; 2, alpha; 3, omega; 4, star. Rv ROMACAPVTMV Comb surmounted by S between star and inverted crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 32, n. 16.	
	
Nos. examples: 2 (<i>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</i>)	
Example 1: 0,90 gr	21,50 mm
Example 2: 0,87 gr	15,50 mm
Flan: quadrangular	
Rarity: URS-2	

Group 6	
1250s–1260s	
Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, omega; 2, alpha; 3, pellet with stem; 4, star. Rv ROMACAPVTMV Comb surmounted by S between inverted crescent and star.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 4, p. 15, n. 477/22a.	
	
Nos. examples: 2 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano: 1, The British Museum: 1</i>)	
Example 1: 0,88 gr	17,10 mm
Example 2: 0,61 gr	17,70 mm
Flan: quadrangular	
Rarity: URS-2	

Table 4.6: Group 5 (source: author).

Table 4.7: Group 6 (source: author).

Group 7	
1250s-1260s	
Obv SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, pellet with stem; 2, alpha; 3, omega; 4, star.	
Rv ROMACAPVTMV Comb surmounted by S between inverted crescent and rosette.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 4, p. 15, n. 482/27b.	
	
Nos. examples: 4 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>)	
Mean:	0,64 gr 16,50 mm
Flan:	sub-circular: 1 polygonal: 1 quadrangular: 2
Rarity: URS-3	

Table 4.8: Group 7 (source: author).

Group 9	
c.1270	
Obv +SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with: 1, pellet with stem; 2, alpha; 3, star with stem; 4, omega.	
Rv +ROMA.CAPVDMV Comb surmounted by S between clover and inverted crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 33, n. 27.	
	
Nos. examples: 1 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>)	
Mean:	0,48 gr 13,20 mm
Flan:	quadrangular
Rarity: URS-1	

Table 4.9: Group 9 (source: author).

Group 10	
1268-1278	
Obv. +KAROLVS REX SEN. Cross with: 1, alpha, 2, omega, 3, pellet with stem; and 4, star ordered in 4 variants. Rv. -SENATVS P Q R. Comb surmounted by S between trefoil and inverted crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 4, p. 16, n. 498/7a-b.	
	
Nos. examples: 4 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>)	
Variant 1: omega, alpha, star, pellet	Variant 3: alpha, omega, pellet, star
Variant 2: pellet, alpha, star, omega	Variant 4: pellet, star, omega, alpha
Mean: 0,58 gr	15,84 mm
Flan: circular: 1 sub-circular: 1	polygonal: 1 quadrangular: 1
Rarity: URS-3	

Group 11	
1280	
Obv. +SENATV POPVLV Q R. Comb surmounted by S between star and crescent. Rv. +ROMA CAPVD MVND' Cross.	
Bibl. CNZ XI, p. 143, n. 349.	
	
Nos. examples: 3 (<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i> : 1, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i> : 2)	
Mean: 0,67 gr	17,27 mm
Flan: circular	
Rarity: URS-3	

Table 4.10: Group 10 (source: author).

Table 4.11: Group 11 (source: author).

Group 12	
1291-1307	
Variant 1. Ob +SEN AT'POPVL' Q.R. Large comb surmounted by S between star and crescent. Ri +ROMA CAPVD.M. Cross with pellets	
Variant 2. Ob +SE NAT'P. Q.R. Large comb surmounted by S between star and crescent. Ri +ROMA CAPVD.M. Cross.	
Variant 3. Ob +SE NAT'P. Q.R. Large comb surmounted by S between star and crescent. Ri +ROMA CAPVD.M. Cross with degenerate omega and star (illustrated).	
Bibl. <i>CNZ XV</i> , p. 151, n. 418; <i>CNZ XV</i> , p. 142, n. 345; <i>CNZ XV</i> , p. 148, n. 398.	
	
Nos. examples: 621 (<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i> : 590, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i> : 25, <i>The British Museum</i> : 6)	
Variant 1: 312 Variant 2: 173	Variant 3: 135 Illegible: 1
Mean: 0,61 gr	16,16 mm
Flan: circular, sub-circular	
Rarity: URS-11	

Group 13	
1307-1347	
Ob +SENATVSP.Q.R. Comb surmounted by S between star and crescent.	
Ri +ROMA.CAPVT.MV. Cross with star, pellet or spindle in 6 variants.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 50, n. 275.	
	
Nos. examples: 46 (<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i> : 4, <i>Medagliere Vaticano</i> : 31, <i>The British Museum</i> : 11)	
Variant 1: 13 (cross) Variant 2: 12 (cross with star) Variant 3: 8 (cross with spindles)	Variant 4: 8 (cross with pellets) Variant 5: 2 (cross with pellet) Variant 6: 3 (cross with spindle)
Mean: 0,54 gr	15,45 mm
Flan: circular, 36% sub-circular: 64%	
Rarity: URS-7	

Table 4.12: Group 12 (source: author).

Table 4.13: Group 13 (source: author).

Group 14	
1307-1347	
Obv: +SENATVS P.Q.R. Comb surmounted by S between crescent and star.	
Variant 1. Rv: +ROMA CAPVT.M. Cross.	
Variant 2. Rv: +ROMA CAPVT.M. Cross with star (illustrated).	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 52, n. 309.	
	
Nos. examples: 17 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano: 1, The British Museum: 1</i>)	
Variant 1: 14	Variant 2: 3
Mean:	0,41 gr 14,46 mm
Flan:	circular: 35% sub-circular: 65%
Rarity: URS-6	

Table 4.14: Group 14 (source: author).

Group 16	
1307-1347	
Obv: +SENATVS P.Q.R. Comb surmounted by S between star and inverted crescent.	
Rv: +ROMA CAPVT.MV. cross with star.	
Bibl. <i>CM XI</i> ; Tab. IX, n. 18.	
	
Nos. examples: 2 (<i>Medagliere Capitolino</i>)	
Example 1:	0,50 gr 15,60 mm
Example 2:	0,55 gr 14,90 mm
Flan: sub-circular	
Rarity: URS-2	

Table 4.15: Group 16 (source: author).

Group 17	
1347	
Variant 1. O ¹ +ALMVSTRIBVNAT ¹ Cross with letters V R B S. Variant 2. O ¹ +ALMVSTRIBVNAT ¹ Cross.	
R ¹ +ROMA.CAPVT.MV. Comb surmounted by ring between star and crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, v. 1, p. 63, n. 1.	
	
Nos. examples: 22 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano: 19, The British Museum: 3</i>)	
Variant 1: 14	Variant 2: 8
Mean: 0,48 gr	14,73 mm
Mode: 0,43 gr	14,8 mm
Flan: sub-circular: 68%	
circular: 32%	
Rarity: URS-6	

Table 4.16: Group 17 (source: author).

Group 18	
1347-1389	
Variant 1. O ¹ +SENATVS.POPVL. Cross.	
Variant 2. O ¹ +SENATVS.P.Q.R. Cross with star.	
R ¹ +ROMA.CAPVT.MV. Comb surmounted by S between star and crescent.	
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 4, p. 22, n. 557/269a.	
	
Nos. examples: 11 (<i>Medagliere Museo Nazionale Romano: 2, Medagliere Vaticano: 7, The British Museum: 3</i>)	
Variant 1: 7	Illegible: 1
Variant 2: 3	
Mean: 0,54 gr	15,50 mm
Flan: circular: 55%	
sub-circular: 36%	
quadrangular: 9%	
Rarity: URS-5	

Table 4.17: Group 18 (source: author).

Group 19		
1389-1398		
Obv. +BONIFATIVS.PP.NO Cross with star. Variant 1. Rv. +IN.ROMA.S.P.Q.R. Comb surmounted by S between crescent and star. Variant 2. Rv. +IN.ROMA.S.P.Q.R. Comb surmounted by S between inverted crescent and star.		
Bibl. Serafini 1910-1928, Vol. 1, p. 89, n. 28		
		
Nos. examples: 3 (<i>Medagliere Vaticano</i>)		
Variant 1: 2		Variant 2: 1
Variant 1:	0,44 gr 0,34 gr	14,3 mm 14,5 mm
Variant 2:	0,31 gr	14,5 mm
Flan:	Var. 1. subcircular	Var. 2. circular
Rarity: URS-3		

Table 4.18: Group 19 (source: author).

4.3. Quantitative Analysis

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 display the numbers of relevant coins considered in this study; they have been chronologically ordered, so that production patterns across the communal period can be identified. More specifically, Figure 4.5 shows the production trend of the *denaro provisino* from 1186 to 1398 as suggested by available evidence. In order to estimate this trend, the number of coins in each group was divided by the total number of *denari provisini* considered in this study (i.e. 3357 examples) – the resulting number corresponded to the percentage of examples in each group. Percentage values were then divided by the numbers of years in which each group circulated, with the results indicating the percentages of *denari provisini* struck per year (Fig. 4.5). Of course, the results displayed in Figure 4.5 are only hypothetical, since they are based exclusively on the study of the examples in a limited number of public collections; furthermore, these coins represent a few very large hoards. Nonetheless, they allow us to make interesting observations, which will be illustrated in Sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, and 4.3.3.

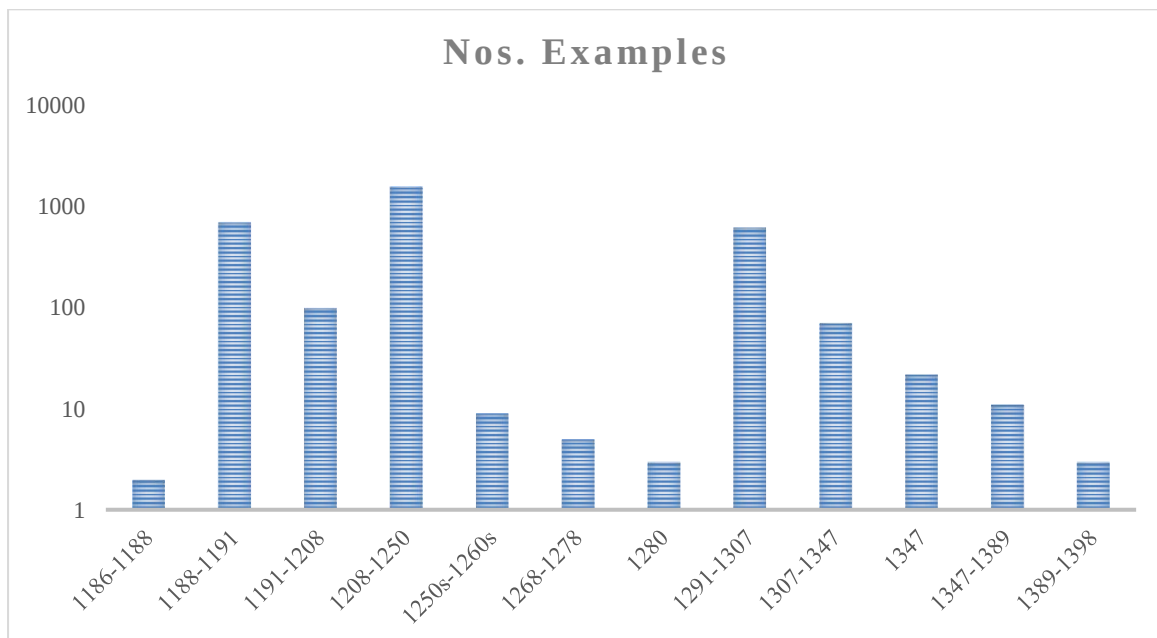
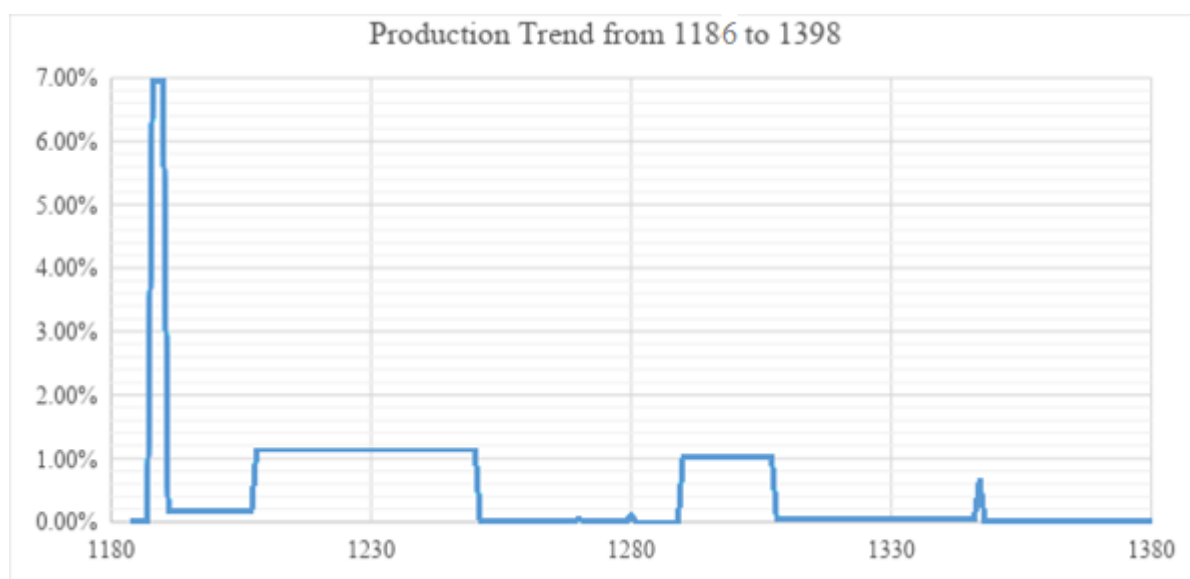


Figure 4.4: Denari provisini from 1186 to 1398: available evidence.



Group	Period	Nos. Examples	Nos. Years	Percentage	Percentage per Year
1	1186-1188	2	4	0.06%	0.01%
2	1188-1191	695	3	20.83%	6.94%
3	1191-1208	99	17	2.97%	0.17%
4	1208-1250	1579	42	47.33%	1.13%
5-8	1250s-60s	9	20	0.27%	0.01%
9	1270	1	1	0.03%	0.03%
10	1268-78	5	11	0.12%	0.01%
11	1280	3	1	0.09%	0.09%
12	1290-1307	621	18	18.62%	1.03%
13-16	1307-47	71	39	2.01%	0.05%
17	1347	22	1	0.66%	0.66%
18	1347-89	11	42	0.33%	0.01%
19	1389-98	3	10	0.09%	0.01%
Illegible	-	230	-	6.47%	-

Figure 4.5: Production trend of the denario provisino from 1186 to 1398 as suggested by available evidence.

4.3.1. The Denaro Provisino in the Early Commune of Rome (c.1186-c.1250)

The first five years of production are only represented by two examples (Group 1). The shortage of numismatic evidence for this period is predictable, given that between 1186 and 1188, Rome's mint produced coins without the official recognition of the pope, probably as a form

of protest against the papacy: the reopening of the mint occurred in the middle of a popular revolt, which started in 1183 and lasted until 1188, when Pope Clement III and the Roman Senate signed a truce, the ‘Concord Pact’, aimed at restoring peaceful relations between the Church and the commune, and at giving the mint back to the pope (see Section 4.2.1).²⁰¹ Interestingly, Rome’s mint reopened when the city was flourishing: around four decades had passed since the establishment of the commune, and by that time Rome had asserted its power in the countryside, such as against Albano, which was razed to the ground in 1168. Rome was, however, still fighting against Tuscolo and Tivoli, and the punishments meted on them clearly show how Rome was trying to gain full territorial control and to secure its position as the main authority in central Italy (see Section 6.3.4). As these events suggest, Rome had by then generated its own revised political identity, strength and economic security; therefore, its decision to restore its own mint seems logical.

The Group 2 circulated over a period of only three years, between 1188 and 1191; nonetheless, it comprises 695 *denari provisini*, a large number, suggesting that Rome’s mint significantly increased its output capacities in those years. Interestingly, a similar production trend can be observed in England in the same period (1188-1192), when a complete re-coinage was undertaken because of the extension of royal control over mints and exchanges (Fig. 4.6).²⁰²

²⁰¹ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel medioevo*, pp. 144–148.

²⁰² James L. Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973-1489* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 147.

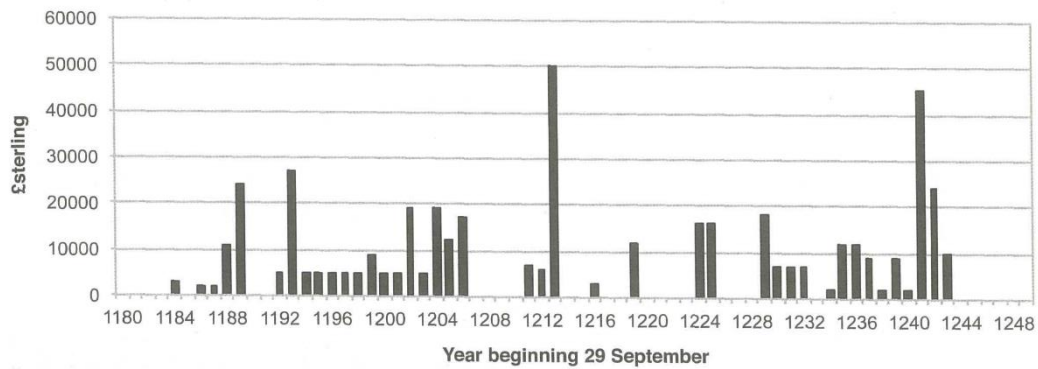


Figure 4.6: The outflow of coin in England 1180-1250 (Source: Bolton 2012, Fig. 6.1).

Although referring to different geographical contexts, Figures 4.5 and 4.6 reveal that, in the 1180s, not only the availability of new silver sources,²⁰³ but also the strengthening of local authority significantly affected monetary production. As Henry II (1133-1189) did in England, so Rome's institutions strengthened their authority by redefining their minting rights: through the Concord Pact (1188), the pope officially recognized the Senate as the secular authority of the city, in exchange for the right to two thirds of the annual profit from Rome's mint. This truce inaugurated a new, more stable era in relations between the Senate and the papacy – as documented by the high numbers of *denari provisini* available from 1188 until the mid-thirteenth century.

The *Liber Censuum*, which was written by Cencius in 1192 and is preserved at the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* in Rome, includes a copy of the Concord Pact.²⁰⁴ The section of the Concord Pact regarding the management of Rome's mint is reproduced below:

(...) at present, we give the City and the mint back to you [the pope]. Nevertheless, we will withhold one third of the [earnings from the] mint, as explained below. Likewise, we return the church of the Blessed Peter, the episcopates, and the other

²⁰³ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 109–31.

²⁰⁴ Manuscript *Codices Vaticani Latini* series, no. 8486, pp. 104-106.

churches bound because of the war. These will be released from the third of the earnings that the Senate will annually receive, until all the money because of which they have been bound will be paid. As soon as the loan amount decreases, interest rates will also decrease proportionately. We give back all the gratuities we have, namely those inside and those outside the City but Ponte Lucano, which you do not deny us. Concerning other people's properties, we will not go against your interests.

(...) ad praesens reddimus vobis senatum et urbem ac monetam; tamen de moneta habebimus tertiam partem, sicut inferius continetur. Item ecclesiam beati Petri absolutam reddimus, et episcopatus et alias ecclesias obligatas pro guerra reddimus absolutas, hoc modo quod de tertia parte monete quam senatus habebit singulis annis exonerentur, donec tota pecunia pro qua obligate sunt solvatur, et sicut sors minuetur: ita minuantur usure pro rata parte. Reddimus omnia regalia tam infra quam extra urbem, que tenemus, preter Pontem Lucanum; quem tamen non reputatis; et de his que alii teneat non fatiemus vobis contrarium. (...)

(Cod. Vat. Lat. 8486)²⁰⁵

The structure of the Rome mint must have already been complex in the years 1188-1191, as suggested by the number of variants of Group 2 – so far, seven have been identified. Since no documents regarding the mint have been preserved, it is difficult to estimate how many moneyers worked in the Rome commune at that time, and where they were located. However, by comparing this city with better documented case studies, it can be reasonably speculated that the mint was located not far from the municipal palace – i. e. the Palazzo

²⁰⁵ LXXXIII - *Concordia inter Dominum Papam Clementem III et Senatores Populumque Romanum super Regalibus, et aliis Dignitatibus Urbis*, transcribed in *Liber Censuum* (Codices Vaticani Latini series, n. 8486), pp. 104-106. Other transcripts of the Concord Pact are available in Antonio Vendettini, *Del Senato Romano* (Rome: Stamperia Salomoni, 1782); La Farina, *Studi sul secolo decimo terzo*; Augustine Theiner, *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis* (Rome: Stamperia Vaticana, 1861); *Le Liber Censuum de l'Eglise Romaine*, ed. by Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1899).

Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill. These parallels include the Venetian mint, which moved to the lagoon side of the Molo in front of the Doge's palace in the early twelfth century.²⁰⁶ Similarly, the Florence mint was located in Piazza della Signoria, beside the entrance to the Palazzo Comunale, up to 1363.²⁰⁷ Also, in 1164, the Genoese mint was built near the administration offices of the city, and, in the late fourteenth century, it was moved inside the municipal palace – the Palazzo dei Padri del Comune in Piazza Caricamento.²⁰⁸

In summary, the available evidence would suggest that, at least in the main Italian communes, the mint was generally located near the government palace. Therefore, it can be argued that the Rome commune followed this tendency, building the mint near to the Capitoline Hill – whose summit was the Palazzo Senatorio. Interestingly, in ancient times, the Capitoline Hill housed the Temple of Juno Moneta – which was also the first mint in the city. Considering that the Rome commune constantly used its ancient past to show itself as the legitimate heir of ancient Rome authorities (see Section 6.3), so the construction of the medieval mint in the same place in which the first mint of Rome had been built sounds logical.²⁰⁹

From the early thirteenth century, population grew substantially across an increasingly commercialised Europe; consequently, the demand for goods raised and led to the rapid expansion of trade.²¹⁰ Along with such commercial changes, the increase in the production of silver,²¹¹ the spread of numeracy and reckoning, and even the development of literacy and law²¹² provided the basis for the growth of a monetized economy. For example, as highlighted

²⁰⁶ Alan M. Stahl, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2000), pp. 282–83.

²⁰⁷ *Money and Beauty. Bankers, Botticelli and the Bonfire of the Vanities*, ed. by Tim Parks and Ludovica Sebregondi (Florence: Giunti, 2012), p. 125.

²⁰⁸ Cornelio Desimoni, *Tavole descrittive delle monete della zecca di Genova dal 1139 al 1814* (Genoa: Tipografia del R. Istituto Sordo-Muti, 1890), p. XXI.

²⁰⁹ Vincent Lannoye, *The History of Money for Understanding Economics* (Vincent Lannoye, 2011), p. 32.

²¹⁰ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, p. 12.

²¹¹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 109–31; Diana Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 79.

²¹² James L. Bolton, 'What is Money? What is a Money Economy? When did a Money Economy Emerge in Medieval England?', in *Medieval Money Matters*, ed. by Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), pp. 1–15 (p. 7).

by Mayhew, the amount of coins circulating in England grew from about £250,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century to about £1,100,000 in the early fourteenth century – and the pattern throughout Europe was similar.²¹³ The fact that the *denaro provisino* type minted between 1208 and 1250 (Group 4) is the best represented amongst the nineteen so far identified (see Table 4.1) would indicate that Rome was part of this phenomenon. Also, it is important to highlight that the fineness of the Group 4 was increased to promote the spread of local coinage in central Italy – this measure suggesting that Rome’s economy was flourishing in that period.

The main actors in this economic growth were Roman merchants with high financial liquidity, who are attested in national and international markets, including the Champagne fairs, where they sold and purchased goods and loaned money (see Section 3.2.3).²¹⁴ This scenario would indicate that, in the early thirteenth century, currency circulated intensely in Rome, and that, accordingly, there was a rise in the production of *denari provisini*. The available evidence is currently represented by 1579 examples (Group 4). However, c.4220 *denari provisini* conserved in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano* still have to be catalogued. These are part of the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (MPI)* hoard, composed of c.5000 *denari provisini*. 781 examples of this hoard have been catalogued for this thesis, and because they are all of Group 2 (1188-1191), Group 3 (1191-1208) or Group 4 (1208-1250), it is likely that the remaining c.4220 coins also belong to these three groups. If all c.4220 coins were minted between 1191 and 1250, then the total amount of *denari provisini* of Groups 2-4, would be c.6593 coins, and the pattern displayed in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 would change substantially, suggesting that there was no drop in the production of *denari provisini* between 1188 and 1250. In summary, the final study of the *MPI* hoard is needed in order to obtain a more accurate production trend of Rome’s mint in the first half of the thirteenth century.

²¹³ Nick J. Mayhew, ‘Money and Prices in England from Henry II to Edward II’, *History Review*, 35.2 (1987), 121–32 (pp. 125–26).

²¹⁴ Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 85, 148–77.

Along with the historical context, the shape of the *denaro provisino* allows us to assert that, in the thirteenth century, the numbers of *denari provisini* in circulation were higher than that suggested in Figure 4.5. The study of the available evidence indicates that, between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, most of the examples were sub-circular²¹⁵ and quadrangular.²¹⁶ In the thirteenth century, however, the number of quadrangular and polygonal²¹⁷ *denari provisini* increased substantially, whereas after 1278, it seems that the *denaro provisino* was either circular or sub-circular (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8). The mint might have produced the quadrangular or polygonal coins to simplify the production process at times when demand for the *denaro provisino* was especially high or when the mint was attracting unusually large amounts of bullion. The high percentage of quadrangular and polygonal *denari provisini* between 1208 and 1250 suggests that Rome's mint produced a significant amount of *denari provisini* in that period. Finetti recognized a similar phenomenon in Lucca and Pisa in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when both experienced notable economic growth.²¹⁸ Lucca struck *denari enriciani* for around two centuries, between 1046 and the early thirteenth century. The basic design of the *enriciano* changed very little across that period, but around 1125 its flan became quadrangular and its types and legends less refined (Fig. 4.9).²¹⁹

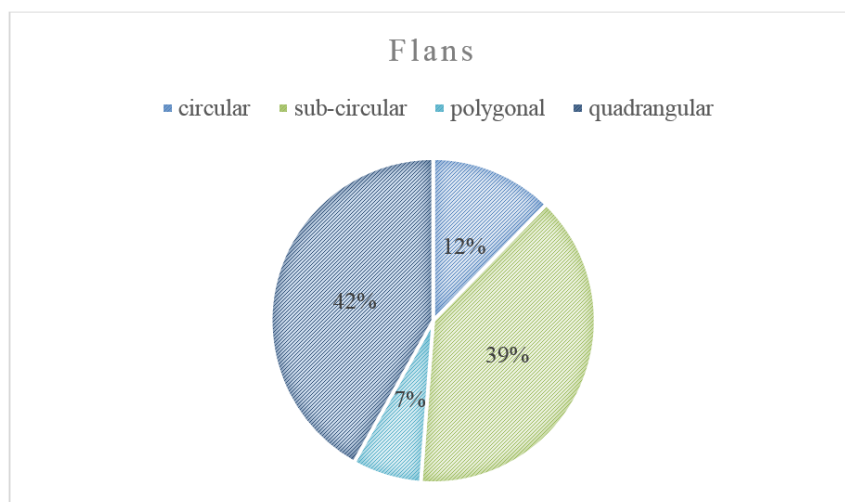
²¹⁵ Sub-circular: nearly circular.

²¹⁶ Quadrangular: with four distinct angles.

²¹⁷ Polygonal: with less or more than four distinct angles.

²¹⁸ Angelo Finetti, *Numismatica e tecnologia. Produzione e valutazione della moneta nelle società del passato* (Rome: Carocci editore, 2001), pp. 29–30.

²¹⁹ Roberto Cecchinato, Adolfo Sissia, and Mirco Vagnini, 'I *denari* "enriciani" di Lucca. Monete di grande successo affascinanti e ostiche', 2010 <<https://www.lamoneta.it/>>.



<i>Shape</i>	<i>Nos. Examples</i>
Circular	408 (12%)
Sub-circular	1307 (39%)
Polygonal	229 (7%)
Quadrangular	1390 (42%)
Fragments	17
Total	3351

Figure 4.7: Types of flan shape in denari provisini.

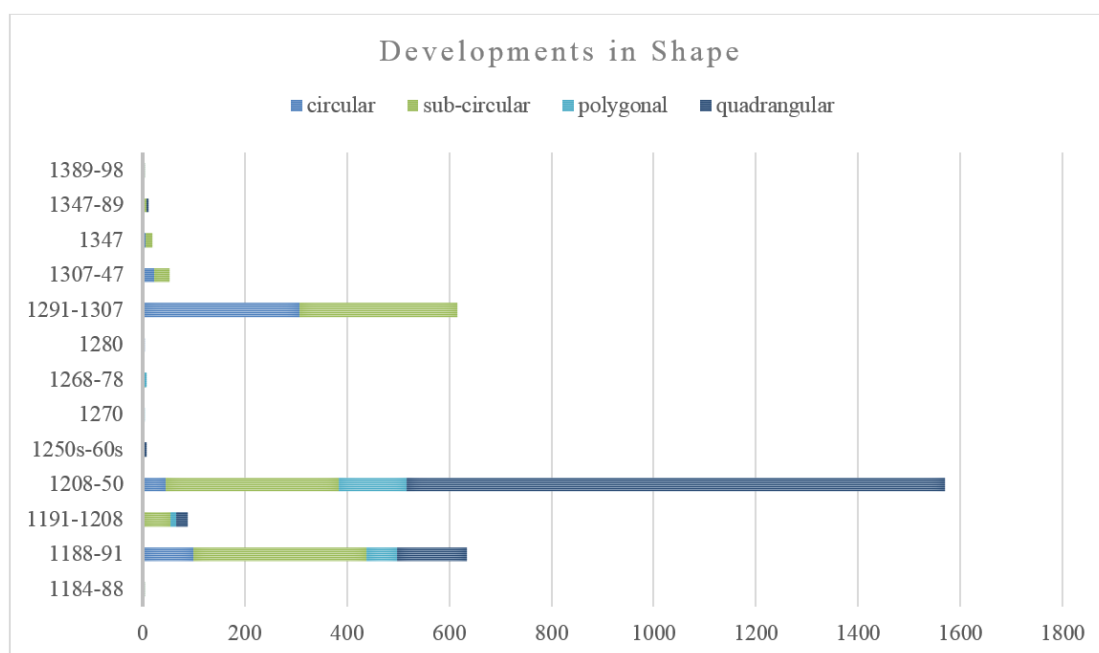


Figure 4.8: Developments of flan shape in denari provisini from 1186 to 1398.



Figure 4.9: Examples of denaro enriciano (source: Cecchinato, Sissia and Vagnini 2010, pp. 6-7).

4.3.2. The Denaro Provisino and the Popular Unrest against the Barons (c.1250-1347)

After 1250 the amount of *denari provisini* in circulation decreased dramatically. A number of concurrent causes may have contributed to this reduction: firstly, in 1252-1253 new silver issues began to be minted in Rome: the *grosso* and *semigrosso* – which was a fraction of the *grosso* being worth half of its value. These two silver issues replaced the *denaro provisino* in important transactions (see Section 4.4.2.1), and, consequently, the demand for the latter was reduced. Secondly, between the 1230s and the 1250s, a new aristocracy replaced the mixed elite as the leading group in Rome: the barons. They were neither traders nor lenders, but mostly land and castle owners, who appear to have been more interested in their own social mobility and status than in the commercial attributes of the city.²²⁰ Amongst the main baronial families were the Annibaldi, Colonna, Caetani, Orsini, and the Savelli. With the exception of the Colonna family, who were descended from the Counts of Tuscolo, the barons came from Rome's noble lines, and had already achieved leading positions in the city before the mid-twelfth century. Across the thirteenth century, the power of these families in Rome increased

²²⁰ For an overview of the barons in Rome, see: Carocci, 'Baroni in città', pp. 137–73; Carocci, *Baroni di Roma*; Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 200–258.

significantly through the acquisition of castles in Lazio and Southern Italy; at the beginning of the fourteenth century, they owned around two hundred castles in total.²²¹ At that time, the barons controlled specific zones of Rome, in each of which they had palaces and towers, the latter being built for both symbolic and defensive reasons – as a result of their height, towers not only celebrated the power of their owners, but also protected them from rivals. Vassals lived around the baronial palace, guaranteeing further protection for the family.²²²

In order to maintain power and expand their control, the barons were involved in numerous conflicts, which became increasingly violent in the fourteenth century, as suggested by the contemporary *De regimine civitatis* by Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313-1357), which defines their government as an ‘atrocious thing’ (*res monstruosa*) and Rome as a city under ‘several tyrants’ (*multi tyranni*).²²³ Similarly, the chronicle of the Anonimo Romano, compiled in the Roman vernacular between 1357 and 1358, describes Rome under the barons as a city with no governors, crossed by tensions and fights and inhabited by people who stole from everywhere (*La citate de Roma stava in grannissima travaglia. Rettori non avea. Onne die se commatteva. De onne parte se derobava*).²²⁴

The numismatic evidence suggests that the crisis experienced by Rome under the barons had an impact on the production trend of the mint, and more specifically on the issuing of petty coins. Two factors would confirm this hypothesis: namely, the small number of *denari provisini* available from 1250 onwards and the absence of quadrangular coins from 1278 onwards (Fig. 4.10).

²²¹ Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 221–22.

²²² Carocci, ‘Baroni in città’, pp. 149–50.

²²³ Diego Quaglioni, *Politica e diritto nel Trecento italiano: Il "De tyranno" di Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314-1357)*. (Florence: Olschki, 1983), pp. 147–70.

²²⁴ Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta, p. 153.

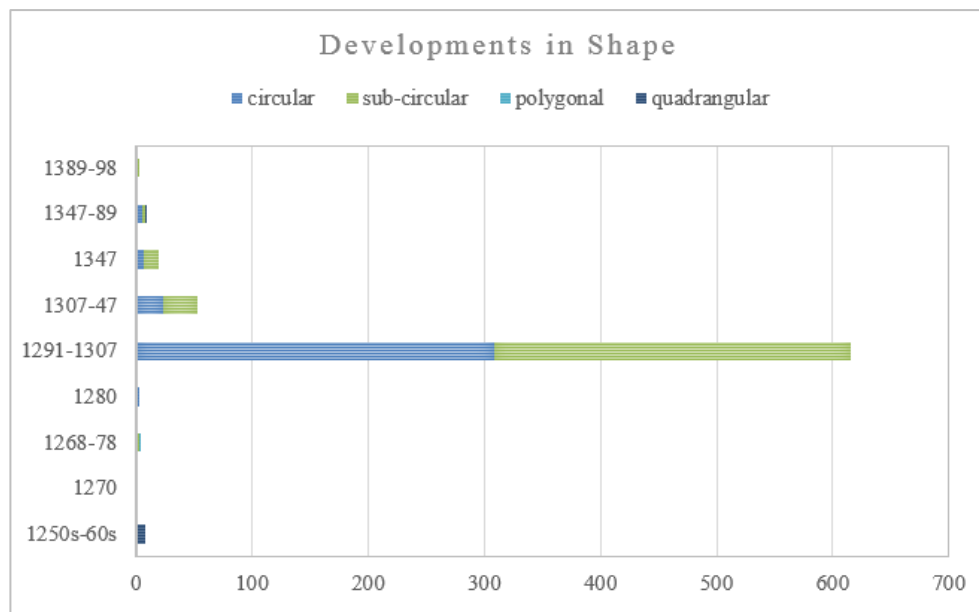


Figure 4.10: Developments of flan shape in denari provisini from 1250 to 1398 (detail).

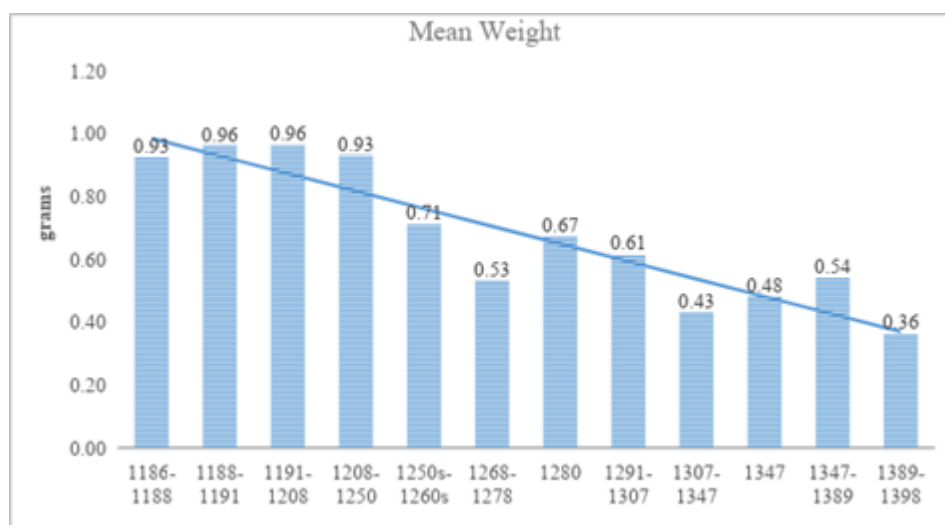


Figure 4.11: Average weight of the denaro provisino between 1186 and 1398.

Also, Figure 4.11 shows that, between 1270 and 1347, the *denaro provisino* experienced a steady decrease in its average weight, which points to a decrease in the amount of silver – although only compositional analysis would allow us to verify this. Documentary sources, however, attest that, between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the *denaro*

provisino suffered multiple debasements: in 1269, a *grosso* was equivalent to fifteen *denari provisini*,²²⁵ whereas in 1302 it was worth thirty-two *denari provisini*, as attested to in a papal tithe paid by Civita Castellana in that year.²²⁶ These devaluations seem to be part of a wider phenomenon involving many parts of Europe in this period, including Spain, France and England, as well as The Low Countries, Bohemia and Austria.²²⁷ It has been generally asserted that rulers promoted these debasements to allow the mint to make many more coins from every pound of precious metal.²²⁸ However, Fournial offered an alternative hypothesis, emphasizing the limited supply of silver and its resulting rising value as the main cause for the debasement of coinage throughout the fourteenth century.²²⁹ It seems reasonable to assume that both of these factors, namely monetary reforms promoted by the issuing authority and the lack of metal resources, contributed to the devaluation of the *denaro provisino* between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Despite this, a rise in the production of *denari provisini* can be observed between 1290 and 1307. The most likely occasion for this increase was the First Jubilee of 1300, which attracted pilgrims and merchants from all across Europe – according to Gregorovius, c.30,000 pilgrims entered/exited Rome every day in that year.²³⁰ The Italian merchant and chronicler Giovanni Villani went to Rome as a pilgrim in 1300, and described his experience in his *Nuova Cronica* thus:

²²⁵ Giuseppe Garampi, *Saggi di osservazione sul valore delle antiche monete pontificie* (Vatican City: Niccolò e Marco Pagliarini, 1766), p. 124.

²²⁶ The payment of this tithe is reported in Giulio Battelli, '*Rationes decimarum Italiae*' nei secoli XIII e XIV: *Latium* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1946), pp. 427–28. (*Summa decime civitatis et diocesis Civitatis Castellane secundi termini provis. lib. C, computato quilibet floreno auri provis. sol. XXXIII, samperino XII den., turnensi grosso XXXIII den., romanino grosso XXXII den., bolognino grosso X den., prout in locis supradictis communiter expendebantur*).

²²⁷ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 289–318.

²²⁸ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, p. 289; Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 20.

²²⁹ Étienne Fournial, *Les villes et l'économie d'échange en forez aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1967), pp. 276–86.

²³⁰ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 461.

(...) Wherefore, a large number of Christians then living made this pilgrimage, men and women alike, from distant and different countries, from far and near. And it was the most remarkable thing that ever was seen, that during the whole year there were in Rome, besides the Roman people, 200,000 pilgrims, not counting those who were coming and going along the roads, and all were adequately provided with victuals, both horses and people, and with great patience and without disturbance or dispute; and I can bear witness, for I was there and I saw. And from the offerings made by the pilgrims great treasure accrued to the church and to the Romans; all were made rich by their takings. (...)

(Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, Vol. 9, Ch. 36, pp. 244-245)²³¹

Combined with the figures provided by Gregorovius and Villani, the available numismatic evidence allows us to assert that, in c.1300, the demand for goods and the resulting need for petty cash increased substantially in Rome: as discussed in Section 4.4.1, new base-metal issues, known as *picciolo* and *quattrino*, were introduced in the early fourteenth century to satisfy this need, which the *denaro provisino* could no longer satisfy because of its low fineness. As suggested by the available numismatic evidence, this situation led to the decrease of *denari provisini* in circulation: only sixty-seven examples remain for the period 1307-1347, and only fourteen for the late fourteenth century.

²³¹ Translation by Diana Webb: Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 117.

4.3.3. *The Denaro Provisino after the Barons (1347-1398)*

The tension experienced in Rome under the barons from the late thirteenth century onwards generated increasing discontent amongst the population. Cola di Rienzo²³² took advantage of this situation by leading a popular revolt and occupying the Capitoline Hill on 20 May 1347. He established a new government,²³³ resurrected the term ‘tribune’ from ancient Roman traditions and chose this as his title instead of the traditional designation of ‘Senator’.²³⁴ As Figures 4.4 and 4.5 display, a slight increase in the production trend of the *denaro provisino* can be observed during Cola’s government – twenty-two examples in his name survive for the sole year 1347. As indicated in Figure 4.11, the mean weight of the issue of Cola is higher than that of the *denari provisini* issued in the first half of the fourteenth century. The large number of examples available and their higher mean weight suggests that, under Cola, coinage played a prominent role not only as a means of exchange, but also as a vehicle for political messages. This hypothesis is supported by a letter that Cola sent to the Florence Commune on 7 June 1347, in which, as tribune, he asks for skilled Florentine moneyers. The letter states:

Because we want to strike coinage of a new shape, we ask you to send (us) a skilled and experienced moneyer, a knowledgeable and expert assayer and a die engraver.

We will look after them solemnly and properly, as prescribed by law.

Demum, nostri officii debito suggerente, volentes nove forme monetam incidere, rogamus, ut mictere placeat zeccherium peritum et instructum, assagiatorem

²³² On Cola di Rienzo and his political experience in Rome: Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta; Felix Papencordt, *Cola di Rienzo e il suo tempo* (Turin: Giuseppe Pomba, 1844); Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*; *Cola di Rienzo: Dalla storia al mito*, ed. by Gabriele Scalessa (Rome: Il Cubo, 2009); Joelle Rollo-Koster and Alizah Holstein, ‘Anger and Spectacle in Late Medieval Rome: Gauging Emotion in Urban Topography’, in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500*, ed. by Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester and Carol Symes (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 149–74 (pp. 149–62).

²³³ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 89.

²³⁴ Gustav Seibt, ‘La rivoluzione di Cola di Rienzo’, in *Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Scalessa, pp. 15–27 (p. 19).

*consuetum et expertum, et cudis forme scultorem, quibus debito iuris ordine,
solempniter providebimus et decenter.*

(*Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, ep. IV)²³⁵

As this request for skilled moneyers from Florence reveals, Cola was interested in improving the appearance and design of coinage. Noticeably, coins of refined design not only reflect their monetary purposes, but they also evoke the wealth and prosperity of their minting authority. Therefore, it might be argued that Cola gave new importance to the design of currency to exploit the latter not only as a means of exchange, but also as an effective vehicle for political messages (see Section 6.3.5). Arguably, money served these two functions throughout Cola's government, which, however, ended after only six months.

A centralized popular government rose in Rome after Cola, in 1358-1360: the *Felice Società dei Balestrieri e Pavesati*, which was also an army of two corps of 1500 people each – the *balestrieri*, armed with crossbows (*balestra*), and the *pavesati*, equipped with wooden shields (*pavese*).²³⁶ The first aim of the *Felice Società* was to restore order and security in the city after baronial abuses and Cola's tribunate and, under its government, Rome did experience a period of greater stability. The available numismatic evidence suggests that this situation influenced coinage significantly: although the number of *denari provisini* in circulation reduced significantly, it seems that their quality increased – the average weight of the Group 18 is higher than in the past, rising from c.0.41 g (Group 14) to 0.54g. However, only compositional analysis would confirm that this rise in weight is due to an increase in the *denaro provisino* fineness.

²³⁵ Annibale Gabrielli, *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Antonella Mazzon (Rome: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato, 1890), p. 14.

²³⁶ For an overview of the *Felice Società dei balestrieri e dei pavesati*, see: Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, 'La Felice Societas dei balestrieri e dei pavesati a Roma: Una società popolare e i suoi ufficiali', in *Scritti per Isa* ed. by Mazzon, pp. 377–406.

Also, a new gold coin type was introduced in Rome's currency system in that period: the *fiorino senatoriale*, which shows a crossbow – the symbol of the *Felice Società* – in the legend and in the field (see Section 4.4.3).

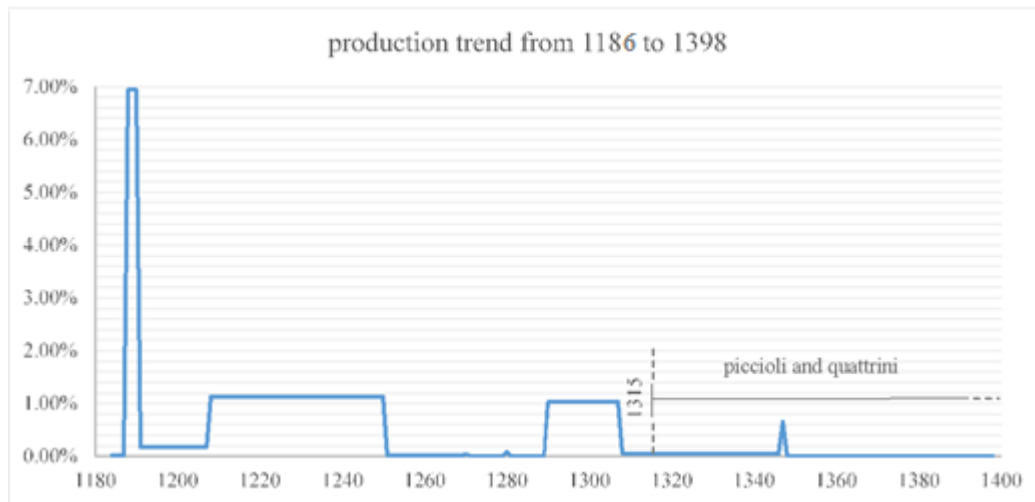


Figure 4.12: Production trend of the *denaro provisino* (1186-1398) as suggested by available evidence, in relation to the introduction of *denari piccioli* and *quattrini*.

While this research has reconstructed a general production trend of the *denaro provisino* across the communal period on the basis of the available numismatic evidence, it is important to bear in mind that this study can only provide a partial picture of the actual amount of *denari provisini* circulating in the Rome commune, as it necessarily does not include examples in private collections and those that have not survived.

4.4. The Monetary System of the Rome Commune

The *denaro provisino* was, as seen, the most used coin in Rome between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. However, it was part of a highly complex currency system, which involved numerous foreign and local issues (the foreign coins adopted by Rome in the Late Middle Ages have been examined in Chapter 3). This section discusses the developments

experienced by local gold, silver and base-metal coinage after the reopening of Rome's mint in c.1186 and until the end of the communal period in 1398 (a chronological representation of these issues is provided in Figure 4.31).²³⁷

4.4.1. Base-Metal Issues

4.4.1.1. Denaro Picciolo

Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the fineness of the *denaro provisino* decreased substantially. As a result, whilst the types of this issue minted between 1186 and 1250 can be defined as 'silver coins', those struck after 1250 should be considered as 'base-metal issues'. Compositional analysis on samples of each type would enable to confirm this distinction, which was made on the basis of visual examination of the 3357 *denari provisini* considered in this thesis.²³⁸ The *denaro provisino* was not the only base-metal issue struck by the Rome commune: in the fourteenth century, Rome also produced the *denaro picciolo*²³⁹ and the *quattrino* – alternatively known as *cinquina*. The *denaro provisino* minted after 1250 and the *denaro picciolo* are very similar in terms of value, metal content and metrological features. Due to such similarities, one might ask why these two currencies circulated simultaneously. Finetti argued that the *denaro picciolo* might have actually replaced the *denaro provisino* for a few decades in the late fourteenth century. Finetti himself, however, admitted that further research was needed to verify this hypothesis.²⁴⁰ At this stage of research, it can be asserted that, although similar in value to the *denaro provisino*, the *denaro picciolo* belonged to a different

²³⁷ For an useful overview of the issues minted by the Rome commune, see: Lucia Travaini, 'Monetazione a nome del Senato Romano (LT)', in *Le zecche italiane*, ed. by Travaini, pp. 1079–83.

²³⁸ This sample comprises 3351 *denari provisini* from museum collections and six *denari provisini* recovered at Tuscolo and in the Rome's Colosseum.

²³⁹ For an overview of the *denaro picciolo*, see: Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli', pp. 67–86; Adolfo Sissia, 'Al di là del provisino', *Panorama Numismatico*, 305 (2015), 13–18; Adolfo Sissia and Antonio Rimoldi, 'La cosiddetta cinquina emessa dal Senato Romano e i suoi divisionali', *Panorama Numismatico*, 326 (2017), 15–20.

²⁴⁰ Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli', p. 78.

‘system’, since it was introduced as a fraction of the *quattrino*. The intention behind the introduction of the *denaro picciolo* and *quattrino* was probably to offer a good alternative to the *denaro provisino*, which, in the fourteenth century, had been reduced to the level of petty coinage because of significant debasements.

On the grounds of the iconography of the reverses, we can identify three types of *denaro picciolo*: 1. *denaro picciolo* with Rome enthroned (Fig. 4.13); 2. *denaro picciolo* with lion (Fig. 4.14); and 3. *denaro picciolo* with the Holy Shroud (Fig. 4.15) – defined here as ‘Type 1’, ‘Type 2’ and ‘Type 3’ respectively. The precise chronology of the *denaro picciolo* is still uncertain; Sissia and Rimoldi noticed similarities between the Type 1 and a type of silver *grosso* with baronial coats of arms that circulated between 1350 and 1363; and argued that the *denaro picciolo* with Rome enthroned was similarly issued between 1350 and 1363.²⁴¹ For Type 2, they assumed that it circulated before 1380, because a coin list written in that year and included in the *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de’ paesi* by pseudo-Chiarini, refers to ‘*denari piccioli* of Rome with Lion’ (*piccioli di Roma del lion*).²⁴² Finally, Type 3 might have been issued in 1350, since its symbol, the Holy Shroud, should refer to the first public exhibition of the *sudarium* in 1350 as a celebration of the second Jubilee Year. According to Sissia, however, this type might have been a charity token rather than a coin (the various uses of money are discussed in Chapter 5).²⁴³

However, my view is that the *denaro picciolo* was introduced in Rome a few decades before this, as the coin list by Lippo di Fede del Segna of c.1315 seems to suggest. This list refers to the following base-metal issues: 1) old *denari provisini* of the Roman Senate, 3 and ½ ounces (*provenegini vecchi del Sanato di Roma 3 onc. ½*); 2) old *denari provisini piccioli* of Rome, 2

²⁴¹ Sissia and Rimoldi, ‘La cosiddetta cinquina’, p. 17.

²⁴² Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, pp. 164–73.

²⁴³ On the chronology of the *picciolo*, and on the identification of the Type 3 as a token, see: Sissia, ‘Al di là del *provisino*’, p. 16.

ounces and 20 *deniers* (*provenigini piccioli vecchi di Roma 2 onc. 20 den.*); 3) new *denari provisini* of the Roman Senate, 2 ounces and 20 *deniers* (*provenigini nuovi del Sanato di Roma 2 onc. 20 den.*); and 4) new *denari provisini* of Rome 3 ounces 18 *deniers* (*provenigini nuovi di Roma 3 onc. 18 den.*).²⁴⁴ It can be argued that only the first, third and fourth issues of this list are *denari provisini*, whilst the second (*provenigini piccioli vecchi di Roma 2 onc. 20 den.*) might signify the *denaro picciolo*. As *denari provisini* and *piccioli* have the same value and their iconography is similar – they both show a cross on one side – it is possible that their denominations were confused. Three factors would support this hypothesis: firstly, because the term *picciolo* means ‘small’ in Italian, we might assume that the denomination *provenigini piccioli* actually refers to *denari provisini* of *small size* – however, there is no reference to coins’ dimensions in medieval coin lists. Secondly, the *provenigini piccioli vecchi di Roma 2 onc. 20 den.* are followed in Lippo’s list by another type of *denaro provisino* with the same amount of silver (*provenigini nuovi del Sanato di Roma 2 onc. 20 den.*); if these two issues were both *denari provisini*, it would not have been necessary to distinguish between them. Thirdly, the pseudo-Chiarini’s coin list (c.1380) includes the *denaro picciolo* of Type 2 and defines this coin as *picciolo* – which allows us to assert with a considerable degree of certainty that the term *picciolo* was used to indicate this specific issue. The passage of the pseudo-Chiarini’s list is thus: ‘*piccioli* with lion from Rome, they are worth two *denari*, considering that the pound is divided into ounces’ (*piccioli di Roma del lion che vagliono den. 2, tengono per libra a once*).²⁴⁵

Viewing the *provenigini piccioli* mentioned by Lippo as *denari piccioli* instead of as *denari provisini*, it can be argued that the *denaro picciolo* was introduced in 1315 at the latest, since Lippo’s coin list was completed in that year. One could reject the early chronology since,

²⁴⁴ Transcription available in Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 153.

²⁴⁵ Transcription available in Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 170.

as highlighted by Sissia and Rimoldi, the *denaro picciolo* of Type 1 resembles a type of *grosso* introduced in 1350, with Rome enthroned on the obverse, and a lion and coats of arms on the reverse.²⁴⁶ However, the *grosso* was first issued in Rome in 1252/1253 and remained in circulation until 1363. Throughout this long period, its iconography never changed significantly, and, therefore, it is hard to recognize with certainty any differences in its style. In other words, even if the *denaro picciolo* was introduced in c.1315, it could be still considered as a copy of the *grosso*.

The *denaro picciolo* probably continued to circulate after the end of the Rome commune (1398), although dating its withdrawal remains problematic. A list of the issues circulating in Orvieto in 1439, however, also includes the *denaro picciolo*, suggesting that this issue still circulated in that year.²⁴⁷



Figure 4.13: Denaro picciolo – Type 1; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia 2015, p. 13, Fig. 1).



Figure 4.14: Denaro picciolo – Type 2; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia 2015, p. 13, Fig. 2).

²⁴⁶ Sissia and Rimoldi, 'La cosiddetta cinquina', p. 17.

²⁴⁷ *Riformazioni della città di Orvieto. Tariffa di monete pubblicata nel Patrimonio di S. Pietro nell'anno 1439.* For an overview of this document, see: Edoardo Martinori, *Della moneta paparina del Patrimonio Di S. Pietro in Tuscia e delle zecche di Viterbo e Montefiascone* (Milan: Tipografia Editrice L. F. Cogliati, 1910), p. 68.



Figure 4.15: Denaro picciolo – Type 3; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia 2015, p. 13, Fig. 3).

4.4.1.2. Quattrino

In the late fourteenth century, base-metal coinage experienced significant debasements, which would have led to the adoption of silver *grossi* in everyday transactions. To avoid this, Rome developed a novel issue, known as *quattrino* or *cinquina*, because it was equivalent to four *denari provisini* ('four' is *quattuor* in Latin)²⁴⁸ and to five *denari paparini* ('five' is *quinque* in Latin).²⁴⁹

The *quattrino* shows on its obverse a cross surrounded by the legend +.SENATVS.P.Q.R., and on the reverse a lion standing left and the legend +.ROMA.CAPVT.M. On the grounds of the symbols around the cross, three types of *quattrino* can be identified: Type 1 – cross without symbols (Fig. 4.16), Type 2 – cross with star in the fourth quadrant (Fig. 4.17), and Type 3 – cross with star in the fourth quadrant and in the legend (Fig. 4.18).



Figure 4.16: Quattrino – Type 1; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Fig. 1).

²⁴⁸ For an overview of the *quattrino* or *cinquina*, see: Sissia and Rimoldi, 'La cosiddetta cinquina', 15–20.

²⁴⁹ The *denari paparini* were widely used in Tuscia (the Lazio region, north of Rome). See: Martinori, 'Della moneta paparina del Patrimonio Di S. Pietro', 379–438; Edoardo Martinori, 'Della moneta paparina del Patrimonio di S. Pietro', *RIN*, 23 (1910), 37–72.



Figure 4.17: Quattrino – Type 2; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Fig. 3).



Figure 4.18: Quattrino – Type 3; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Fig. 5).

Sissia and Rimoldi²⁵⁰ identified iconographic resemblances between the *quattrino* and its fractions – namely, the *denari provisino* and *picciolo* – and argued that *quattrino* and *denari* with similar characteristics circulated together. They identified the following associations: 1. *quattrino* of Type 1 and *denaro picciolo* of Type 2 with empty quadrants on the obverse (Fig. 4.19); 2. *quattrino* of Type 2 and *denaro picciolo* of Type 2 with star in one of the quadrants (Fig. 4.20); and 3. *quattrino* of Type 3 and *denaro provisino* with stars in one of the quadrants and in the legend (Fig. 4.21).



Figure 4.19: a. Quattrino – Type 1; b. Denaro picciolo – Type 2 with empty quadrants; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Figs. 1-2).

²⁵⁰ Sissia and Rimoldi, 'La cosiddetta cinquina', pp. 16–17.



Figure 4.20: a. Quattrino – Type 2; b. Denaro picciolo – Type 2 with star in one of the quadrants; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Figs. 3-4).



Figure 4.21: a. Quattrino – Type 3; b. Denaro provisino with stars in the one of the quadrants and in the legend; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia and Rimoldi 2017, p. 17, Figs. 5-6).

The chronology of the *quattrino* remains uncertain: Sissia and Rimoldi proposed a production starting between the 1360s and 1370s as a result of the economic instability experienced in Europe after the Black Death.²⁵¹ However, this study argues for an earlier introduction. As highlighted by Sissia and Rimoldi themselves, the *denaro picciolo* and *quattrino* show the same iconographic features, which indicate that they circulated together, as different units of a renovated currency system. Therefore, assuming that the *picciolo* was introduced in c.1315 – based on the information provided by Lippo’s list – then, logically, the *quattrino* began to circulate as a multiple of the *denaro picciolo* in that same period.

²⁵¹ Sissia and Rimoldi, ‘La cosiddetta cinquina’, p. 16; Samuel K. Cohn, *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200–1425 (Italy, France, and Flanders)* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 205–44.

4.4.2 Silver Issues

4.4.2.1. Grosso and Semigrosso

Across the first half of the thirteenth century, the *grosso*²⁵² was introduced into Central Italy. As a multiple of the *denaro*, it was originally created to make international transactions easier; because of its high fineness, in a short time the *grosso* became a popular means of exchange in international trade; simultaneously, the *denaro provisino* became widely used in smaller transactions, so that a double monetary system evolved in the mid-thirteenth century. However, in a few decades, the *grosso*, began to be used also in internal trade, and, arguably, its success in Italy contributed significantly to the decrease in the production of *denari provisini* (Fig. 4.12).²⁵³

The *grosso* was introduced along with its fraction (*semigrosso*) between 1252 and 1253. Compared to similar monetary reforms in other Italian cities, the creation of a silver issue in Rome was a late phenomenon: Venice, for instance, minted *grossi* for the first time in 1200,²⁵⁴ Genova might have issued *grossi* as early as 1217, whereas Pisa, Lucca, Siena and Florence adopted the *grosso* at least by 1239.²⁵⁵ Rome did not need to mint *grossi* and *semigrossi* until 1253, because she could use other types of strong currency, such as Byzantine/Arabic gold

²⁵² For an overview of the silver *grosso*, see: Emiliano Bultrini, 'Monetazione ed araldica nell'ostentazione dell'aristocrazia romana medievale (secoli XIII-XIV)', *RIN*, 114 (2013), 221–38; Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1986), 75–123 (pp. 75–93); Philip Grierson, 'I grossi senatoriali di Roma, 1253-1361', *RIN*, 58 (1956), 36–69; Edoardo Martinori, *Annali della zecca di Roma - Serie del Senato Romano, 1184-1439* (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1930); Andrea Saccocci, 'Tra Bisanzio, Venezia e Friesach: Alcune ipotesi sull'origine della moneta grossa in Italia', *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, 23 (1994), 313–41; Adolfo Sissia, 'La zecca senatoriale di Roma e il grosso d'argento: Un breve excursus', *Panorama Numismatico*, 297 (2014), 25–34; Alan M. Stahl, 'Rome during Avignon. The Silver Coinage of Rome in the Fourteenth Century', in *I ritrovamenti monetali e i processi inflativi nel mondo antico e medievale. Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica e di Storia Monetaria, Padova, 12-13 ottobre 2007* ed. by Michele Asolati and Giovanni Gorini (Padua: Esedra Editrice, 2008), 151–69.

²⁵³ Sissia, 'La zecca senatoriale di Roma e il grosso d'argento', p. 26; Monica Baldassarri, *Zecca e monete del comune di Pisa. Dalle origini alla Seconda Repubblica. Vol. I, XII Secolo-1406* (Pisa: Felici, 2010), pp. 445–48.

²⁵⁴ Stahl, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice*, p. 16.

²⁵⁵ Stahl, *Zecca. The Mint of Venice*, p. 23.

coins²⁵⁶ and silver issues carried by pilgrims – the latter of which were either directly reused or melted into silver ingots (*argento romanesco*).²⁵⁷ However, in the mid-thirteenth century, bankers from Siena and Florence arrived in Rome, where they promoted the introduction of the *grosso* to standardise the currency system of this city to those of the main Italian communes, including Siena and Florence.²⁵⁸

The *grosso* came during the first government of Brancalone degli Andalò (1252-1255), who had been asked to lead Rome as a sole governor to stop the violence perpetrated by the rising baronial class.²⁵⁹ The first Rome *grosso* displays on the obverse a lion standing left and the legend +BRANCALEO.S.P.Q.R, and bears on the reverse Rome seated upon a throne like an ancient female divinity, holding a globe and a palm and surrounded by the legend +ROMACAPVTMVNDI (Fig. 4.22). Like the *grosso*, the *semigrosso* shows a lion and Rome seated on a throne; the lion, however, stands to the right in most of the examples.

In his first government, Brancalone led the city so effectively that he was reconfirmed as the Senator of Rome in 1257. He died in 1258, but *grossi* and *semigrossi* continued to be struck by the Roman Senate (Fig. 4.23) until 1363, when the Senator Guelfo de' Pugliesi di Prato minted the last *grosso* in his own name.²⁶⁰ Before 1363, Rome's mint only stopped issues of *grossi* for a brief period, under the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303).

²⁵⁶ Travaini, 'Monete medievali in area romana', p. 179.

²⁵⁷ Sissia, 'La zecca senatoriale di Roma e il grosso d'argento', p. 26.

²⁵⁸ Sissia, 'La zecca senatoriale di Roma e il grosso d'argento', p. 27.

²⁵⁹ On the government of Brancalone degli Andalò in Rome see: Girolamo, *Il comune di Roma sotto il senatorato di Brancalone*.

²⁶⁰ Edoardo Martinori, *Annali della zecca di Roma. Urbano V - Giovanni XXIII* (Rome: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1917), p. 10.



Figure 4.22: Grosso in the name of Brancalone degli Andalò, 1253-1255; 25mm, 3.27g (source: <http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=232220>).



Figure 4.23: Grosso in the name of the Roman Senate, mid-thirteenth century; 22mm, 3.37g (source: <https://www.deamoneta.com/auctions/view/211/1196>).

4.4.2.2. Samperino

Pope Boniface VIII replaced the *grosso* with another silver issue: the *samperino*.²⁶¹ The latter was probably introduced for the first Jubilee Year in 1300 and might be considered as a component of Boniface's theocratic propaganda. This issue depicts on the obverse St. Paul surrounded by the legend SENAT'POPVL'Q.R and on the reverse, St. Peter and the eloquent legend ROMANI PRICIPE (princes of Rome) (Fig. 4.24). With the death of Boniface VIII, however, the *samperino* was withdrawn, and the *grosso* was reintroduced to Rome's monetary system.



Figure 4.24: Samperino, 1294-1303; dimensions not provided (source: Sissia 2014, p. 28, Fig.10).

²⁶¹ For an overview of the samperino, see: Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1986), pp. 94–96.

4.4.2.3. Bolognino

After 1363, the *grosso* was replaced by the *bolognino*, which circulated in the name of popes until the fifteenth century. This issue was struck for the first time under Pope Urban V (1362-1370), when he visited Rome in 1367.²⁶² It shows on the obverse the portrait of Urban V combined with the legend .VRB:PP:QNTS. (*Urb[anus] P[astor] P[astorum] Q[ui]nt[us]*), and on the reverse, the letters V R B I in the field surrounded either by the legend +.INROMA (Fig. 4.25), or by the formula +.S.PET'.EPAL. (Fig. 4.26).



Figure 4.25: Bolognino with legend +.INROMA., 1367-1370; 17 mm, 1.18 g (source: Rimoldi 2014, <http://www.ilgiornaledellanumismatica.it/?p=3283>).



Figure 4.26: Bolognino with legend +.S.PET'.EPAL., 1367-1370, 17.7 mm, 1.15 g (source: Rimoldi 2014, <http://www.ilgiornaledellanumismatica.it/?p=3283>).

The *bolognino* of Urban V is a turning point, since for the first time it clearly refers to the papal authority through the portrait of the pope, his name and titles, rather than through indirect symbols. As the innovative iconography of the *bolognino* suggests, with the return of the pope from Avignon (1377), the balance of power in Rome changed. Papal power in the city rose

²⁶² Martinori, *Annali della zecca di Roma. Urbano V - Giovanni XXIII*, pp. 13–15.

significantly, as the *bolognino* of Urban V and the last type of *denaro provisino* in the name of Boniface IX clearly reflect. Behind these two issues we can already see the end of the communal movement that had started in 1143 and had lasted for more than two centuries.

4.4.3. Gold Issues

Documentary sources²⁶³ imply that, in the late thirteenth century, Rome minted gold coins known as *romanini d'oro*, but due to the lack of archaeological evidence, it has long been doubted that this issue ever existed. However, as a result of the survival of two examples, it can now be asserted that Rome certainly minted a new gold issue in the early fourteenth century: the *fiorino senatoriale*. A further gold coin in the name of the Senate was put into circulation in c.1350; known as *ducato senatoriale*, it is better attested than the other two.²⁶⁴ This section will detail each of these three gold issues.

4.4.3.1. Romanino d'Oro

In 1317, a Statute of the Merchants ratified the issuing of new coins in Rome. As it only refers to *grossi* and *denari provisini* (*Item dicimus et ordinamus quod consules (...) fieri faciant in Urbe bonam et legalem monetam de argento grossam et provisinum seu denarium minutum*),²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Archivio S. Maria in Via Lata*, Varie, document no. 168.

²⁶⁴ For descriptions of the gold issues produced in Rome, see: Ivana Ait, 'Domini Urbis e moneta (fine XIII-inizi XV secolo)', in *Ricerca come incontro. Archeologi, paleografi e storici per Paolo Delogu*, ed. by Giulia Barone, Anna Esposito, and Carla Frova (Rome: Viella), pp. 329–49; Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1986), pp. 99–123; William R. Jr Day, 'Antiquity, Rome, and Florence: Coinage and Transmissions 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, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 237–61; Lucia Travaini, 'Per Philip Grierson. I romanini d'oro nella seconda metà del Duecento', *RIN*, 108 (2007), 295–304; Travaini, 'Monetazione a nome del Senato Romano (LT)' in *Le zecche italiane*, ed. by Travaini, pp. 1079–83.

²⁶⁵ The section of the Statue regarding coinage (*De moneta facienda*) is reported in Capobianchi, 'Appunti per servire all'ordinamento' (1986), p. 104. Further information is available in Giuseppe Gatti, *Statuti dei mercanti di Roma* (Rome: Tipografia della pace di F. Cuggiani, 1885), p. 32.

Capobianchi claimed that Rome did not strike any gold issues in 1317,²⁶⁶ and that the *ducato senatoriale* of 1350 was the first gold coin struck in the name of the Roman Senate.²⁶⁷

However, the numismatic section of *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (1739) by Muratori, which also examines the coins struck by Rome in the thirteenth century, includes the drawing of a gold issue (Fig. 4.27),²⁶⁸ which is very similar in aspect to the silver *semigrosso*: like the latter, this gold coin shows Rome seated upon a throne with a globe and a palm on the obverse, and a lion standing right on the reverse. Owing to these similarities, Martinori argued that Muratori actually illustrated a silver coin, but listed the wrong type of metal.²⁶⁹



Figure 4.27: Romanino d'oro (source: Muratori 1739, p. 566).

However, two elements suggest that Muratori did indeed illustrate an extremely rare example of gold *romanino*: firstly, his drawing shows an innovative punctuation of the legend, which never appeared on the silver *grosso*; secondly, extant documents attest to the use of gold *romanini* in the thirteenth century. Amongst these documents is a sales agreement of 1273, referring to £70 of *denari provisini* paid in gold *fiorini*, gold *romanini* and in silver *romanini* (*inter florenos aurei et romanos aurei et romanos argenti*).²⁷⁰ Moreover, the coin list by Pegolotti (c.1290) mentions ‘gold *romanini* of 23 and 3/4 carats’ (*romanini d'oro a carati 23 e*

²⁶⁶ Capobianchi, ‘Appunti per servire all’ordinamento’ (1986), p. 104.

²⁶⁷ Capobianchi, ‘Appunti per servire all’ordinamento’ (1986), p. 106.

²⁶⁸ Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi*, vol. 2 (Milan: ex Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1739), p. 566.

²⁶⁹ Martinori, *Annali della zecca di Roma - Serie del Senato Romano, 1184-1439*, p. 233.

²⁷⁰ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Archivio S. Maria in Via Lata*, Varie, document no. 168. For an analysis of this document, see: Ait, ‘Domini Urbis e moneta’ p. 332.

3/4).²⁷¹ Also, a 1305 coin list included in an arithmetic treaty²⁷² refers to ‘gold *romanini* of 24 less 1/8 carats’ (*romanini d’oro XXIII men 1/8*), ‘gold *romanini* from Rome containing 23 and 7/8 carats’ (*romanini d’oro di Roma tenghono XXIII 7/8*), and ‘gold *romanini* of 22 carats imitating perpers’²⁷³ (*romani d’oro fatti come perperi ne sono discesi k.XXII.*).

Unlike the gold *romanino*, the *fiorino*²⁷⁴ is much attested to in Rome’s archives in the late thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth. For example, a document from the monastery of *Sant’Agostino* in Rome asserts that, on 24 May 1284, in exchange for the rights on its properties, the church of San Trifone received an annual pension of twenty-six *fiorini* from the church of Santa Maria del Popolo.²⁷⁵ A further eleven documents from this monastery and dated from 1301 to 1396 confirm that the *fiorino* was used in Rome for payments, donations to churches and hospitals and for bequests throughout the fourteenth century.²⁷⁶ It is important to bear in mind that the term *fiorino* in Rome’s archival documents does not necessarily refer to the gold coin of Florence;²⁷⁷ because the value of the gold *romanino* was equivalent to that of the Florentine gold coin, this term might rather have been adopted as a general reference to the *romanino*.²⁷⁸ This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the term *fiorino* also appears in late fourteenth century documents to indicate any gold coin, although we know that, from 1350, Rome used the *ducato senatoriale*.²⁷⁹

Interestingly, there is no archaeological evidence attesting to the existence of the *romanino d’oro*. Most probably, this lack of material should be explained by the need for gold,

²⁷¹ Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, pp. 123–30.

²⁷² *Trattato di Aritmetica*, Ms. Ital. XI 18/1, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice; the transcription of the coin list included in this arithmetic treaty can be consulted in Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, pp. 108–114.

²⁷³ Byzantine coins in gold (from ὑπερπερος).

²⁷⁴ Gold coin issued by the Florence commune from 1252.

²⁷⁵ ASR, ‘Agostiniani in sant’Agostino’, box no. 1, document no. 3.

²⁷⁶ ASR, ‘Agostiniani in S. Agostino’, box no. 1, document nos. 6 (1301), 7 (1309), 16 (1363), 18 (1372), 19 (1373), 20 (1375), 24 (1383), 26 (1383) and 27 (1389); box no. 1bis, document nos. 28 (1394) and 29 (1396).

²⁷⁷ Capobianchi, ‘Appunti per servire all’ordinamento’ (1986), p. 102.

²⁷⁸ Ait, ‘Domini Urbis e moneta’, p. 338.

²⁷⁹ ASR, ‘Agostiniani in S. Agostino’, box no. 1, document nos. 16 (1363), 18 (1372), 19 (1373), 20 (1375), 24 (1383), 26 (1383) and 27 (1389); box no. 1bis, document nos. 28 (1394) and 29 (1396).

which appeared when Rome decided to replace the *romanino* with the *fiorino senatoriale* – Rome’s mint might have then melted down the *romanini* still in circulation to strike the new issue. However, further research is needed to verify this hypothesis.

4.4.3.2. Fiorino del Senato

The chronology of the *fiorino senatoriale* is still uncertain. This gold coin is a hybrid imitation of the *fiorino* from Florence: it shows on the obverse, in place of the Florentine fleur-de-lis, the communal shield with the inscription +SPQR, and the legend +:ROMA.CAPVT.MVNDI*:, and on the reverse, St. John the Baptist surrounded by the legend .S.IOHA NNES.B. – noticeably, a small crossbow is represented at the end of this legend (Fig. 4.28).

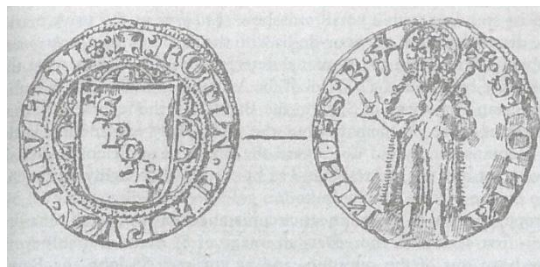


Figure 4.28: Fiorino d’oro, c.1340 (source: Day 2011, p. 249, Fig. 13.3).

The *fiorino senatoriale* might have been introduced between 1339 and 1340²⁸⁰ on the basis of two elements: firstly, a sales agreement of 1340 from the abbey of *Sant’Alessio all’Aventino* in Rome refers to a payment of eleven *fiorini* of the Senate (*fiorini de Senato*).²⁸¹ Secondly, during the summer of 1339, the Romans rose up against the pope and the two Senators whom he had nominated; they even appealed to Florence for ambassadors, in order to guide them in establishing a popular government on the Florentine model. This popular uprising

²⁸⁰ See: Day, ‘Antiquity, Rome, and Florence’, pp. 248–250; and Ait, ‘Domini Urbis e moneta’, pp. 343–344.

²⁸¹ ASR, ‘Premostratensi e Girolamini in Santi Alessio e Bonifacio’, box 3, document no. 48.

and the presence of Florentine ambassadors might have led Rome's mint to strike a new gold coin imitating the *fiorino* from Florence, but bearing the name of the Roman Senate.

Alternatively, it might be argued that the *fiorino senatoriale* was introduced in c.1360 to celebrate the rise of the *Felice Società dei Balestrieri e Pavesati*. This hypothesis is suggested by the presence on the *fiorino senatoriale* of a crossbow, a visual reference to the *Felice Società*, which ruled in Rome between 1360 and 1397.²⁸² Following this hypothesis, which seems to be less plausible, the term *fiorino* in the sales agreement of 1340 from the abbey of *Sant'Alessio* might be interpreted in fact as a general reference to any gold coin, since this was an established practice in the fourteenth century.

Although very rarely attested – only two examples and a few acts survive –²⁸³ the *fiorino senatoriale* might have been popular in central Italy. The shortage of documentary evidence could be explained by the fact that, like the *romanino* and the *ducato*, this gold coin type was generally defined in documents as *fiorino*, whereas the scarcity of archaeological evidence might reflect that, in the mid-fourteenth century, the *fiorini senatoriali* were re-melted into *ducati senatoriali*.

4.4.3.3. Ducato Senatoriale

In c.1350, a third gold issue was introduced into Rome's monetary system: called *ducato senatoriale*, it closely imitates the Venetian *ducato*. The latter, minted for the first time in 1285, bears on its obverse St. Mark (patron of Venice) offering the standard of the city (*gonfalone*) to the Doge; on the reverse, it shows Christ among stars, in an oval frame (*mandorla*) (Fig. 4.29). On the Rome *ducato*, St. Peter (patron of Rome) replaces St. Mark, and the Senator

²⁸² Day, 'Antiquity, Rome, and Florence', p. 251.

²⁸³ Day, 'Antiquity, Rome, and Florence', p. 250.

appears in place of the Doge; unlike the Venetian *ducato*, however, the Roman issue shows a Holy Shroud at the end of the reverse legend (Fig. 4.30).



Figure 4.29: Ducato from Venice, c.1339-c.1342; dimensions not provided (source: Nomisma SPA, auction 49, Lot 1205).



Figure 4.30: Ducato from Rome, c.1350-c.1430; dimensions not provided (source: <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=1486&lot=443>).

As the *ducato senatoriale* features the small image of the Holy Shroud, which was publicly exhibited for the second Holy Year, it is very likely that this issue was introduced into the Rome monetary system in 1350.²⁸⁴ It circulated for around a century, during which time it maintained its original features. Then, under the pontificate of Eugenius IV (1431-1447), it was replaced by a new gold coin with papal symbols.

4.5. Conclusion

²⁸⁴ Day, 'Antiquity, Rome, and Florence', p. 251.

It has been necessary to describe in detail the several issues circulating in Rome in the communal period in order to fully understand the developments experienced by the *denaro provisino* over time. Only by considering the *denaro provisino* as part of a highly complex currency system (Fig. 4.31), can it be possible to reconstruct the real roles played by this coin in Roman society and the reasons behind its iconographic and metrological changes.

The issues displayed in Figure 4.31 help to describe the economic peaks and crises, and the socio-political changes experienced by Rome across the communal period. The only presence of foreign coins between 1143 and c.1184 tells us about the difficult beginnings of the Rome commune, which could not then afford to open its own mint. The spread, at the end of the twelfth century, of the first local issue (*denaro provisino*) in the name of the Roman Senate suggests that, through the Concord Pact (1188), the Rome commune attained a new phase of stability. Nevertheless, the production of only base-metal coins until the mid-thirteenth century would indicate that, at least in the first phase of the communal period, Rome was less economically active than other cities such as Florence. Indeed, in 1250, Florence struck base-metal and silver coins, and in 1252, it even began to strike gold. The simultaneous production of *ducats*, *bolognini*, *quattrini*, and *denari provisini/piccioli*, however, would suggest that the economic activity of Rome developed substantially from the 1360s. At that time, the supremacy of the barons in Rome had been replaced by the *Felice Società dei Balestrieri e Pavesati*, which put an end to decades of tension through a very strict policy against the barons, as they could not even stay in Rome without special permission of the authorities of the commune. A further element that certainly contributed to the development of Rome's economy in the late fourteenth century was the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome (1378): with this, Rome once again became the seat of the pope and the papal authority in the city was automatically significantly enhanced. Of course, the metamorphosis of Rome into a flourishing papal city had an impact on coinage, as shown by a number of issues minted at that time and bearing papal symbols.

Amongst them, the *ducato senatoriale* shows St. Peter surrounded by the legend SPETRVS SENATORVRB (St. Peter, Senator of the city), the *bolognino* bears the name and titles of the pope around his portrait, and the last type of *denaro provisino* shows the name of Pope Boniface IX in the legend.

While this chapter has shown that there are problems – textual, archaeological and iconographic – the conclusions drawn here for the *denaro provisino* are important. The next chapter will look at the main roles of the *denaro provisino* in the daily life of Rome's citizens, as a means of exchange, as a store of value and as a measure of account. Chapter 6 will subsequently address a further function of the *denaro provisino* as a vehicle for political messages.

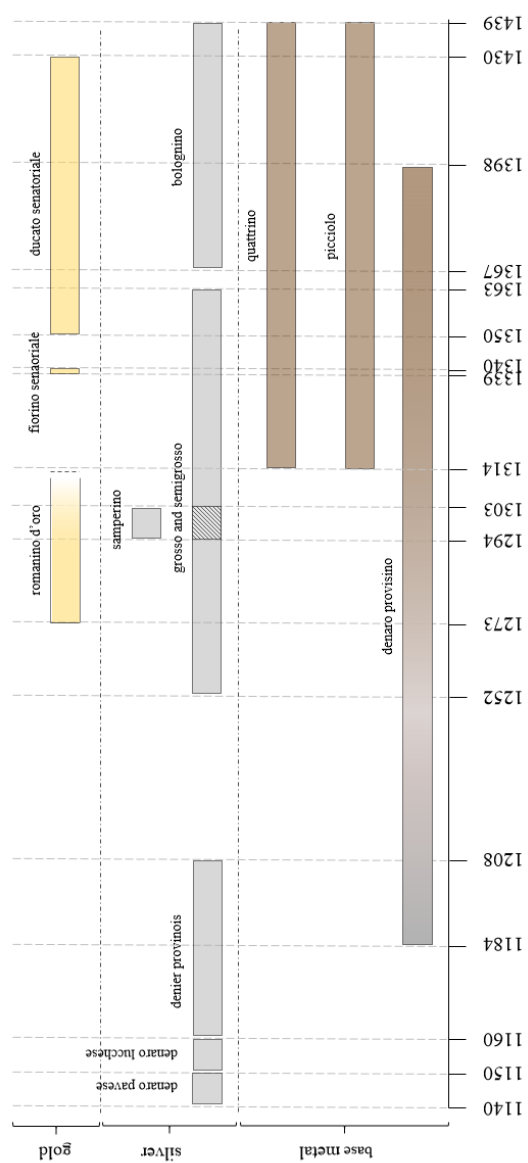


Figure 4.31: Conjectural monetary system of the Rome commune.

Chapter 5

The Principal Roles of the *Denaro Provisino*

5.1. Introduction

In monetised societies, coinage has always performed multiple functions. It was first introduced as a measure of account, to enable transactions between goods of different quality.¹ Because of their physical reality, however, coins soon also became a commodity with their own value like any other good.² Due to its portability and durability, money as a commodity has always served various purposes: it has been one of the most common means of exchange, and has formed an optimal means of saving in periods of economic instability, or when there was a surplus between production and consumption.³ Also, because coins can be transported easily over long distances, they have been exploited by political authorities as a vehicle of messages.⁴

This chapter will examine the degree to which medieval Rome's *denaro provisino* served as a measure of account, as a commodity with its own value and as a store of wealth, while Chapter 6 will discuss the function of this issue as a vehicle for political messages. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 will explore the first two functions by examining the same written sources from

¹ Money as a measure of account is discussed in Luigi Einaudi, 'Teoria della moneta immaginaria nel tempo da Carlomagno alla rivoluzione francese', *Storia Economica*, 1 (1936), pp. 231–265; Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 411–14; Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 76–78; Richard Britnell, 'Uses of Money in Medieval England', in *Medieval Money Matters*, ed. by Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), pp. 16–30 (pp. 25–26).

² As for the role of money as a real commodity, see: Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 78–81; Bolton, 'What Is Money?', pp. 1–15; Britnell, 'Uses of Money', pp. 16–25.

³ Money as a store of wealth is examined in Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 81–84; Britnell, 'Uses of Money', pp. 26–28.

⁴ The historiography on the role of money as a propaganda instrument is vast. As for the Middle Ages, see: Rory Naismith, *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms, 757–865* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

different perspectives. The records of the papal tithes collected in Lazio in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and now collected in the *Rationes Decimarum*;⁵ archival documents from Rome's monasteries, which are preserved at the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*;⁶ and the registers of the Roman notaries Paulus Serromanis (whose activity is attested between 1347 and 1387), Iohannes Nicolai Pauli (1348-1379), Marinus Petri Milconis (1357), Paulus Nicolai Pauli (1361-1362), and Lellus Pauli de Serromanis (1387-1398)⁷ will be the sources examined in these sections. Section 5.4 will describe the *denier provinois* and the *denaro provisino* as offerings in both ritual and profane hoards, providing up-to-date maps of the deposits so far found across Italy. Section 5.5 will then offer a final discussion of the available data and their distribution across Italy.

5.2. A Measure of Account

Money was, already during Aristotle's time (384-322 BC), considered as an artificial measure of account. The State officially recognized it as the measure against which all goods and services could be reckoned. It was first developed with this function to facilitate transactions between things of differing values including pay for services. In his *Nichomachean Ethics*, Aristotle describes money thus:

⁵ Battelli, '*Rationes decimarum Italiae*' nei secoli XIII e XIV: Latium.

⁶ The ASR collections considered in this study relate to the monasteries of Sant'Agostino ('Agostiniani in Sant'Agostino' collection), Santa Susanna ('Cistercensi in Santa Susanna' coll.) and of Santi Bonifacio e Alessio ('Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Bonifacio e Alessio' coll.), and from the hospital of San Giacomo ('Ospedale San Giacomo' coll.).

⁷ I have considered in this study the following notarial registers: Paulus Serromani, 1348-55 (Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, vol. 649/1-3bis); Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87 (Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, voll. 649/4-14 and 650); Iohannes Nicolai Pauli, 1348-79 (Renzo Mosti, 'I protocolli di Iohannes Nicolai Pauli. Un notaio romano del '300 (1348-1379)', *MEFRM*, 63 (1982), 3-361; Marinus Petri Milconis, 1357 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, vol. 1236, ff. 254r-323v); Paulus Nicolai Pauli, 1361-62 (in Renzo Mosti, 'Due quaderni superstiti del notaio romano Paulus Nicolai Pauli (1361-62)', *MEFRM*, 96, 2 (1984), 777-844); and Lellus Pauli de Serromanis, 1387-98 (Rome, Archivio Capitolino, Notai, Sezione I, voll. 763/1-5).

Money, then, acting as a measure, makes goods commensurate and equates them; for neither would there have been association if there were not exchange, nor exchange if there were not equality, nor equality if there were not commensurability. Now, in truth, it is impossible that things differing so much should become commensurate, but with reference to demand they may become so sufficiently. There must, then, be a unit, and that fixed by agreement (for which reason it is called money); for it is this that makes all things commensurate, since all things are measured by money.

(Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, Book V, Part 5)⁸

The West discovered Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and *Politics* in the early thirteenth century and in the 1260s respectively.⁹ These two works had a tremendous impact on the European political and economic thought once translated into Latin. Figures such as Albertus Magnus (c.1200-1280) and his disciple Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) integrated the rediscovered Aristotle with the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church Fathers thus promoting the spread of Aristotle's works within the Christian World.¹⁰ They also reconsidered the Aristotelian interpretation of money as an artificial measure of value. Albertus Magnus, in particular, asserted that 'coinage makes things to be exchanged equal, just as a measure makes equal things being measured by addition and subtraction',¹¹ while Aquinas defined money as 'a human contrivance to serve as a means of exchange, as a sort of measure of the value of things for sale'.¹²

⁸ Steven G. Medema and Warren J. Samuels, *History of Economic Thought Reader, Second Edition* (Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2013), p. 17.

⁹ Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, p. 11.

¹⁰ Medema and Samuels, *History of Economic Thought Reader*, p. 16.

¹¹ Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia: Ex editione lugdunensi religiose castigata*, ed. by Émile Borgnet (Paris: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1890), p. 360, trans. Diana Wood in Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, p. 74.

¹² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 41, p. 33, trans. Diana Wood in Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, p. 73.

As a measure of account, money is part of a system including various multiples. Different systems of accounting have been developed over time. Amongst the most successful in Europe was the ‘duodecimal’ one, introduced in the seventh century AD and improved through financial reforms by Emperor Charlemagne in the late eighth century. This system is called ‘duodecimal’ as it is based on multiples of twelve: the *lira* (*libra* in Latin, pound in English), equal to 240 *denari*, the *soldo* (*solidus* in Latin, shilling in English), which was worth twelve *denari*, and the *denaro* (*denarius* in Latin, penny in English), corresponding to 1/240 of *lira* and 1/12 of *soldo* (Table 5.1).

<i>Libra</i> (pound)	£	1		
<i>Solidus</i> (shilling)	s.	20	1	
<i>Denarius</i> (penny)	d.	240	12	1

$$£1 = 20s. = 240d.$$

Table 5.1: The Carolingian duodecimal system.

The pound, which had been used in ancient Rome as a unit of weight equivalent to c.325 g,¹³ was re-introduced as the fundamental unit of account of this new system. Like the medieval shilling, however, it was only a standard. The penny was the sole unit actually issued before 1200. Initially, it weighed c.1.7 g, and had a fine weight of 1.6 g. However, to increase money supply, monetary authorities debased the penny thus its actual and artificial values started to differ.¹⁴ The Carolingian penny maintained its value (c.1.6 g of silver) until the late ninth century. Then under Emperors Otto I (961-973) and Otto II (973-983) the fine weight of the

¹³ Philip Grierson, ‘Weight and Coinage’, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 4.7 (1964), pp. XII–XIV.

¹⁴ Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, p. 77.

penny minted in Pavia (*denaro pavese*) decreased to c.1.2g.¹⁵ Nonetheless, people continued to refer to the pound (£) as a unit of account equivalent to 240 pennies (d.), so that the value of the pound in terms of silver fell.

The demand for coined money increased in the early eleventh century. As a consequence, the main Italian mints – namely, Pavia, Milan, Verona, and Lucca – further reduced the fineness of their pennies, so that it was possible to produce more examples by using the same amount of silver. However, the pennies struck by these mints did not decrease in the same proportion; accordingly, pounds with different values appeared. So it became necessary, in official documents, to specify the *type* of penny (and therefore of pound) used by the parties. From this time onwards, written sources refer to pounds of *denari pavese* (= 240 *denari pavese*), pounds of *denari milanesi* (= 240 *denari milanesi*), pounds of *denari veronesi* (= 240 *denari veronesi*), and to pounds of *denari lucchesi* (= 240 *denari lucchesi*).

When the *denaro provisino* was introduced for the first time, in c.1184, its fineness amounted to 4 ounces and 22 *denari per libra*, equivalent to 41%.¹⁶ We can easily convert this value into grams of silver by dividing the mean weight of the first type of *denaro provisino* (0.97 g) by 1000 and then multiplying the result by the fineness of the coin ($0.00097 \times 410 =$ c.0.40 g). If we then multiply the result obtained by 240, we obtain the fineness of a pound of *denari provisini* of first type (1184-1188), namely c.95.4 g.

The combination of the results obtained via compositional analysis by Finetti (see Section 1.2.2) with the mean weights calculated in this study for each group of *denaro provisino* has enabled me to reconstruct a hypothetical trend of the value of this pound. This analysis does not include those *denari provisini* minted later, because these have never been tested. The

¹⁵ Hermann Dannenberg, *Die Deutschen Münzen der Sächsischen und Fränkischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1876), pp. 446–48; Cipolla, *Le avventure della lira*, pp. 24–26.

¹⁶ This value was obtained by Muntoni and published in his ‘Hanno battuto moneta’, p. 125. On the equivalences between ounce and thousandth, see: Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 315.

following graphs (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2) show that the pound of *denari provisini* experienced numerous debasements between 1184 and 1278 – debasements which were particularly dramatic from 1188 to 1191, and from 1250 onwards. Interestingly, the study of the available numismatic evidence indicates that, from 1188 to 1191, a substantial increase in the money supply in Rome occurred (Section 4.3, Figs. 4.4 and 4.5). The increase can be attributed in part to the pope's official recognition of the mint, but it is mainly due to commercial growth and, therefore, to a higher demand for money. Urban prosperity and trade at the beginning of the thirteenth century led to an increase in the demand for coinage across Europe. Cities resorted to different solutions to meet demand: namely the development of first rudimentary banking operations, the debasement of coinage and the adoption of alternative means of exchanges such as saffron and pepper – which is better documented after 1200.¹⁷

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 suggest that Rome was part of a phenomenon that was happening across Europe, a phenomenon which finally led to rapid monetary inflation.¹⁸ These graphs also indicate that Rome began to produce coins with substantially lower fineness in order to meet the demand for money – a solution that many Italian cities adopted at that time. As suggested by the graphs, in 1208, the fineness of the pound of *denari provisini* slightly increased from c.67 g to c.69.8 g. Such a rise – the only one experienced by this pound until 1278 – has to be explained by the bull issued by Pope Innocent III in 1208, which aimed to make the *denaro provisino* stronger. However, in the 1250s the value of the pound of *denari provisini* began to decrease again.¹⁹ In fact the fall in its fineness was so dramatic that under the second government of Charles I (1268-1278) one pound of *denari provisini* was only worth c.36.7 g of silver.²⁰ The substantial debasement experienced by this pound after 1250 needs to be

¹⁷ Cipolla, *Le avventure della lira*, pp. 36–38.

¹⁸ Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy*, pp. 7, 148; Jacques Le Goff, *Money and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), pp. 14–19.

¹⁹ Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli', p. 70.

²⁰ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

considered, as part of a wider phenomenon experienced in other Italian cities and more generally across Europe,²¹ as a result of intense monetisation and mint expansion in the face of relatively inelastic supplies of key natural resources. Amongst the Italian mints that also produced debased coins in this period are Cortona, Viterbo and Orvieto, whose pennies circulated only for a brief period due to their low value. In 1267, they were fully withdrawn from circulation.²²

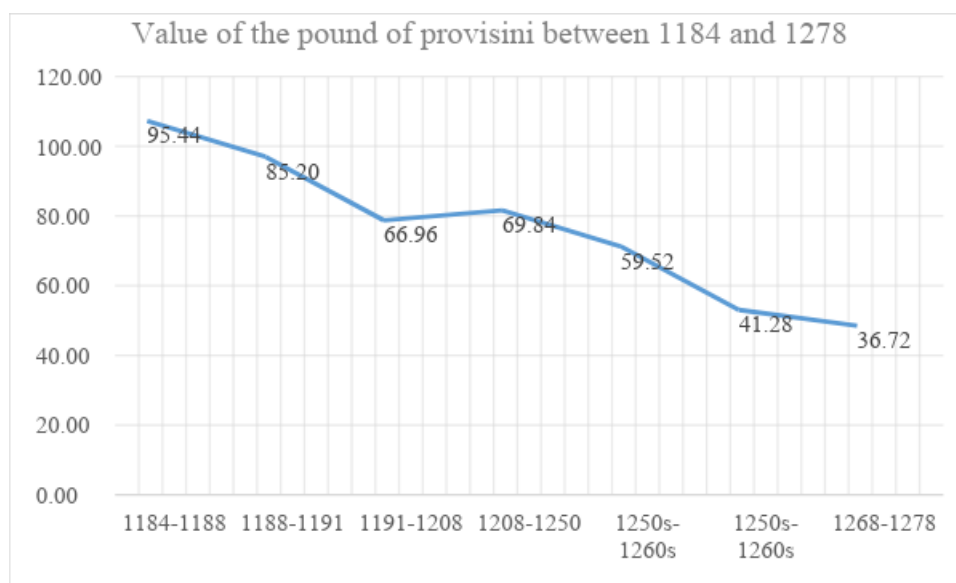


Figure 5.1: The value of the pound of denari provisini between 1184 and 1278.

²¹ Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 289–318.

²² Finetti, ‘Boni e mali piczoli’, pp. 71–72.

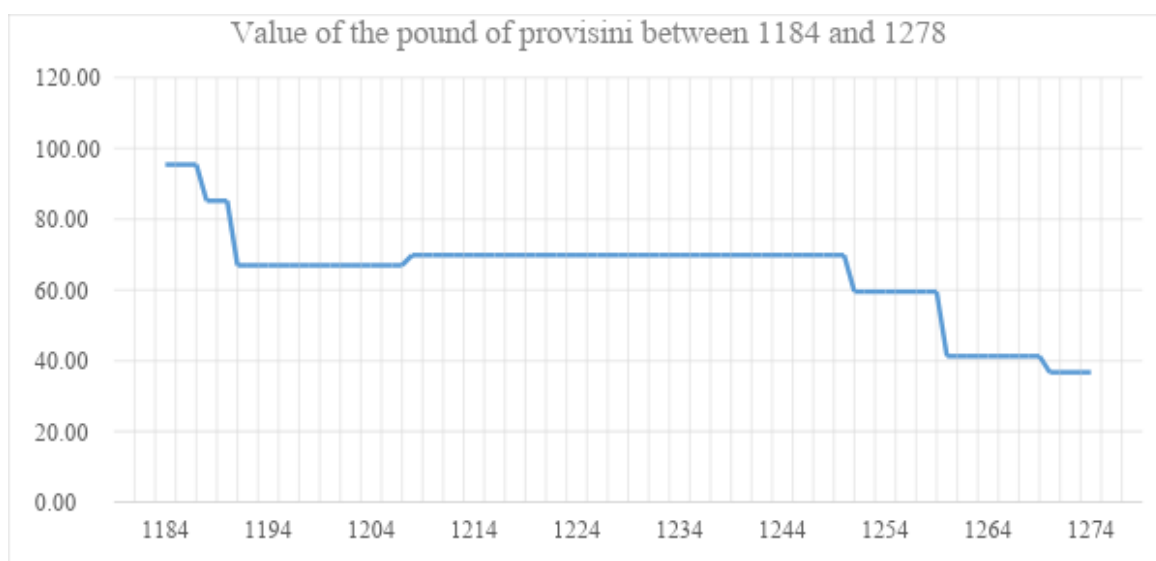


Figure 5.2: Trend of the fineness of the pound of denari provisini per year.

This research included a survey of the available written sources attesting the use of the *denaro provisino* as a measure of account in order to fully understand what Romans meant by the term ‘pound of *denari provisini*’. More specifically, this study focused on the registers taken in the fourteenth century by the Roman notaries Paulus Serromani (1347-1387) and his son Lellus Pauli Serromani (1387-1398), those of the brothers Iohannes and Paulus Nicolai Pauli (1348-1379 and 1361-1362, respectively) and those of Marinus Petri Milconis (1357). All the acts contained in these registers have been analysed in detail, and amongst them, a full 588 acts indicating sums in the format pounds-shillings-pennies (*lire-soldi-denari*) of *denari provisini* have been identified. These documents mainly refer to sales (*venditiones*), agreements (*compromissa*), settlements (*paces*), dowries (*dotes*), wills (*testamenta*), acknowledgements of debt (*deposita*), and rents (*locationes*), offering a privileged glimpse of the economy of Rome across the fourteenth century. For instance, these acts tell us that on 8 October 1363, Bartolomeo of the Pigna district agreed to give a house as a guarantee of the dowry of his future wife Francesca. The dowry amounted to £33 6s. 8d. *provisini* of the Senate (*trigintatrium*

librarum, solidorum VI et denariorum VIII provisinorum senatus).²³ Notarial registers also inform us that six years later Silvestro from the Campitelli district sold seventy *rubbi*²⁴ of selected and cleaned wool to Lello di Meo and to Paolo Bello from the Sant'Eustachio district at the price of £3 of *denari provisini* (*pretii trium librarum provisinorum*) per each rubbio of wool.²⁵

This research sample also includes numerous rent agreements referring to houses, palaces, pieces of land and vineyards. One such sample specifies that on 18 October 1359 the spice-seller Lello of the Pigna district rented two and a half pieces of land to Dino di Simone of the Piazza dei Giudei district, at the annual price of £5 of *denari provisini* of the Senate (*quinque libras provisinorum senatus*) for four years.²⁶ Another document informs us that the priest Nicola with the clerics Lorenzo de Serromanis and Oddone de Thedallinis of the church of Santo Stefano in the Pigna district rented out part of a palace to the noble Buzio Capucie de Capoccinis for a five-year period. The annual rent amounts to £3 of *denari provisini* of the Senate, to be given at the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March).²⁷ Amongst the available acknowledgements of debt, one reports that on 17 August 1370 Corradello and Matteo received from Cola of the Monti district £108 10s. of *denari provisini* (*centum et VIII libras provisinorum senatus cum dimidio*), to be returned by September 1370 at the Feast of St. Angelo.²⁸ Similarly, nine years later, Antonio asserted Pietro return £50 of *denari provisini* (*L libras provisinorum*) by Easter.²⁹ Again, on 6 September 1398, Giovanna, wife of Donato of the Parione district, received £15 9s. of *denari provisini* of the Senate (*XV libras et VIII^{or}*

²³ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 48 (8 October 1363).

²⁴ Rubbio: unit of dry capacity used in both Italy and Spain; in Rome, it was equivalent to 294.5 litres; see: Ronald E. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981), p. 265.

²⁵ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 5 (3 January 1369).

²⁶ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 17 (18 October 1359).

²⁷ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 2 (27 December 1367).

²⁸ Iohannes Nicolai Pauli, 1348-79, document no. 541 (17 August 1370).

²⁹ Iohannes Nicolai Pauli, 1348-79, document no. 564 (5 February 1379).

solidos provisinorum senatus) from Antonio of the Pigna district. In the same act, Giovanna agreed to pay back the money within six months.³⁰

The sample of notarial acts considered in this thesis also includes contracts. One such contract informs us that on 15 September 1364, Nardo of the Colonna district agreed to plough the land of Angelo Marronis of the Pigna district for a monthly salary of £3 15s. of *denari provisini*.³¹ Similarly, on 16 August 1366, Giacobello of the Colonna district agreed to work for one year as a tailor under Egidio Sollacii for an annual salary of £4 of *denari provisini* (*IIII^{or} libraroum provisinorum*). The contract specifies that Giacobello received 40s. of *denari provisini* as a deposit and agreed to be given the remaining 40s. after six months.³²

The records of the papal tithes from Lazio similarly indicate the sums annually paid to the Church in pounds, shillings and/or pennies of *denari provisini*. The city of Anagni, for instance, deposited £54 8s. 8d. *provisini* (*summa LIIII lib. VIII sol. et VIII den. prov. Item LXIX flor*) as part of a triennial tithe, in 1298.³³

Finally, archival documents from Rome's monasteries show sums in this same format. They mainly inform us about acknowledgments of debt, such as that of £75 of *denari provisini* by a certain Pietro to Berardo, prior of the hospital of San Matteo de Merulana, on 16 September 1309.³⁴ Amongst the other types of transactions attested to in archival documents are rental agreements, such as the one signed on 25 May 1287 giving to Egidius Pauli Roffridi the right on the profits from some of the lands of the monastery of Sant'Agostino in Rome over a forty-year period at the price of £700 of *denari provisini*.³⁵

³⁰ Lellus Pauli de Serromani, 1387-98, document no. 26 (6 September 1398).

³¹ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 49 (15 September 1364).

³² Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document n. 57 (16 August 1366).

³³ Battelli, *'Rationes decimarum Italiae'*, ff. 385-392.

³⁴ ASR, 'Agostiniani in S. Agostino', box 1, folder 7.

³⁵ ASR, 'Agostiniani in S. Agostino', box 1, folder 4.

The study of the available notarial acts, papal tithes, and archival documents clearly demonstrates that the *denaro provisino* commonly served as a fraction of the pound throughout Rome's communal period, namely as a unit of account. This practice is not as unexpected as it might appear to be at first sight. Although the value of the *denaro provisino* decreased more and more throughout the communal period, arguably people still used the *denaro provisino* as a standard of the duodecimal system for convenience and clarity. In this way they could indicate sums in pounds rather than in *denari provisini*; in other words they were able to count with small numbers, even when they had to deal with high sums. In order to fully understand how this system worked, we can recall the rental agreement signed by Egidius on 25 May 1287: the sum he paid was £700 of *denari provisini*, corresponding to 168,000d. *provisini*. The notary, however, preferred the first to the second format, as he viewed it as more straightforward. Similarly, Paulus de Serromanis recorded the dowry received by Bartolomeo of the Pigna district on 8 October 1363 in the format '£33 6s. 8d.' – equivalent to 8048d. *provisini*. Again, this same notary might have indicated the sum paid by the spice-seller Lello for two and a half pieces of land in the format 1200d. *provisini*. However, he instead used the format £5 of *denari provisini*, which is certainly simpler and more comprehensible.

5.3. A Medium of Exchange

In antiquity the concept of money as a means of exchange was closely linked to valuable goods, as etymology would suggest: the Latin term for money, *pecunia*, derives from *pecus*, meaning cattle, while its Greek version is *τὰ χρήματα* (*ta chrèmata*), namely 'resources'. By contrast, our word 'money' derives from *Moneta* which is an epithet given to the Roman goddess Juno,

whose temple on the Capitoline Hill in Rome was also a mint.³⁶ Accordingly in our modern culture, this concept is associated with precious metal objects, rather than with goods. The Roman jurist Ulpianus (c.AD170-223) clearly explained the ancient concept of *pecunia* as any kind of valuable goods with the following words:

The term ‘money’ not only includes coin, but all kinds of property, that is to say, everything which is corporeal; for there is no one who has any doubt that corporeal property is also included in the word ‘money’.

Pecuniae verbum non solum numeratam pecuniam complectitur: verum omnem omnino pecuniam, hoc est, omnia corpora: nam corpora quoque pecuniae appellatione contineri, nemo est, qui ambieget.

(*Digestorum*, 50, 16, 178)³⁷

Arguably, this notion of coinage did not change significantly until the late twelfth century, when the economy in Western Europe became more monetized. Populations by this period, both urban and rural, started increasing dramatically everywhere resulting in growth in the demand for goods and rapid development in national and international trade.³⁸ It became necessary to develop a transportable, divisible and durable means of exchange in order to meet demand and facilitate transactions. Since animals are not easily carried, they cannot be divided, and they cannot even be stored without food for a long time³⁹ – hence, the success of coinage. Unlike cattle, coins are small, easily transportable, and can be stored without risk of

³⁶ On the etymology of ‘money’ in antiquity, see: Sitta von Reden, *Money in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 6–8.

³⁷ *Corpo del diritto civile*, ed. Francesco Formiti (Venice: G. Antonelli Ed., 1843), pp. 4231, 4233. Source translated by Samuel P. Scott in Immanuel Kant, *The Philosophy of Law: An Exposition of the Fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence as the Science of Right*, ed. by Samuel P. Scott (Clark: The Lawbook Exchange, 2001), p. 284.

³⁸ Spufford, *Power and Profit*, pp. 12–59; Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 78–80.

³⁹ As for the disadvantages of barter, see: Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, pp. 73–74.

deterioration. Moreover, coins are issued in denominations of different values. In medieval times English pennies could even be subdivided into halves and quarters if their value was too high, and the existence of these multiples and fractions further facilitated transactions.⁴⁰ Finally, unlike goods or services, coins could be officially controlled and certified by the minting authority through marks.⁴¹

As demonstrated in Section 5.2, the study of wills, contracts, acknowledgements of debt, or any other document dealing with money shows that sums in communal Rome were always indicated as pounds, shillings, or pennies of *denari provisini*. Nonetheless, I would argue it is very unlikely that transactions were concluded with payments/donations in real *denari provisini*. Acts referring to large sums often specify that the coin used by the parties (or by testators, in the case of wills) was the gold *fiorino* (discussed in Section 4.3.3). For instance, on 31 May 1319 Giovanni di Angelo Nicola placed a house, two portions of land and all his goods as a guarantee of the dowry of his future wife, which overall consisted of £70 of *denari provisini* given in gold *fiorini*.⁴² Five decades later, on 21 August 1369, Andreozzo Tucciarita from the Campitelli district entered into a contract with Francesca, abbess of the monastery of Santa Eufemia, promising to take care of her cows for a year. The contract asserts that Andreozzo was paid £44 of *denari provisini* for this job, of which he received two gold *fiorini* as a deposit.⁴³ Again, on 19 May 1372 Paolo di Cecco di Paolo from the Trastevere district sold 1200 new tiles at the price of £25 4s. of *denari provisini* per hundred (*XLII solidorum pro quolibet centinario*); this sales contract also specifies that Paolo received a deposit of nine gold *fiorini*.⁴⁴ Similarly, in 1372 Tuzio and Antonio Francesco from the Trevi district entered into contract with Cecco Cafaro from the Pigna district, promising to carry Cecco's must (new wine)

⁴⁰ Britnell, 'Uses of Money', p. 24.

⁴¹ Bolton, 'What is money?', pp. 1–2.

⁴² ASR, 'Cistercensi di Santa Susanna', box 42, document no. 1.

⁴³ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359–87, document no. 82 (21 August 1369).

⁴⁴ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359–1387, document no. 37 (19 May 1372).

at the price of 7.5s. of *denari provisini* per *caballata*.⁴⁵ This contract also tells us that Tuzio and Antonio received from Cecco two gold *fiorini* as a deposit.⁴⁶ Nearly twenty years later, on 7 August 1391, Giovanni Ottabiani from the Ripa district sold three vineyards for twenty gold *fiorini*, being worth 47s. of *denari provisini* each.⁴⁷

These and many other examples indicate that, although money was always counted in *denari provisini* – since this was the official issue of the Rome commune – at least high sums were sometimes paid in gold *fiorini*. The reports of the papal tithes collected in Lazio include exchange rates for the gold *fiorino* against the *denaro provisino* and the *denaro cortonese*, a penny which circulated in the area between Arezzo, Cortona and Bibbiena. These exchange rates (Tables 5.2 and 5.3) indicate that in the fourteenth century a gold *fiorino* was equivalent to hundreds of *denari provisini*. Hence why the *fiorino* was often preferred to the *denaro provisino* (and to the *denaro cortonese*). The use of the *fiorino* facilitated transactions, enabling people to deal with fewer coins even when sums were high. The study of the exchange rates included in the reports of papal tithes also confirms that the *denaro provisino* experienced dramatic debasements in the 1290s and throughout the early fourteenth century (Table 5.2). Moreover it indicates that amongst the base-metal issues circulating in Italy at that time, the *denaro provisino* was a relatively strong one, since it was always worth around double the *denaro cortonese* (Table 5.3).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Caballata: a unit of measurement indicating the load that a horse can pull and equivalent to 233.36 litres; see: Carolus du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris: Didot, 1842), p. 4; Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia, ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli* (Torino: Loescher, 1883), p. 598.

⁴⁶ Paulus de Serromanis 1359-8137, document no. 42 (2 August 1372).

⁴⁷ ASR, 'Premostratensi e Girolamini ai Santi Alessio e Bonifacio', box no. 4, document no. 88.

⁴⁸ Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli', pp. 70–72; Valci, 'A Hoard of Roman *Denari provisini*', pp. 235–36.

Tithe for Years	Exchange Rates for <i>Fiorino</i>
1274-1280	19s. 6d. (234 denari provisini)
	20s. 4d. (244 denari provisini)
1295-1298	29s. 6d. (354 denari provisini)
1302-1303	34s. (408 denari provisini)
1343-1346	£2 3s. (516 denari provisini)

Table 5.2: Exchange rates for the gold fiorino against the denaro provisino in the *Rationes Decimarum* for Lazio.

Tithe for Years	Exchange Rates for <i>Fiorino</i>
1274-1280	19s. 6d. of denari provisini
	20s. 4d. of denari provisini
	48s. 6d. of denari cortonesi
1295-1298	29s. 6d. of denari provisini
	4s. 6d. of denari cortonesi
	50s. 9d. of denari cortonesi
1302-1303	34s. of denari provisini
	60s. of denari cortonesi
1343-1346	£2 3s. of denari provisini
	£4 3s. of denari cortonesi

Table 5.3: Exchange rates for the gold fiorino against the denaro provisino and the denaro cortonese, in the *Rationes Decimarum* for Lazio (Source: Valci 2014, Table 3, p. 236).

With the exception of those documents that specify the use of gold *fiorini*, however, the available evidence usually does not indicate the issue in which sums are paid or donated. For example, on 6 December 1363, Master Pietro di Giannuzzo, a blacksmith from the Pigna district, sold a house to Giovanna, wife of Tuzio Ubere, for £60 of *denari provisini*.⁴⁹ However,

⁴⁹ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-1387, document no. 58 (6 December 1363).

the issue used to conclude the transaction is not specified. In addition, on 12 February 1368 Lorenzo from the Monti district sold washed and combed wool at the price of 58s. of *denari provisini per rubbio*.⁵⁰ On 15 October 1379 two vineyards outside Porta San Lorenzo were sold for £100 of *denari provisini*.⁵¹ Also, on 13 September 1391, a vineyard outside Porta Latina was rented for 16s. of *denari provisini* per year.⁵² In these, and in many other cases, sums are only reported in the usual, artificial format of pounds-shillings-pennies (*lire-soldi-denari*).

Therefore it might be argued that the issue used in transactions was *only specified* in acts when it was different from that *normally* employed; in other words, the use of the gold *fiorino* in transactions probably represented an exception in Rome. But what then was the rule? What was the issue normally used to purchase houses, rent lands, or make donations? We can reasonably suppose that the majority of payments and donations were made in silver *grossi* and *semigrossi* (both discussed in Section 3.3.2.1). In 1252/1253, when it was introduced for the first time in Rome, the *grosso* was worth twelve *denari provisini*, but, by 1285, it was already worth twenty-nine *denari provisini*.⁵³ On the basis of the papal tithe paid by Civita Castellana in 1302 and including the exchange rate for the *grosso* against the *denaro provisino*,⁵⁴ it is also possible to assert that at the beginning of the fourteenth century one *grosso* was equivalent to thirty-two *denari provisini*. These data, although few in number, show that the value of the *grosso* in *denari provisini* steadily increased over time as a result of the debasement of the *denaro provisino*. The *grosso*, like the *fiorino*, facilitated transactions since its use enabled purchasers, sellers and heirs to deal with fewer coins. Moreover, the *grosso* was even more

⁵⁰ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 25 (12 February 1368).

⁵¹ Iohannes Nicolai Pauli, 1348-79, document no. 625 (15 October 1354).

⁵² Lellus Pauli de Serromani, 1387-98, document no. 7 (13 September 1391).

⁵³ Peter Spufford, Wendy Wilkinson, and Sarah Tolley, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), p. 70.

⁵⁴ Battelli, '*Rationes decimarum Italiae*', pp. 427-430.

popular in everyday transactions and donations because its value was lower than that of the *fiorino*.

Amongst the types of notarial acts considered in this study, wills seem to attest expressly the use of the *denaro provisino* as a means of exchange – the sample discussed in this thesis comprises sixty-seven acts of this type. Unsurprisingly most of them were made in 1348, when the Black Death first spread across Italy, and again in 1363, when the disease struck central Italy strongly for the second time (Fig. 5.3).

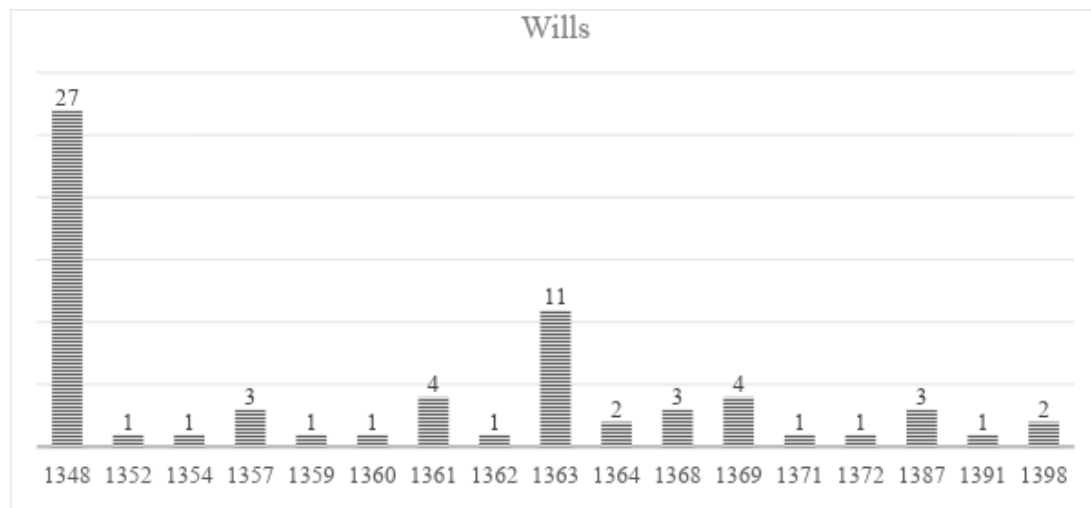


Figure 5.3: Wills included in the notarial registers by Paulus Serromanis, Iohannes and Pauli Nicolai Pauli, Marinus Petri Milconis, Paulus Nicolai Pauli, and Lellus Pauli de Serromanis.

Many of these wills include as the first bequest a donation to three *pauperes Christi* (‘poor people of Christ’). This term refers to the indigent people who lived in the city and who depended on others, generally clerics, for their sustenance. In the eleventh century, however, *pauperes Christi* also included monks and hermits. In the twelfth century they included canons, and in the early thirteenth century a community of Carthusians.⁵⁵ We cannot assert with

⁵⁵ Joseph F. Conwell, *Impelling Spirit: Revisiting a Founding Experience, 1539, Ignatius of Loyola and his Companions: An Exploration Into the Spirit and Aims of the Society of Jesus as Revealed in the Founders’ Proposed Papal Letter Approving the Society* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), pp. 56–58.

certainty that these wills refer to indigent lay Romans rather than to religious people due to the ambiguity of the term '*pauperes*'. In this thesis, the wills comprising this type of donation include other bequests to members of the family or to churches. However, in all cases, the donation to the *pauperes Christi* precedes the others. Amongst these wills, one was made by Margherita, wife of the notary Angelo Pilella, on 26 June 1348. The first donation in her act is for 3s. of *denari provisini*, equivalent to thirty-six *denari provisini*, to be given to three 'poor people of Christ' (*facio testamentum in quo mihi heredes istituto tres pauperes Christi quibus relinquo tres solidos inter omnes et sint contentos et de bonis meis petere plus non possint*).⁵⁶ On 28 June 1348 the notary Giacomo Pilella, who was probably kin to Margherita's husband as his surname and profession would suggest, also made his will. In this act, he designated as his recipients three 'poor people of Christ', giving them twelve *denari provisini* each (*facio testamentum in quo mihi heredes istituto tres pauperes Christi, quibus et cuilibet ipsorum relinquo pro omni eorum iure XII denarios ita quod de bonis meis plus petere non possint*).⁵⁷ Similarly, on 9 July 1348, the priest Lorenzo de Curtis chose three indigent people and donated them twelve *denari provisini* each.⁵⁸ The carrier Vanni⁵⁹ and the carpenter Romanello di Cecco⁶⁰ did the same, on 10 July 1348 and 15 August 1361, respectively. In 1391, Paolo, a carpenter from the Sant'Eustachio district, only chose two poor people and gave them twelve *denari provisini* each.⁶¹ He probably did not have enough money to support three persons, as dictated by Roman custom at that time, but still wanted to redeem himself through a small charitable donation. It can be contended that the 'poor Romans' mentioned in these wills certainly received donations in actual *denari provisini* because all these donations amount to

⁵⁶ Paulus Serromani, 1348-55, document n. 29 (26 June 1348).

⁵⁷ Paulus Serromani, 1348-55, document no. 34 (28 June 1348).

⁵⁸ Paulus Serromani, 1348-55, document no. 46 (9 July 1348).

⁵⁹ Paulus Serromani, 1348-55, document no. 47 (10 July 1348).

⁶⁰ Paulus de Serromanis, 1359-87, document no. 21 (15 August 1361).

⁶¹ Lellus Pauli de Serromanis, 1387-98, document no. 2 (3 February 1391).

twelve *denari provisini* each, and since in the fourteenth century one *grosso* was certainly worth more than thirty *denari provisini*.

To conclude, the multiple written sources considered in this study suggest a scenario for Rome that is compatible with and very similar to those of other Italian communes. Like any commune in northern and central Italy, Rome used its gold and silver issues to conclude local transactions and donations, and to promote national and international trade.⁶²

Documents regarding the costs met by the Rome commune for its management are no longer available; nonetheless, we might exploit other better documented communes as comparative case-studies. For instance, the salaries of the chief magistrates in Bologna amounted to £3900 at the end of the thirteenth century,⁶³ and such a high sum could certainly not be paid in pennies. We might suppose that Roman Senators received similar incomes, which would have necessarily been paid in stronger issues than the *denaro provisino*.

Military and maintenance expenses were the most onerous ones for communes. The available evidence for cities other than Rome indicates that soldiers involved in conflicts received daily benefits, and were even compensated if their horses were killed in battle. In 1162, for instance, the limit on compensation imposed by Pisa was £15 per horse.⁶⁴ Even if we lack documents attesting to the military costs met by the Rome commune,⁶⁵ we can reasonably suppose that they were high. As illustrated in Chapter 6, Rome in the late twelfth century invested substantial resources to subjugate its rivals, and continued to fight against them across the communal period. The available documentation elsewhere gives us some idea of the military expenses involved – expenses which, again, certainly could not be paid in *denari*

⁶² Violante, *Economia, società, istituzioni*, p. 192.

⁶³ François Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni (1100-1350)* (Rome: Viella, 2011), p. 30.

⁶⁴ Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*, p. 31. For the financial impact of *milites*, see: Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *Cavaliere e cittadini. Guerra, conflitti e società nell'Italia comunale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004).

⁶⁵ The only work available on the military activities of the Rome commune is Giorgio Falco, 'Documenti guerreschi di Roma medievale', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 40 (1921), pp. 1–6.

provisini. For example, military services in the late thirteenth century were a critical part of Bologna's budget, absorbing around 52% of the city's public spending. More specifically, sources indicate that mercenaries received between £8 and £12 per month.⁶⁶ Considering that £12 pounds are equivalent to 2880d., it is reasonable to suppose that Bologna paid mercenaries in *fiorini* or *grossi* instead of *denari*.

Fiorini and *grossi* were probably used in Rome to pay not just military costs, but also tithes, duties and taxes. In 1377, for instance, to become a member of the merchants' corporation, people had to pay £10 of *denari provisini* if they were from Rome, or ten gold *fiorini* if from outside.⁶⁷ Generally speaking, people in central and northern Italy used *fiorini* and *grossi* for any high-sum transaction or substantial donation. Nevertheless, the *denaro provisino* was used in transactions as well as small donations and daily transactions which rarely enter into the annals of documented history. A few documents referring to the use of *denari provisini*, however, are still available: namely the wills considered above, and reports of daily life in Rome by chroniclers. Hence, Buccio di Ranallo of L'Aquila (1294-1363) reported in his chronicle that in 1350, a traveller in Rome could spend between 6 and 13d. a night for lodging (presumably paid in *denari provisini*), as he had experienced himself; Buccio also lamented that Roman innkeepers profited from their costumers, forcing them to share a bed with other five, six, or even seven people.⁶⁸

As emerges from Buccio's chronicle, the *denaro provisino* tells us about a world that has little in common with traders and creditors, soldiers and land-owners – a world that belongs instead to common people, such as labourers, artisans and servants, local priests, small merchants, and pilgrims. It is important to bear in mind that the picture proposed above is

⁶⁶ Marco Conti, 'La spesa pubblica Bolognese alla fine del XIII secolo. Prime indagini sul *Liber expensarum* del 1288', *MEFRM*, 128-2 (2016) [online].

⁶⁷ Gatti, *Statuti dei mercanti*, p. 96. Source examined in Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei romani*, p. 128.

⁶⁸ Buccio di Ranallo, *Cronaca aquilana rimata*, ed. by Vincenzo de Bartholomeis (Rome: Forzani, 1907), p. 194.

mainly based on *late fourteenth-century* sources, since evidence for previous periods is no longer available (the reasons behind this scarcity of evidence are discussed in Section 2.3.3). Accordingly, when we evaluate the function of the *denaro provisino* as a means of exchange, we need to consider that in the fourteenth century this issue had seen numerous debasements. On the other hand, a devaluation of the penny had already affected the main mints in northern and central Italy in the late eleventh century. Hence, the *denaro provisino*, introduced in the 1180s, can be considered as a petty coin.

Even if written sources attesting to the use of the *denier provinois* and *denaro provisino* as a means of exchange are not numerous, the available archaeological evidence supports that these coin types served this function. As discussed in Section 5.4.2, numerous *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* (thirty-one and seventy-six examples respectively) have been recovered as single finds across Italy. It is unlikely that these coins were concealed individually as hoards due to their low value. Therefore it can be argued that at least in most of the cases, these pennies had been carried across Italy as a means of exchange in transactions before being lost (see Figs. 5.6 and 5.8 and Tables 5.4 and 5.5).

5.4. Votive or Profane Hoards

In the Middle Ages, people used to hide money for multiple reasons. Since coins are made of durable material they can be stored with relatively little risk of deterioration or loss of value. Accordingly, people from every social class accumulated and concealed money as a means of saving whenever they had the chance. Hiding coins under emergency circumstances, such as in times of war, was also a common practice. Moreover, in some societies and periods, people used to deposit coins in the graves of their beloved, as well as inside or near the tombs of saints.

The reasons behind such religious or ritual depositions were various, but still need to be fully understood.

To clarify this practice, this study has distinguished between votive and profane hoards. However, it is important to bear in mind that the act of hiding coins (or other precious objects) is a historically and culturally defined behaviour caused by different factors in or across time.⁶⁹ As a result, we cannot actually formulate a single explanation of this practice. Experts have long used the term ‘hoard’ in different ways. For instance, Haselgrove and Hingley assert that an individual coin can be considered as a hoard if it has been deliberately deposited;⁷⁰ whereas, according to Christiansen, a hoard needs to be a group of ‘at least two coins or at least one coin and another object of value apparently purposely buried together’.⁷¹ Whilst both definitions stress the intention of concealing as a distinguishing factor, other scholars do not see this as an essential pre-condition of hoards. For instance, Bland defines a hoard as ‘any group of objects which have deliberately been brought together but not necessarily deliberately placed in the ground’.⁷² Oras joins this debate by considering the term ‘deposit’, which is generally used as a synonym of ‘hoard’; more specifically, she calls into question the terms ‘hoard’ and ‘deposit’, and proposes the adoption of one definition only, namely ‘wealth deposit’.⁷³ The traditional term ‘hoard’, however, remains the most favoured by specialists, and is used here.

So far, numerous types of hoard have been identified by scholars, but there is still no full consensus of how to define them. A number of studies distinguish between votive hoards, namely coins (or other valuable objects) deposited by devotees without intention of recovery,

⁶⁹ Daniel Lord Smail, ‘Hoarding and the Human Past’, *Isis*, 105.1 (2014), 110–22 (pp. 110–22).

⁷⁰ Colin Haselgrove and Richard Hingley, ‘Iron Deposition and its Significance in Pre-Roman Britain’, in *Les dépôts métalliques au second âge du fer en Europe tempérée*, ed. by Gérard Bataille and Jean-Paul Guillaumet (Bibracte: Centre Archéologique Européen, 2006), xi, p. 148.

⁷¹ Erik Christiansen, *Coinage in Roman Egypt: The Hoard Evidence* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004), p. 14.

⁷² Roger Bland, ‘Hoarding in Britain: An Overview’, *British Numismatic Journal*, 83 (2013), 214–38 (p. 214).

⁷³ Ester Oras, ‘Importance of Terms: What is Wealth Deposit?’, *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 22 (2013), 61–82.

and profane hoards, namely coins (or other precious objects) hidden to be retrieved later.⁷⁴ Scholars have used multiple criteria to classify depositions as ‘votive’ and ‘profane’ and the most widely accepted is their context of recovery. Objects hidden in retrievable locations would suggest an intention of recovery, whereas objects placed in a wet or out-of-the-way, and therefore, irretrievable place should rather represent ritual depositions.⁷⁵ However, I would contend that this criterion can be only applied to pre-Roman hoards, since the ritual hoarding of objects in wet locations is mainly attested to in prehistoric periods. As for medieval hoards, we should rather verify whether their context of deposition is an ordinary grave, the tomb of a saint, or some other place related with ritual activities. Coins found in any of these contexts are very likely to represent a votive hoard.

A second criterion used by experts to distinguish between votive and profane hoards relates to their contents, namely the types of coins or objects composing the deposit, the way they are treated, and the presence of specific coin/object combinations. For instance, medieval votive hoards can span wide geographical areas and considerable timespans since they can often include offerings made by devotees from all over Europe in the course of decades or even centuries.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Guy de la Bédoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), p. 258.

⁷⁵ On the criteria used by different authors for distinguishing between ritual and profane hoards, see: David R. Fontijn, *Sacrificial Landscapes: Cultural Biographies of Persons, Objects and ‘Natural’ Places in the Bronze Age of the Southern Netherlands, c.2300-600 BC*, *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 2002), p. 16. For a definition of ‘votive hoard’: Jelle W. Bouma, ‘Interpreting Deposits: Linking Ritual with Economy: Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology’, in *Interpreting Deposits: Linking Ritual with Economy. Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology*, ed. by Albert J. Nijboer (Groningen: Archaeological Institute, Groningen University, 2001), p. 57.

⁷⁶ An example of votive hoards covering large geographical areas and considerable timespans is examined in Rory Naismith and Francesca Tinti, *The Forum Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Coins. Il Ripostiglio dell’Atrium Vestae nel Foro Romano* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2016).

5.4.1 Votive Hoards

According to Bland, ritual depositions are common in prehistoric and in pre-Roman periods and rarely attested to in medieval and post-medieval times since this practice ‘is not normally thought to fit into the Christian tradition’.⁷⁷ However, on the basis of the available archaeological evidence, the ritual deposition of coins in tombs was a common practice throughout the Middle Ages.⁷⁸ Devotees, especially in the Late Middle Ages, commonly deposited coins as offerings inside ordinary tombs, in the mouth or near the body of the deceased.⁷⁹ Similarly, coins were placed inside the graves of saints if they were accessible, or inside relic boxes when the latter were publicly exposed. It could be argued that people tended to offer coins of high value as a form of respect towards deceased relatives or saints. In most cases, however, coins placed inside private or holy tombs were actually of low value. According to Travaini, this apparent contradiction can be probably explained by the fact that from at least the thirteenth century onwards, gold and silver coins were considered sinful because of their high value – friars even described money as a tool of the devil in their sermons. Therefore, it is

⁷⁷ Bland, 'Hoarding in Britain', p. 215.

⁷⁸ The available numismatic evidence suggests that coins were commonly deposited in tombs until the eighth century when the monetary reform of Charlemagne (discussed in Section 5.2) led to an increase in the value of the penny. This practice is attested once again from the twelfth century, when the production of money grew significantly and, as a result, the penny started to suffer multiple devaluations; see Rovelli, 'La funzione della moneta', pp. 521–38. On the deposition of coins in ordinary graves, see: Gabriella Pantò, 'La chiesa di San Sebastiano di Pecetto', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*, 22 (2007), 175–98. For the deposition of coins in tombs of saints, see: Lucia Travaini, 'Saints and Sinners: Coins in Medieval Italian Graves', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 164 (2004), 160–81; Giovanni Gorini, 'Le monete rinvenute nella tomba di Sant'Antonio di Padova', *Il santo. Rivista Antoniana di Storia, Dottrina e Arte*, 21 (1981), pp. 99–102; Andrea Saccocci, 'Ritrovamenti monetali in tombe di santi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli VI–XV)', in *Trouvailles monétaires de tombes. Actes du deuxième Colloque international du Groupe suisse pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires* (Neuchâtel, 3–4 March 1995), 1999, 83–96; Andreani, D'Andrea, and Taraborrelli, 'Il tesoretto numismatico di San Nicola Greco', in *San Nicola Greco. Un ponte fra Oriente e Occidente. Atti del Convegno di Studi del 13 gennaio 2012 e nuovi contributi* (Guardiglioglio: Fondazione San Nicola Greco, 2012), 229–55.

⁷⁹ Alberto Crosetto, 'Albugnano. Chiesa di Santa Maria di Vezzolano', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*, 13 (1995), 325; Alberto Crosetto, 'Recenti indagini archeologiche all'antica cattedrale di Alessandria', in *Tornare alla luce: Le fondamenta di S. Pietro. Atti della Giornata di studi sull'antico duomo di Alessandria e i più recenti ritrovamenti in Piazza Libertà* (Alessandria: Biblioteca Civica, 2005), 61–79.

likely that under the influence of the Church devotees preferred to deposit pennies as offerings in order not to offend God.⁸⁰

Coins were not only deposited as votive offerings in ordinary and holy tombs: they also served as ‘tokens of official memory’ such as when the grave of a saint was opened to authenticate the body. Dignitaries responsible for the ceremony inserted a contemporary coin in the tomb to mark the act and provide a chronological reference for future authentications.⁸¹ As highlighted by Saccocci, however, such coins as memory tokens were probably more precious than pennies because they were selected by authorities and were part of official ceremonies.⁸² Thus it is important to analyse memory tokens and votive offerings separately as they serve completely different purposes. On the basis of archaeological materials, the *denaro provisino* evidently was never used as a memory token, but its deposition as a votive offering in ordinary and holy graves is well attested. Hence, Section 5.4.1 will focus on the latter function.

5.4.1.1. *The Deposition of Coins in Ordinary Tombs*

The use of coins as offerings in the tombs of ordinary people is generally explained as a continuation of the pagan tradition of ‘Charon’s obol’.⁸³ The term ‘obol’ refers to an ancient Greek base-metal coin (*ὀβολός*), which was worth one sixth of a drachma. People used to place it in the mouth of the deceased as a payment to the boatman Charon for ferrying the soul across the river Styx.⁸⁴ In ancient as well as in medieval times, the coins serving this function were of

⁸⁰ Travaini, ‘Saints and Sinners’, pp. 176–77.

⁸¹ Travaini, ‘Saints and Sinners’, pp. 165, 171.

⁸² Saccocci, ‘Ritrovamenti monetali in tombe’, p. 88.

⁸³ Cosimo D’Angela, ‘L’obolo a Caronte. Usi funerari medievali tra paganesimo e cristianesimo’, *Quaderni Medievali*, 15 (1983), 82–91.

⁸⁴ Susan T. Stevens, ‘Charon’s Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice’, *Phoenix*, 45.3 (1991), 215–29.

low value. Among the examples recovered in medieval graves are *denari provisini*, such as one issued between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries found in the Cathedral of San Catervo in Tolentino near Macerata inside a reused fourth-century marble sarcophagus (Table 5.5, no. 6).⁸⁵ Another *denaro provisino* minted in this same period was discovered in the church of San Lorenzo a Cerreto near Pistoia, inside the grave of a woman (Tomb 6) (Table 5.5, no. 3).⁸⁶ Interestingly, this example had been already withdrawn from circulation at the time of its deposition. It was probably minted between 1307 and 1347 according to the chronology proposed in Section 4.1, although the context of recovery lies between 1733 and 1852.

As mentioned above, obols as payments to Charon were traditionally placed in the mouth of the deceased, but none of the coins considered in Section 5.4.1 has been found in this position. In fact, very few medieval tombs contain bodies with coins in the mouth – in all of the cases, offerings have been recovered simply near the body or in the filling of the grave. According to Travaini, because of the scarcity of examples attesting to a faithful perpetuation of this pagan ritual coins in medieval tombs cannot be interpreted as ‘Charon’s obols’.⁸⁷ Interestingly, even in ancient Greek and Roman tombs, the deposition of coins seems to be a varied ritual: obols were not always necessarily placed in the mouth; rather, in most cases, they were near the body, and could be more than one in the same grave. The relative scarcity of coins in the mouth of the dead in ancient tombs leads Travaini to conclude that the term ‘Charon’s obol’ ‘has been too loosely applied even in Greek and Roman contexts’.⁸⁸

However, this study suggests a different hypothesis, which is corroborated by the available numismatic evidence. First, it is important to view the ‘Charon’s obol’ as a very complex cultural phenomenon, whose roots lie in ancient practices. For example, in pre-Roman

⁸⁵ Giancarlo Alteri, ‘Le monete del sarcofago di Catervio. Catalogo’, *BollNum*, 26–27 (1996), 21–151.

⁸⁶ Juan A. Quirós Castillo, ‘Storia ed archeologia di una chiesa rurale nella diocesi medievale di Lucca: San Lorenzo a Cerreto (Pescia, PT)’, *Archeologia Medievale*, 25 (1996), 401–48 (pp. 423–26).

⁸⁷ Travaini, ‘Saints and Sinners’, 160–81.

⁸⁸ Travaini, ‘Saints and Sinners’, p. 160.

times, coins were already deposited into tombs since it was a common belief that evil spirits could not penetrate circular objects.⁸⁹ Moreover, although numerous Latin authors such as Apuleius⁹⁰ agree in describing Charon's obol as a coin in the mouth of the deceased, in reality not many people followed the ritual slavishly.⁹¹ Considering the possibility that even in ancient times this practice witnessed changes without losing its original value, it is hard to exclude that in the Middle Ages a similar phenomenon occurred. Ancient Rome was omnipresent within the medieval urban landscape and shaped the identity of the Rome commune in many ways. The revival of the Antique extended to many aspects of Romans life, such as politics, legislation, and architecture – aspects, which are more fully discussed in Chapter 6. Popular culture was also thoroughly permeated with pagan traditions. In such a cultural context, it is possible that the ritual of Charon's obol continued to be performed more or less consciously as a superstitious practice.

5.4.1.2. *The Deposition of Coins in the Tombs of Saints*

The *denaro provisino* was also used for ritual purposes in official contexts such as the tombs of saints. For instance, 1900 coins have been found in the course of excavations under the Church of San Pietro in Rome; amongst these, are one *denier provinois* of Thibault II (Table 5.4, no. 22),⁹² ten *denari provisini* minted between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, forty-two *denari provisini* issued between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and one *denaro provisino* in the name of Cola di Rienzo (1347) (Table 5.5, no. 22).⁹³ Moreover, among thirty-

⁸⁹ Sannazaro, *La necropoli tardoantica*, p. 102.

⁹⁰ Apuleius, *The Golden Ass, or The Metamorphoses*, ed. by William Adlington (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 2004), Book 6, Chapter 18, 16-23.

⁹¹ Marco Sannazaro, *La necropoli tardoantica: Ricerche archeologiche nei cortili dell'Università Cattolica. Atti delle Giornate di studio, Milano, 25-26 Gennaio, 1999* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), p. 102.

⁹² Serafini, 'Appendice numismatica', p. 239.

⁹³ Serafini, 'Appendice numismatica', pp. 232–33.

five coins, four fourteenth-century *denari provisini* were discovered in the reliquary of San Nicola Greco in the church of San Francesco in Guardiagrele near Chieti (Table 5.5, no. 18; Fig. 5.4).⁹⁴ As observed for the example found in an ordinary tomb at Cerreto, the *denari provisini* from Guardiagrele were probably out of circulation at the time of their deposition in the relic box. One of these four examples probably circulated in c.1280 (Group 11, Table 4.11), and the other three between 1290 and 1307 (Group 12, Table 4.12); yet, the deposition of these coins probably occurred after 1343. This chronology is suggested by the fact that the bones of San Nicola were transferred from the monastery of Prata near Casoli to the church of San Francesco in Guardiagrele between 7 and 9 August 1343.⁹⁵ A few weeks later, on 1 September, Bishop Giovanni di Bagnoregio came to visit, and the ceremony organized in his honour included a public display of the bones of San Nicola. Since there is no evidence of earlier recognitions, it can be argued that devotees deposited coins in the relic box for the first time on that occasion.⁹⁶



Figure 5.4: Denari provisini included in the Guardiagrele hoard – not actual size (photo courtesy: Alberto d'Andrea).

⁹⁴ Andreani et al., 'Il tesoretto numismatico di San Nicola Greco'.

⁹⁵ Andreani et al., 'Il tesoretto numismatico di San Nicola Greco', p. 230.

⁹⁶ Andreani et al., 'Il tesoretto numismatico di San Nicola Greco', p. 231.

Although they were minted between 1280 and 1307, the four *denari provisini* from Guardiafreale might have been circulating after 1307, and so still in use at the time of their deposition, in 1343. Nonetheless, three factors make this hypothesis unlikely. Firstly, the use of obsolete coins is commonly attested to in medieval ordinary graves; in addition to the coin from Cerreto discussed above, numerous other examples have been recovered across Italy. For instance, an obol struck in Arles between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been found in the church of San Secondo in Asti, in the fill of a private tomb dated two centuries later.⁹⁷ In this same church, a *denaro* minted under Henry III in Pavia between 1056 and 1106 was found inside a grave containing five bodies; the bodies, however, were buried between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹⁸ Similarly, one obol issued in Savona between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was found in a sixteenth-century tomb in Alba.⁹⁹ Archaeological evidence even shows that people, especially aristocrats, deposited ancient Roman coins in the tombs of their loved ones whenever they had the chance, perhaps to highlight the status and dignity of the deceased and his/her family.¹⁰⁰ Although this practice is circumscribed and limited to élites, it is still indicative of the use in religious contexts of objects with intrinsic value that were not easily redeemable on the market.

Secondly, from the thirteenth century onwards the Church started to condemn high-value coinage, viewing this as a danger for the soul. This situation might have led devotees to offer low-denomination coins to saints in order not to offend them.¹⁰¹ If true, base-metal coins

⁹⁷ Alberto Crosetto, 'Indagini archeologiche nel Medioevo astigiano. Il cimitero di S. Secondo', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*, 11 (1993), 145–65.

⁹⁸ Crosetto, 'Indagini archeologiche nel Medioevo astigiano', 145–65.

⁹⁹ Egle Micheletto, 'La chiesa di San Domenico di Alba: Note sullo scavo', *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*, 3 (1984), 77–106.

¹⁰⁰ Federico Barelo, 'I materiali di età romana e le monete', *Presenze longobarde. Collegno nell'Alto Medioevo*, ed. Luisella Pejrani Baricco (Turin: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte, 2004), 153–59.

¹⁰¹ Lucia Travaini, *Monete e storia nell'Italia medievale* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2007), pp. 257–78.

withdrawn from circulation would be seen as commensurately less sinful, and thus even more suitable as votive offerings in tombs.

A third element which might support the hypothesis that the *denari provisini* from Guardiafreale were no longer in circulation in 1343 is that, as Figure 5.4 shows, those at Guardiafreale are very badly preserved. It can therefore be argued that Rome's authorities replaced these examples with new *denari provisini* at a certain point, in order to avoid the circulation of illegible coins. However, this does not exclude the possibility that these four examples were still circulating in the 1340s – in fact, a number of factors suggest that the use of old coins was a convenient choice to meet the demand for money. Firstly, Rome experienced internal tension and economic regression under the barons (see Section 4.3.2). Secondly, petty coins were always more expensive to produce – generally, there were never enough of them around because governments were reluctant to produce more than the bare minimum.

The Guardiafreale *denari provisini* show on one side a cross – one of the most evocative symbols of Christianity. Perhaps, therefore, they were regarded as appropriate gifts to San Nicola even though they no longer had monetary value. Interestingly, the available archaeological evidence demonstrates that coins withdrawn from circulation and showing a cross were routinely used for ritual purposes in the Late Middle Ages and in the Modern era. The cited obol from Arles found in one of the graves in San Secondo in Asti shows a cross in the field. Similarly, a sixteenth-century French token with a cross surrounded by four fleurs-de-lis has been discovered in a sixteenth-century grave in the church of San Domenico in Alba (province of Cuneo). In this same site, an obol from Savona minted between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, one denaro struck by John II of Aragon and Navarre (1458-1479), and an obol minted by Charles Duke of Orleans in Asti (1447-1465) came from sixteenth-

century graves.¹⁰² These all feature a cross on one side. Similarly, an obol with cross, minted by the commune of Asti between 1415 and 1422, has been recovered in Pecetto Torinese (province of Turin), in the fill of a grave of the late sixteenth/ seventeenth century.¹⁰³

Even in modern times, according to anthropological interpretation, devotees tend not to throw away objects with some religious meaning when they lose their utility. As asserted in the *Code of Canon Law* which was published in 1917, ‘sacred objects, which are designed for divine worship by dedication or blessing, are to be treated reverently and are not to be employed for profane or inappropriate use even if they are owned by private persons’.¹⁰⁴ Following this law, everything that has been blessed, such as the holy olive branches received by devotees at the Palm Sunday, should be burned – and their ashes buried – or simply buried. Although the *Code of Canon Law* can only inform us on cultural schemes in modern western society, it still reflects the natural human propensity to treat any objects with religious meaning with reverence – a propensity which the numismatic finds so far recovered across Italy seem to confirm.

However, archaeological materials show that people also deposited coins without cross imagery as votive offerings in graves: the eleven coins recovered in the tomb of San Francesco in Assisi are probably the most striking example of the votive use of coins with profane symbols. These are *denari lucchesi* and were found in 1818 when the tomb was opened to authenticate the body of San Francesco.¹⁰⁵ As discussed in Chapter 3, the *denaro lucchese* bears on one side the monogram of the emperor and the legend +IMPERATOR, and on the other the name of the city (LVCA) arranged roughly in the form of a cross and surrounded by the legend ENRICVS. Coins with no obvious religious symbols are also attested to in ordinary tombs: one

¹⁰² Micheletto, ‘La chiesa di San Domenico di Alba’, pp. 90, 94.

¹⁰³ Pantò, ‘La chiesa di San Sebastiano di Pecetto’, p. 179.

¹⁰⁴ *Code of Canon Law, Part II: The Other Acts of Divine Worship, Title I: Sacramentals*, Can. 1171, available at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_P48.HTM. The first Code of Canon Law was written in 1917.

¹⁰⁵ Lucia Travaini, ‘Le monete nella tomba di San Francesco di Assisi’, *Cercetări Numismatice*, 9–11 (2005), 193–98.

of the most significant examples is a grave in the church of San Miniato near Arezzo, which includes a hoard of 107 *denari lucchesi*, recovered in a small vase near the head of the deceased in the late nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶

These and other materials suggest that devotees tended to use any type of coin as an offering to the saint, including low-denomination and out-of-circulation issues, and even forgeries.¹⁰⁷ Thus it can be argued that it is not because of their monetary value that coins were deposited as votive offerings. Instead they probably served this function because of their portability and small dimensions – being so thin and tiny, coins could be easily inserted into narrow spaces such as slots of relic boxes. Even now people tend to deposit coins in holy places to establish a connection with saints. For example, one of the most famous (and biggest) Nativities is built in San Pietro's square in Rome every year at Christmas time where visitors from all over the world toss a coin to and near the manger. Most offerings range in value from one cent to two euros, suggesting that the use of small-denomination coins as a ritual deposition is still a common practice.

In summary, we must recognise the deposition of coins in medieval tombs as a complex cultural phenomenon, whose roots probably lie in the pagan ritual of 'Charon's obol' or in even more ancient practices. As seen, similar rituals persisted in both private and official contexts through the Middle Ages with coins with crosses and blessing saints considered more suitable as offerings due to their Christian connotation, although any coins of low value could be used with this purpose. As discussed, people in medieval times still provided their deceased loved ones with coins, probably as protective amulets. Similarly, coins as providers of luck were offered to the tombs of saints by devotees in the hope that their prayers would be answered.

¹⁰⁶ Gian Francesco Gamurrini, 'Loro-Ciuffenna. Di un tesoretto di monete lucchesi scoperto in una tomba della diruta chiesa di San Miniato', *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1894, 309–12; Angelica Degasperi, 'La moneta in tomba nella Toscana centro-settentrionale tra Alto e Basso Medioevo', *Archeologia Medievale*, 39 (2012), 227–44.

¹⁰⁷ Lucia Travaini, 'Il divino e le monete: Iconografia, contesti sacri e usi rituali', *Opsis*, 17, 2, p. 185.

Regardless of their symbols, coins as amulets are very interesting since they inform on a society, which, although punctuated by religious ceremonies, was still strongly influenced by superstition.

5.4.2. *Profane Hoards and Single Finds*

Besides this evidence of ritual depositions of coins, profane coin hoards are the more widely attested type in the Middle Ages. Following Grierson's classifications, we can identify three main types of profane hoard: emergency hoards, saving hoards and accidental losses.¹⁰⁸ Under 'emergency hoards' we include depositions quickly hidden in an emergency without chance of planning, but with the hope of subsequent recovery. Emergency hoards are likely to reflect the relative proportions of coin types in currency because they contain coins taken out of circulation on a single occasion. Therefore, the study of these depositions helps us to reconstruct the monetary system at the time of their hoarding. Secondly, like emergency hoards, 'saving deposits' comprise coins regularly taken out from circulation with an intention of recovery and access; here, materials are generally selected over a longer period of time than emergency hoards.¹⁰⁹ Finally, 'accidental losses' can consist of uneven sums of money, found in purses or similar containers and lost by accident. They are of a small size, and represent the currency used for daily transactions by that individual.

As discussed in the introduction to Section 5.4, we can easily recognize whether a hoard is votive or profane by considering its context of recovery and its composition. Unlike votive depositions, which frequently occur in the context of a shrine, sanctuary or burial, profane

¹⁰⁸ Philip Grierson, *Numismatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 134–59. In his classification, Grierson also included 'abandoned hoards', namely hoards hidden with no intention of retrieval, and generally associated with burials, foundation deposits or coins thrown into fountains/wells for ritual purposes. I have excluded this type of hoard from Grierson's classification since I examined it in Section 5.4.1.

¹⁰⁹ Stanislaw Tabaczynsky, 'Cultura e culture nella problematica della ricerca archaeologica', *Archeologia Medievale*, 3 (1976), 27–52.

hoards are usually located in private buildings, along or near roads, and more generally, in retrievable locations. In some cases, the composition of the hoard can help identifying the purpose for its deposition. For example, votive hoards in significant religious contexts are often composed of a wide range of issues, offered by devotees from any part of Europe over the centuries. On the other hand, profane hoards often comprise coins minted in close periods, and which circulated in the same area.

On the basis of their composition and location of recovery, this study could recognize nine profane hoards of *deniers provinois* and ten hoards of *denari provisini* so far found across Italy. Section 5.4.2 will examine these materials in detail, and compare them with the *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* recovered as single finds in this same area. Data will be displayed in two different tables – one for the *deniers provinois* (Table 5.4) and the other for the *denari provisini* (Table 5.5) – and in a series of distribution maps (Figs. 5.5-5.10). These tables and figures also include the *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* found as votive offerings – the latter have been numbered as 3, 6, 18 and 22 – to provide a complete picture of the available evidence.

5.4.2.1. The Available Evidence for the *Denier provinois*

This section considers the *deniers provinois* from hoards (Fig. 5.5) or known as single finds (Fig. 5.6). The northernmost Italian hoard containing *deniers provinois* was found in Borgonuovo near Lucca, in 1694. The contemporary report describes the hoard only vaguely as a large assemblage of coins found against a wall, including examples with legend TEBALT COMES. On the basis of the contemporary descriptions Ciampoltrini identified the coins with legend TEBALT COMES as *deniers provinois* and proposed a French origin for the other coins

of the hoard.¹¹⁰ The disposition of the coins from the hoard is unknown, but the original description provides crucial evidence to reconstruct the routes over which the *denier provinois* travelled. This hoard has been therefore included in the study (Table 5.4, no. 2), although it was not inserted in the distribution map (Fig. 5.5), as we do not know the exact number of *deniers provinois* it contained.

The hoard found in Amatrice near Rieti in 1914 (no. 9) is now preserved in Rome, in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*.¹¹¹ The hoard is composed of 339 *deniers provinois* of Thibault II, 368 *deniers provinois* of Henry I, 216 *deniers* of Henry II (215 minted in Provins and one in Troyes), and fourteen *denari provisini*. As its composition suggests, it probably closed after the ratification of Innocent III's bull of 1208 that withdrew the *denier provinois* from circulation and revalued the *denaro provisino* – which then became the only official penny in central Italy. Since the *deniers provinois* were no longer useful, it is reasonable to suppose that people started to hoard them. The deposit found in Amatrice might have been one such hoard.¹¹²

Another hoard of *deniers provinois* of Thibault I, Henry I and II was discovered in the summer of 1925, during excavations at the church of San Vincenzo in Montecelio near Rome (no. 19). Mancini described it briefly as a group of c.200 coins bearing the names of the counts of Champagne Thibault I and Henry I-II.¹¹³ Further study of the hoard, which is also preserved

¹¹⁰ Giulio Ciampoltrini, 'Un ripostiglio con provisini dal territorio di Lucca (Borgonuovo 1694)', *RIN*, 99 (1997), 285–90.

¹¹¹ The recovery of the hoard was recorded in documents now held in the archive *Sequestro Stazi, Vecchio Archivio*, folder no. 109. In his unpublished notes (Angelo Finetti, *Denari provisini*), Finetti describes the Amatrice hoard as a group of 326 *deniers provinois* of Thibault II, 310 *deniers provinois* of Henry I and II, and 13 *denari provisini*. He also specifies that, amongst these 13 *denari provisini*, are examples minted before 1208.

¹¹² I am going to publish this hoard in the *BollNum*, as part of an extended work on the *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* kept at the Museo Nazionale Romano.

¹¹³ Gioacchino Mancini, 'Gli scavi della basilica di S. Vincenzo in territorio di Montecelio – II. La scoperta della basilica di S. Vincenzo', *Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia Patria*, 7.1 (1926), 17–27.

at the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, showed that it consisted of 114 *deniers provinois* of Thibault II and fifty-seven in the names of Henry I-II.¹¹⁴

The Torre delle Milizie hoard is named after the fortified tower built north of Trajan's Market in the early thirteenth century (no. 24). In 1574, the tower was sold to Vittoria Porzia Massimi, who founded an adjacent monastery devoted to St Catherine of Siena. The hoard was found in the garden of the monastery in 1932 and it is now preserved at the *Medagliere Capitolino* in Rome.¹¹⁵ I have personally viewed the coins from the Torre delle Milizie, and can thus certify that there are 1385 pieces, including 1009 *deniers provinois* of Thibault II, 330 of Henry I-II, and one illegible *denier provinois*.

Two Roman hoards of uncertain locations also included *deniers provinois*: one found in 1895 during restoration works promoted by King Umberto I (1878-1900), consists of 101 *deniers* of Thibault II and sixty-nine of Henry I-II (no. 28) – according to Travaini, this hoard might have been buried in c.1180 on the basis of its composition;¹¹⁶ the other was found in the vicinity of the Vatican and consists of 204 continental *deniers* and 85 English pennies from Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Wilton, Worcester, Winchester, and York (no. 29). The absence of Lichfield coins minted in 1189 and of examples from Canterbury introduced in that same year suggests that it was closed 'some time before 1189'.¹¹⁷ The continental portion of this hoard consists of German coins and French *deniers* from Anjou, St Martin de Tours, Chartres and Provins. The largest number of *deniers* are those from Provins, including eighty-three *deniers provinois* of Thibault II, two of Henry I and thirty-five of Henry II.

¹¹⁴ Finetti, 'Il ripostiglio di Montecelio (Roma)', 61–96.

¹¹⁵ Duprè Thesèider published this hoard in 1933, but he only briefly described it as a deposit of 1371 examples. See: Duprè Thesèider, 'Il tesoretto medievale di Torre delle Milizie', 249–52.

¹¹⁶ Travaini, 'Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia'.

¹¹⁷ Grantley Lawrence and Laurie A. Lawrence, 'On a Find of French Deniers and English Pennies of the Twelfth Century', *British Numismatic Journal*, 14 (1918), 39–46.

The *denier provinois* is also attested to in the south of the peninsula, in hoards and single finds. The Allifae hoard, found near Caserta in 1995, was probably closed in the late twelfth century. It consists of four *tari amalfitani* of Roger II and 630 silver coins, including 399 *deniers provinois* of Thibault II, and ten of Henry I.¹¹⁸ The San Cataldo hoard was discovered near Bari before 1912. It consists of 151 twelfth-century *deniers* from Valence, Meaux, Chartres and Maine, thirty-five *deniers provinois* of Thibault I, seven *deniers provinois* of Henry I-II, and twenty-four pennies of Henry I King of England (1100-1135).¹¹⁹ Finally, the Montescaglioso hoard was found near Matera, in 1971; of its 876 coins, 484 are *deniers provinois* of Thibault II and 170 of Henry I.¹²⁰

Deniers provinois have also turned up in single finds across Italy, the northernmost being the two *deniers* of Thibault II discovered during excavations at Luni near La Spezia in the 1950s.¹²¹ Further work a few decades later recovered another *denier* of Thibault II (Table 5.4, no.1).¹²² In 1978, the British School at Rome started archaeological excavations at the Abbey of Farfa in Fara Sabina, near Rieti in Lazio, unearthing eleven *deniers provinois* of Henry I (Table 5.4, no. 13).¹²³ The British School at Rome also excavated the site of Santa Cornelia near Formello north of Rome, identifying it as a Benedictine monastery datable to the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, built over a papal church of the eighth to tenth centuries. Between 1960 and 1964, six coins were found in this area, including two *deniers provinois* of Henry I (Table

¹¹⁸ Ermanno Arslan, 'Le trésor de monnaies normandes et françaises d'Allifae (Campanie, XII^e siècle)', *International Numismatic Newsletter*, 30 (1997), 6–7.

¹¹⁹ Aldo Siciliano, 'Monete', in *Il Museo Archeologico di Bari. Parte 1*, ed. by Ettore M. De Juliis (Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1983), p. 204.

¹²⁰ Antonella Curtotti, 'Il tesoro di Montescaglioso (Matera)', *Bollettino Storico della Basilicata*, 5 (1989), 181–91.

¹²¹ Travaini, 'Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia', pp. 215–19.

¹²² Luca Parodi, 'Settore orientale. Documenti numismatici', in *Città antica di Luna. Lavori in corso*, ed. by Anna Maria Durante (Genoa: Frilli, 2010), pp. 59–61.

¹²³ Charles B. McClendon and David Whitehouse, 'La badia di Farfa, Fara in Sabina (Rieti). Terza nota preliminare', *Archeologia Medievale*, 9 (1982), 323–30.

5.4, no. 17).¹²⁴ The excavations of the Rome's Colosseum carried out by the *Università La Sapienza* and the *Università di Roma Tre* in 2006 and 2012, respectively, yielded two *deniers provinois* of Henry II (Table 5.4, no. 27).¹²⁵

The *EEHAR* have been conducting archaeological fieldwork, thus far unearthing four *deniers provinois* of Thibault II and two of Henry I (no. 31) at Tuscolo.¹²⁶ The excavations carried out in 1994-1996 by the *Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali ed Architettonici del Lazio* and the *Soprintendenza Archeologica* at the Abbey of Fossanova near Latina,¹²⁷ have found five late medieval coins, including one *denier provinois* of Thibault II (Table 5.4, no. 32).¹²⁸ Further south, the excavations that the *Centre belge de recherches archéologiques en Italie centrale et méridionale* carried out at Ortona near Foggia between 1972 and 1986 produced one *denier provinois* of Henry I (Table 5.4, no. 34),¹²⁹ while a team from the British School at Rome discovered a further example of Thibault II at Otranto near Lecce (Table 5.4, no. 38).¹³⁰ Finally, the Baldanza numismatic collection, currently kept at the *Università di Messina*, comprises locally found coins, including two *deniers provinois* of Thibault II and two of Henry I (Table 5.4, no. 39).¹³¹

¹²⁴ Neil Christie and Lucia Travaini, 'Further Coins from Santa Cornelia (Rome)', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 62 (1994), 321–24.

¹²⁵ Valci, 'Le monete', in *Anfiteatro Flavio*, p. 224.

¹²⁶ As discussed in Section 3.2.3, I had the opportunity to examine these materials during a research visit to the archaeological site of Tuscolo.

¹²⁷ Stefano Coccia and Anna G. Fabiani, 'Abbazia di Fossanova. Indagini archeologiche nel refettorio', *Archeologia Medievale*, 24 (1997), 55–86.

¹²⁸ Francesca Ceci, 'Monete dagli scavi dell'abbazia di Fossanova', *Studi Romani*, 57 (2009), 156–63.

¹²⁹ Simone Scheers and Johan Van Heesch, 'Les monnaies trouvées durant les campagnes de 1972 à 1986', in *Ortona VIII. Rapports et études*, ed. by Joseph Mertens (Bruxelles-Rome: Centre Belge de Recherche Archéologique en Italie Centrale et Méridionale, 1988), pp. 229–93.

¹³⁰ Adriana Travaglini, 'Le monete', in *Excavations at Otranto, Vol. II. The Finds*, ed. by Francesco D'Andria and David Whitehouse (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992), pp. 243–78.

¹³¹ Daniele Castrizio, 'Conti di Champagne', in *Roma e Bisanzio, normanni e spagnoli. Monete a Messina nella collezione B. Baldanza*, ed. by Maria Caccamo Caltabiano (Messina: Sicania, 1994), pp. 71–74.

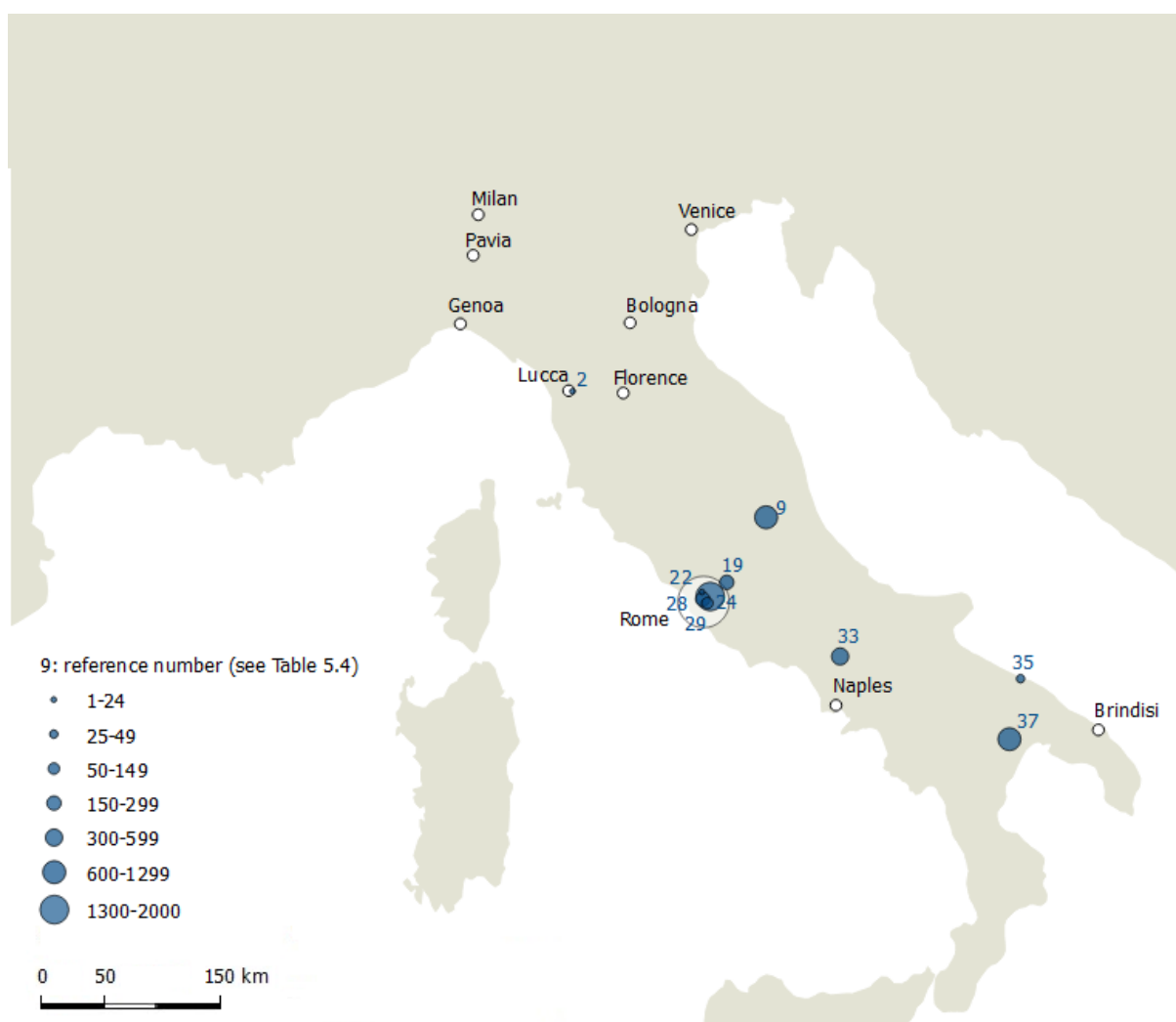


Figure 5.5: Hoards including deniers provinois found across Italy (source: author, based on museum collections).

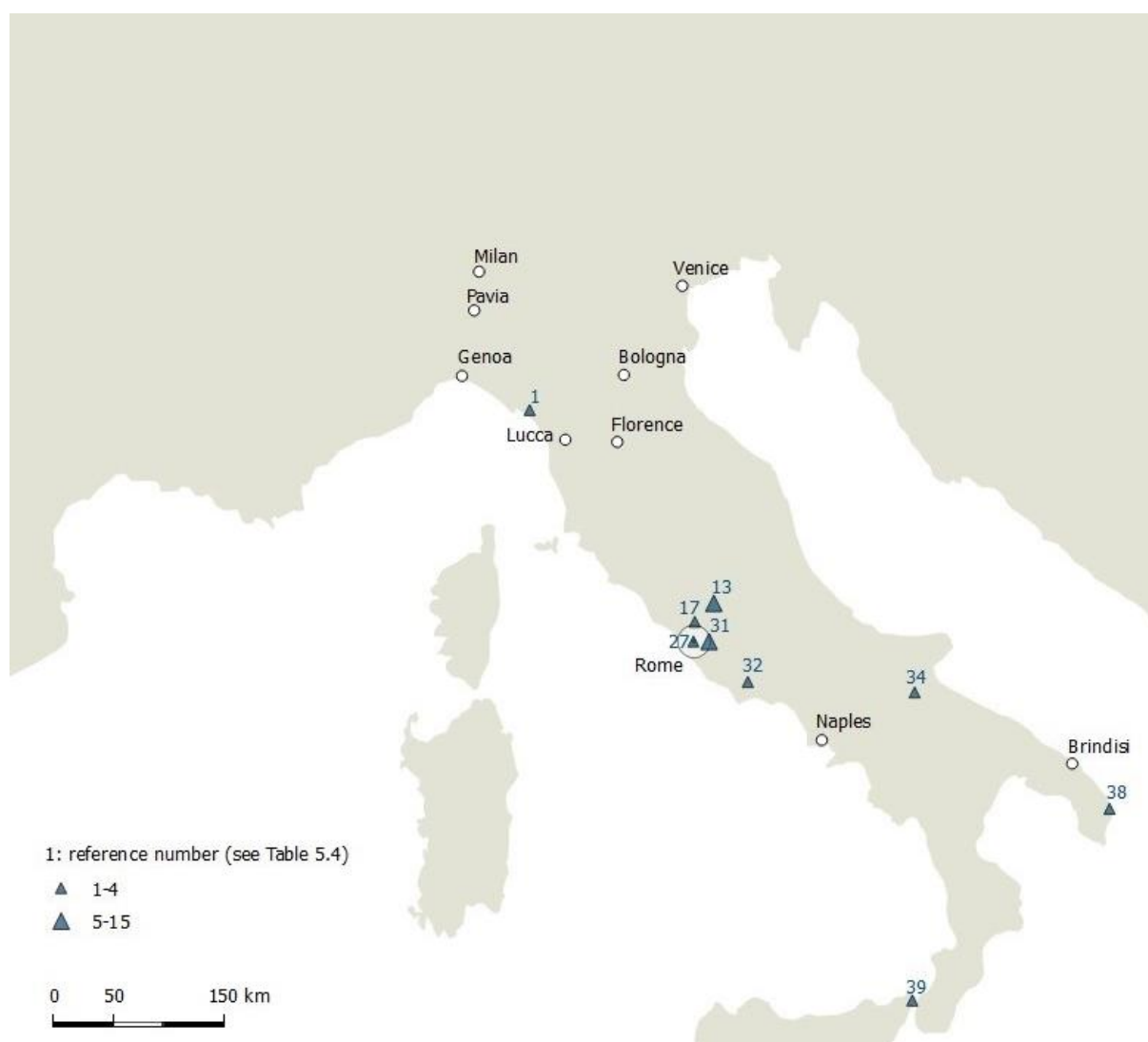


Figure 5.6: Deniers provinois found as single finds across Italy (source: author, based on museum collections).

	<i>Deniers provinois</i>			
	<i>Reference Number</i>	<i>Nos. Examples</i>	<i>Context of Recovery</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
<i>Hoard</i>	2	-	Borgonuovo (Lucca)	Ciampoltrini 1997
	9	937 examples (923 <i>d. provinois</i>)	Amatrice (Rieti)	Unpublished
	19	171 <i>d. provinois</i>	Montecelio (Rome)	Finetti 1993
	22	1 <i>d. provinois</i>	Church of San Pietro - Rome	Serafini 1951, Vol. 1, pp. 232-233, 239
	24	1385 examples (1340 <i>d. provinois</i>)	Rome, Torre delle Milizie	Duprè Thesèider 1933
	28	170 <i>d. provinois</i>	Rome	Capobianchi 1895, p. 422
	29	289 examples (120 <i>d. provinois</i>)	Rome	Grantley, Lawrence 1918
	33	634 examples (409 <i>d. provinois</i>)	Allifae (Caserta)	Arslan 1997
	35	217 examples (42 <i>d. provinois</i>)	San Cataldo (Bari)	Siciliano 1983, p. 204
	37	876 examples (654 <i>d. provinois</i>)	Montescaglioso (Matera)	Curtotti 1989
<i>Single Finds</i>	1	3 <i>d. provinois</i>	Luni (La Spezia)	Travaini 1999, pp. 215-219; Parodi 2010
	13	11 <i>d. provinois</i>	Abbey of Farfa (Rieti)	McClendon, Whitehouse 1982
	17	2 <i>d. provinois</i>	Santa Cornelia (Rome)	Christie, Travaini 1988
	27	2 <i>d. provinois</i>	Colosseum - Rome	Unpublished
	31	6 <i>d. provinois</i>	Tuscolo (Rome)	Unpublished
	32	1 <i>d. provinois</i>	Fossanova (Latina)	Ceci 2009
	34	1 <i>d. provinois</i>	Ordona (Foggia)	Scheers, Van Heesch 1988
	38	1 <i>d. provinois</i>	Otranto (Lecce)	Travaglini 1992
	39	4 <i>d. provinois</i>	Messina	Castrizio 1994

Table 5.4: Deniers provinois of public collections so far found as hoards and single finds across Italy.

5.4.2.2. *The Available Evidence for the Denaro provisino*

This section will examine the *denari provisini* found so far in hoards (Fig. 5.7) or as single finds (Fig. 5.8), and now kept in public museums (Table 5.5). Like the description of the materials included in Table 5.4, this one will follow a geographical order, going from north to south.

The northernmost hoard listed in Table 5.5 was discovered accidentally in the course of road restoration works in Valdambra near Bucine (Arezzo) in 1898 (Table 5.5, no. 5). The hoard was hidden inside a majolica jug and comprises 150 medieval coins, including one *denaro provisino* minted between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³²

In 1965, excavations conducted by the *Gruppo Archeologico Tarquinese*, *Gruppo Archeologico Romano* and the *Gruppo Speleologico U.R.R.I.* in Tarquinia near Viterbo uncovered a hoard of 392 coins: 387 from Italy, four from the south of France and one from Corsica. The Italian component includes eleven *denari provisini* issued between the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The hoard is known as the ‘Old Fountain’ (*Fontana Antica*) hoard because it was found above the remains of a twelfth-century basin and near a more recent fountain called ‘New Fountain’ (*Fontana Nuova*) (Table 5.5, no. 7).¹³³

The Amatrice hoard, already noted above, included fourteen *denari provisini* alongside 924 *deniers provinois*. The Roman coins are datable to 1188-1250: nine 1188-1191, one 1191-1208 and four 1208-1250 (Table 5.5, no. 9).

The Torre delle Milizie hoard likewise consists of a stack of *denari provisini* alongside a large number of *deniers provinois* (Table 5.5, no. 24); the Roman coins are awaiting restoration, but a preliminary observational study has enabled me to assert that they consist of at least eleven

¹³² Tito Cini, ‘Ripostiglio di Valdambra’, *RIN*, 12 (1899), 305–9; Baldassarri, *Zecca e monete del comune di Pisa. Dalle origini alla Seconda Repubblica. Vol. I, XII Secolo-1406*.

¹³³ Finetti, ‘Il ripostiglio di Fontana Antica’.

denari provisini – i.e. 9.61g in total. I would argue that these coins were enclosed in a sealed bag, to be used together in transactions or to be exchanged for issues of higher value. The practice of using coins enclosed in sealed sachets was commonly attested from ancient times onwards. Merchants' notebooks indicate that gold coins (*fiorini*) enclosed in sealed sachets were used in important transactions;¹³⁴ the hoard from the Torre delle Milizie seems to suggest that this practice was actually extended to base-metal coins.

The hoard found at Formello near Rome during archaeological excavations in 1992 consisted of two *denari provisini* probably datable to 1250-1270, one *tari* struck under Manfred between 1258 and 1266, which dates the hoard, and a bronze ring (Table 5.5, no. 15).¹³⁵

The hoard preserved in the *Medagliere Capitolino*, by contrast, consists of some 600 *denari provisini*; the circumstances of its recovery are poorly documented, but it came to light in the 1870s during building works (Table 5.5, no. 29).¹³⁶

The largest *denari provisini* hoard so far recovered is known as the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* hoard and is kept in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*; it contains around 5000 *denari provisini*, but is still unpublished (Table 5.5, no. 25).¹³⁷ According to Finetti, it is actually a collection of multiple hoards as well as single finds, discovered in the 1930s during the construction of the Via dei Fori Imperiali and Via della Conciliazione under Benito Mussolini.¹³⁸

Another unpublished Roman hoard consists of 560 *denari provisini* from the first half of the thirteenth century in the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano* (Table 5.5, no. 26). Although this material is still unpublished, the *Medagliere* has allowed me to examine it.

¹³⁴ Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, pp. 46–48.

¹³⁵ Francesco Boanelli, 'Formello (Roma): Un centro minore dell'Etruria meridionale alla luce delle nuove indagini archeologiche (secc. IX-XVI)', *Archeologia Medievale*, 24 (1997), 269–82.

¹³⁶ Valci, 'A Hoard of Roman *Denari Provisini*', 227–44.

¹³⁷ I am currently examining this hoard – so far I have analysed 781 examples.

¹³⁸ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

Yet another group of Roman *denari provisini* is preserved at the *Medagliere* of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, but it is perhaps more likely a collection of the most representative *denaro provisino* types. It consists of nearly 1200 coins, including 222 *denari provisini* of Group 2 (1188-91), thirty-two of Group 3 (1191-1208), 851 of Group 4 (1208-50), one of Group 10 (1268-78), one of either Groups 13, 14, 15 or 16 (1307-47), two of Group 18 (1347-98), eighty-nine of uncertain chronology (1188-1250), and one *denaro* of Siena between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Table 5.5, no. 40).

Numerous *denari provisini* have turned up across central and southern Italy as single finds, suggesting that these coins were carried over relatively long distances probably to be used as a means of exchange in transactions (see Section 5.3). Archaeological excavations at the Monastery of San Michele alla Verruca near Pisa have led to the recovery of 94 coins, including one fourteenth-century *denaro provisino* found outside the church of the complex (Table 5.5, no. 4).¹³⁹ Eight fourteenth-century *denari provisini* were found in Tarquinia near Viterbo in the 1980s (Table 5.5, no. 8);¹⁴⁰ and another fourteenth-century *denaro provisino* was recently discovered in the same area, in the medieval settlement of Leopoli-Cencelle (Table 5.5, no. 10).¹⁴¹

Denari provisini as single finds are also attested to in the area around Rieti: two fourteenth-century examples were discovered during excavations at the Castello di Rascino in 1992 (Table 5.5, no. 12);¹⁴² five thirteenth-century examples were excavated by the *École*

¹³⁹ Monica Baldassarri, 'Un abate non accetta denaro, neppure per i poveri. L'uso di moneta a San Michele della Verruca in base allo studio dei reperti numismatici', in *L'aratro e il calamo. Benedettini e cistercensi sul Monte Pisano. Dieci anni di archeologia a San Michele alla Verruca*, ed. by Sauro Gelichi and Antonio Alberti (Pisa: Felici, 2005), pp. 323–58.

¹⁴⁰ Federico Gambacorta, 'La circolazione monetaria nella Tuscia tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Nuovi dati dai materiali provenienti dagli scavi di Corneto-Tarquinia', *RIN*, 110 (2009), 129–66.

¹⁴¹ Rovelli, 'Patrimonium Beati Petri', p. 193.

¹⁴² Paul Beavitt and Neil Christie, 'The Cicolano Castles Project: Second Interim Report, 1992', *Archeologia Medievale*, 20 (1993), 419–51.

Française de Rome in Caprignano between 1980 and 1984 (Table 5.5, no. 11);¹⁴³ and eleven thirteenth-century examples were found at the Abbey of Farfa, during excavations by the British School at Rome in 1978 (Table 5.5, no. 13).¹⁴⁴ Closer to Rome, four *denari provisini* were discovered at the Castello di Scorano in Capena, in the 1990s (Table 5.5, no. 14),¹⁴⁵ while another minted between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was found at Anguillara Sabazia (Table 5.5, no. 16), during British School at Rome excavations in 1977-1981.¹⁴⁶ Single specimens of the fourteenth century have also turned up at Santa Cornelia (noted above) in 1960-1964 and Casale Malborghetto in 1989 (Table 5.5, no. 17).¹⁴⁷

Among the single finds attested to within Rome, two *denari provisini* of 1347-1398 (Group 13) were discovered during excavation and restoration works at the Mausoleum of Augustus in 2017 (Table 5.5, no. 21).¹⁴⁸ In the 1980s, investigations at the ancient and medieval complex of Crypta Balbi recovered nine *denari provisini* minted between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and a further twenty-three issued between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Table 5.5, no. 23).¹⁴⁹ Finally, four *denari provisini* have been found inside the Colosseum (Table 5.5, no. 27),¹⁵⁰ three of which are datable to 1188-1191 and the fourth to 1290-1307.¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ François Bougard, Étienne Hubert, and Ghislaine Noyé, 'Caprignano (Casperia, Prov. di Rieti)', *MEFRM*, 98 (1986), 1186-94; Finetti, 'I provisini romani del primo Giubileo', pp. 188-89.

¹⁴⁴ McClendon and Whitehouse, 'La badia di Farfa', pp. 323-30.

¹⁴⁵ Rovelli, 'Patrimonium Beati Petri', p. 191.

¹⁴⁶ Robert van de Noort and David Whitehouse, 'Excavations at Le Mura di Santo Stefano, Anguillara Sabazia', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 77 (2009), p. 203.

¹⁴⁷ Christie and Travaini, 'Further Coins', pp. 321-24.

¹⁴⁸ Neither is yet published, but I have examined them courtesy of the *Medagliere Capitolino*.

¹⁴⁹ Rovelli, 'La Crypta Balbi', in *La moneta nei contesti archeologici*, pp. 49-95.

¹⁵⁰ Three of these provisini were studied in 2002 by Rovelli, who proposed that they were minted between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see: Rovelli, 'Repertum numismatici del sottoscala XXXVI' in *Rota Colisei*, ed. by Rea, p. 404.

¹⁵¹ A further two *denari provisini* of 1188-1191 were recovered in the most recent fieldwork; they are discussed, along with the four *denari provisini* included in this study, in Valci, 'La circolazione numismatica medievale', in *Anfiteatro Flavio*, pp. 225-227.

The excavations at Tuscolo have yielded two *denari provisini* of 1188-1191 alongside the French *deniers provinois* (Table 5.5, no. 31).¹⁵² Finally, at Bari in south-east Italy, one *denaro provisino* issued between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was recovered in the area of the Castello Svevo (Table 5.5, no. 36).¹⁵³

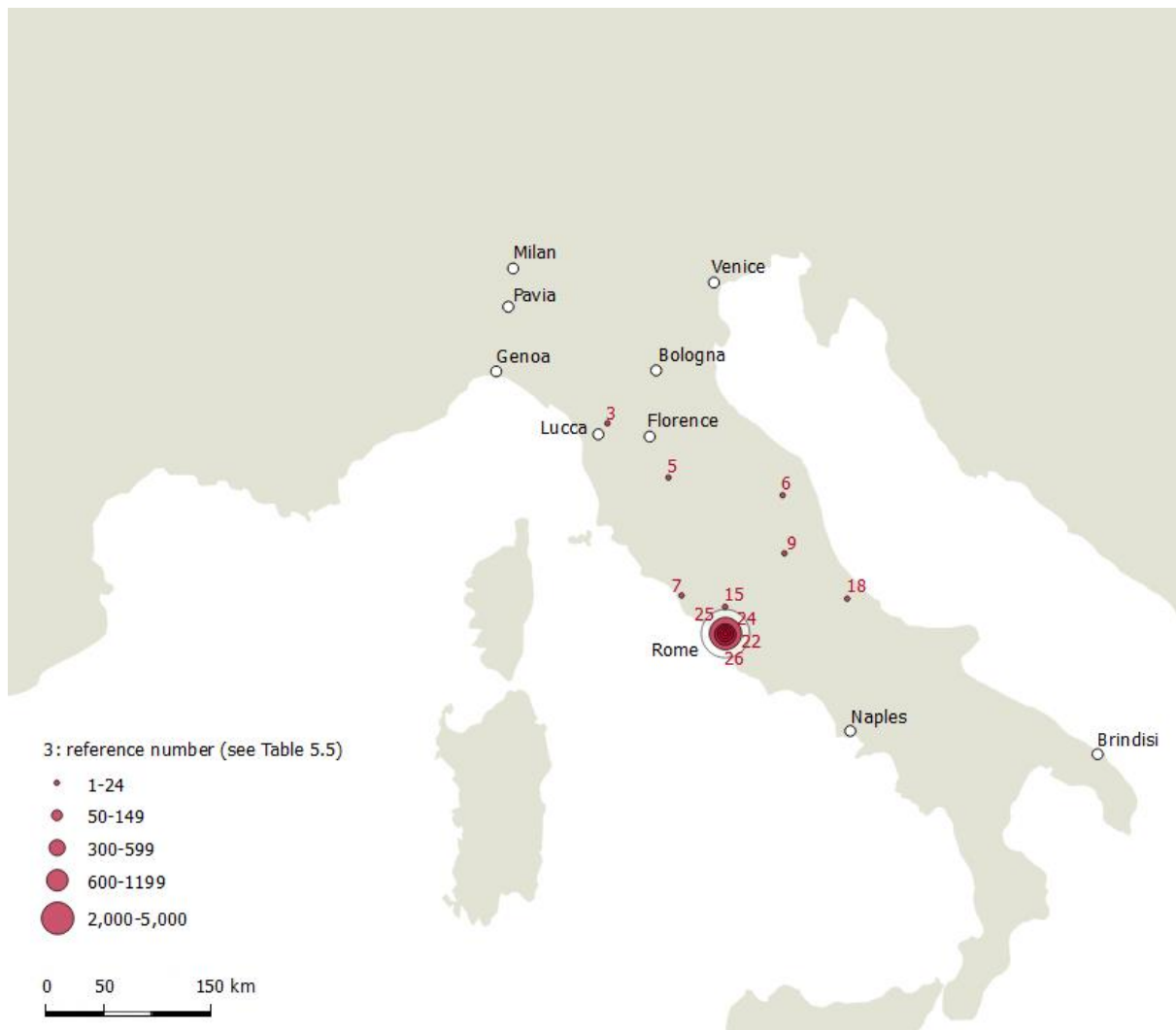


Figure 5.7: Hoards including *denari provisini* found across Italy (source: author, based on museum collections).

¹⁵² Beolchini, *Tusculum II*.

¹⁵³ Maria G. Di Capua, 'Rinvenimenti monetali nel Castello di Bari', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, 30 (1983), 181-94.

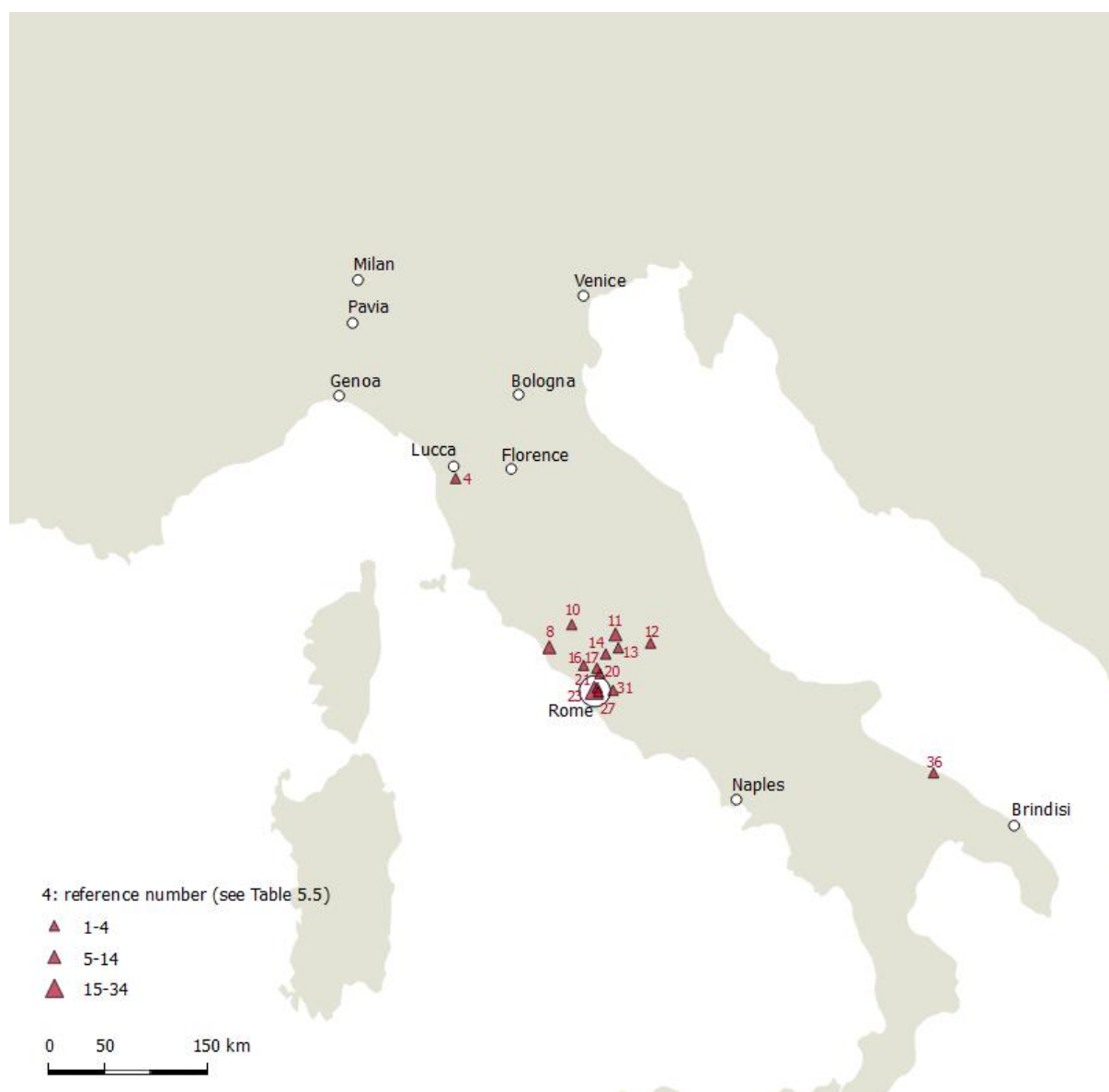


Figure 5.8: Denari provisini found as single finds across Italy and now kept in public institutions (source: author).

	<i>Denari provisini</i>			
	<i>Reference Number</i>	<i>Nos. Examples</i>	<i>Context of Recovery</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
<i>Hoard</i>	3	1 d. provisino	Church of San Lorenzo a Cerreto (Pescia)	Baldassarri 1996
	5	150 examples (1 d. provisino)	Bucine (Arezzo)	Baldassarri 2010
	6	1 d. provisino	Tolentino (Macerata)	Alteri 1996, p. 100
	7	392 examples (11 d. provisini)	Tarquinia (Viterbo)	Finetti 1987
	9	937 examples (14 d. provisini)	Amatrice (Rieti)	unpublished
	15	3 examples (2 d. provisini)	Formello (Rome)	Boanelli 1997, p. 276
	18	4 d. provisini	Church of San Francesco, Guardiareale (Chieti)	Andreani, D'Andrea, Taraborelli, 2013
	22	53 d. provisini	Church of San Pietro - Rome	Serafini 1951, vol. 1, pp. 232-233, 239
	24	1385 examples (11 d. provisini)	Rome, Torre delle Milizie	Dupré Theseider 1933
	25	c.5000 d. provisini	Rome, Fori Imperiali and Via della Conciliazione	unpublished
	26	560 d. provisini	Rome, Roman Forum	unpublished
	30	596 d. provisini	Rome	Valci 2014
	40	1199 examples (1198 d. provisini)	-	unpublished
<i>Single Finds</i>	4	1 d. provisino	Monastery of San Michele alla Verruca (Pisa)	Baldassarri 2005
	8	8 d. provisini	Tarquinia (Viterbo)	Gambacorta 2009
	10	1 d. provisino	Cencelle (Viterbo)	Rovelli 2010, p. 193
	11	5 d. provisini	Castello di Caprignano (Rieti)	Bougard et al. 1986
	12	2 d. provisini	Castello di Rascino (Rieti)	Beavitt, Christie 1993
	13	11 d. provisini	Abbey of Farfa (Rieti)	McClendon, Whitehouse 1982
	14	4 d. provisini	Capena (Rome)	Rovelli 2010, p. 191
	16	1 d. provisino	Anguillara Sabazia (Rome)	Rovelli 2009, p. 203
	17	1 d. provisino	Santa Cornelia (Rome)	Christie, Travaini 1994
	20	1 d. provisino	Casale di Malborghetto (Rome)	Messineo 1998
	21	2 d. provisini	Augustus' Mausoleum - Rome	unpublished
	23	32 d. provisini	Crypta Balbi - Rome	Rovelli 1986
	27	4 d. provisini	Colosseum - Rome	3 d. provisini published in Rovelli 2002
	31	2 d. provisini	Tuscolo (Rome)	Beolchini 2006
	36	1 d. provisino	Castello Svevo, Bari	Di Capua 1983

Table 5.5: Denari provisini of public collections so far found as hoards and single finds across Italy.

5.5. Discussion

The available data clearly indicate that the *denaro provisino* mainly circulated in central Italy, whereas the *denier provinois* is also attested to in the southern regions of the peninsula (Fig. 5.9). It is worth asking what led to the presence of the Champanoise penny in southern Italy, and why the same cannot be said for the *denaro provisino*. It can be argued that, in the late twelfth century, various factors contributed to the spread of the *denier provinois* in the South: most probably, the influx of pilgrims directed to Jerusalem played an important role, along with the soldiers who participated in great numbers in the Second and Third Crusades (1147-1149 and 1189-1192, respectively), and the southern Italian merchants/creditors involved in trade with Champagne. Furthermore, the need for currency, the lack of a centralised monetary system and the high percentage of silver of the *denier provinois*, played a crucial role in this distribution. As discussed in Chapter 3, these three factors led to a similar process in Rome and its surroundings in the same period – although in the latter case, Roman entrepreneurs probably represented the main cause for the introduction of foreign coinage, followed by pilgrims to Rome and/or Jerusalem, and then by Crusaders travelling on land.

Unlike the *denier provinois*, the *denaro provisino* did not circulate in southern Italy (see Figs 5.7 and 5.8); I would contend that this was probably due to the monetary reforms promoted by Henry VI (1165-97) and especially by his son Frederick II between the 1220s and 1250s. Through these reforms, the currency system in this area became more and more centralized; as a result, from the last quarter of the twelfth century onwards, the use of foreign coins such as the *denaro provisino* was no longer possible.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Lucia Travaini, 'Federico II *mutator monetae*: Continuità e innovazione nella politica monetaria (1220-1250)', in *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994*, ed. by Arnold Esch and Norbert Kamp (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), pp. 339–62.

As Table 5.4 indicates, ten hoards comprising *deniers provinois* have been so far found across Italy (nos. 2, 9, 19, 22, 24, 28, 29, 33, 35 and 37); each of them includes hundreds of *deniers provinois*, giving a total of 3875 examples – the only exceptions are Hoard 22 and Hoard 35, with one and forty-two examples, respectively. A further thirty-one *deniers provinois* recovered as single finds need to be included in the evidence count (Table 5.4, second section). Although the presence of 3906 *deniers provinois* cannot be ignored, additional studies are necessary to determine whether these coins actually suggest a wide circulation of the *denier provinois* across Italy. As discussed in Chapter 3, the *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* were the most popular issues in Rome and surroundings between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries; between the 1150s and 1160s, however, the *denier provinois* was then introduced and started to circulate in Italy. A comparison of the frequency of these three issues in archaeological contexts would certainly provide crucial information concerning the real impact of the *denier provinois* on the Italian currency system. Such a study, however, still needs to be conducted. Nevertheless, thanks to my examination of the numismatic evidence from the Colosseum in Rome and from the medieval settlement of Tuscolo, at least a provisional hypothesis can be suggested. Two *deniers provinois* have been found inside the Colosseum, along with four *denari pavesi* and three *denari lucchesi*; similarly, four *denari pavesi*, three *denari lucchesi* and six *deniers provinois* have been recovered in Tuscolo (see Tables 2.9 and 2.10).¹⁵⁵ On the basis of these few data, it seems possible to argue that *denari pavesi*, *lucchesi* and *deniers provinois* circulated in similar proportions in central Italy. However, this sample is very small to generalize the results. Future research is needed to verify this hypothesis and elaborate when coins become common excavations in Rome.

¹⁵⁵ I was able to examine these coins in 2016 thanks to the generosity of the *Università di Roma Tre*, which runs excavations at the Colosseum in Rome, and of the *EEHAR*, which is conducting ongoing investigations at Tuscolo.

In most of the profane hoards listed in Table 5.4, the *deniers provinois* represent the largest portion, and belong to one single type or at most to two/three types – in other words, they were minted in similar periods. Large-size hoards comprising examples of similar chronology can be often explained as the result of monetary reforms (*renovationes*).¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, in 1208, Pope Innocent III issued a bull through which he ordered the withdrawal of the *denier provinois* from circulation in central Italy; we might therefore argue that this bull (fully discussed in Chapter 4) represents the reason for the concealment of at least some of the *deniers provinois* hoards so far found in central Italy. However, assuming that this hypothesis is correct, it is worth asking why people should have preferred to hoard their *deniers provinois* instead of exchanging them with issues still in circulation – such as the *denaro provisino* in central Italy.

The 3861 *deniers provinois* so far recovered in Italy might have remained in the hands of their owners for many reasons. For instance, people might have refused to exchange such valuable coins with the new *denari provisini* – an issue, which was lower in value – in the event that the *denier provinois* was reintroduced in the Italian monetary system. Alternatively, it could be argued that, even after the monetary reform of 1208, it was worth hoarding *deniers provinois* because the latter were still used as money in the county of Champagne. As fully discussed in Chapter 3, thirteenth-century papal registers indicate that Italian merchants from different cities – and especially from Rome, Genoa, Florence and Venice – attended the Champagne fairs between the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries.¹⁵⁷ It is therefore likely that Italian businessmen involved in trade with the County of Champagne – included Roman ones – continued to use the *denier provinois* abroad, until at least the 1250s. The fact that all

¹⁵⁶ Travaini, ‘Provisini di Champagne nel Regno di Sicilia’, p. 212.

¹⁵⁷ Vendittelli, ‘Mercanti romani del primo Duecento’, pp. 87–136.

the hoards of *deniers provinois* from Italy are of large size¹⁵⁸ seems to support this hypothesis – the available thirteenth-century papal registers attest that Italian (and Roman) merchants generally had high liquidity.

However, three of the nine hoards listed in Table 5.4 – nos. 33, 35 and 37 – have been recovered not far from the Via Appia and Via Traiana, which were both traversed by a high number of French soldiers during the Second and Third Crusades (see Section 3.3.3). Due to their position, one could conjecture that these three hoards should be connected with the passage of Crusaders directed to Jerusalem, rather than with the activity of Italian merchants abroad. As suggested by their large size, Hoards ns. 33, 35 and 37 might have been concealed by Crusaders of the same contingent, who wanted to put their belongings in a safe place before reaching Jerusalem (Crusaders as a cause for the introduction of foreign coins in Italy is discussed in Section 3.3.3).

While *deniers provinois* have been found in high numbers across Italy, it is not possible to assert the same for the *denari provisini*. The only two exceptions are the hoard from the Roman Forum (no. 26), composed of 560 *denari provisini*, and the hoard ‘from Rome’, comprising 600 examples (no. 30). The *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* hoard includes around 5000 *denari provisini* (no. 25), but is actually a collection of an unknown number of hoards and single finds, and, therefore, we cannot accept it as a valid example of large-size *denaro provisino* hoard. On the basis of the available evidence, it may be argued that the *denier provinois* tended to be collected more frequently than the *denaro provisino*, and that the *denaro provisino* only started to be collected in the early or mid-thirteenth century. The lack of *denari provisini* hoards concealed in the late twelfth century might be explained by the fact that, in the first years of its production, this issue contained a relatively high percentage of silver – the

¹⁵⁸ The only exceptions are Hoards 22 and 35; however, the first is a votive deposit, whereas the second should be probably connected to the passage of Champanoise Crusaders directed to Jerusalem, as discussed below.

latter started to decrease substantially in c.1191, as shown in Figure 5.1. It is therefore likely that the *denari provisini* minted between c.1184 and c.1191 were melted down after being withdrawn from circulation, in order to produce new *denaro provisino* types – types which contained a lower and lower amount of silver.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the *denaro provisino* was accumulated less frequently in the fourteenth century. Interestingly, from the 1250s onwards, the amount of silver in the *denaro provisino* decreased even more; also, in 1252-1253, two new silver issues were introduced in Rome: the *grosso* and *semigrosso* (fully discussed in Section 4.4.2.1), which were more valuable than the *denaro provisino*. They soon started to be used for internal exchange too, replacing the *denaro provisino*. It may therefore be argued that, because of its devaluations and due to the introduction of the *grosso* and *semigrosso*, the *denaro provisino* became less and less popular in the fourteenth century and, as a result, people stopped hoarding this coin.

Finally, we can discuss the distribution of the hoards and single finds considered in this thesis. *Deniers provinois* have been found along the Via Francigena, the pilgrimage route that played a prominent role in the transfer of *denari pavesi*, *denari lucchesi* and *deniers provinois* to central Italy (a role discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Interestingly, three *deniers provinois* were found near Luni, which is one of the Via Francigena stages, and a hoard containing numerous *deniers provinois* was discovered in Borgonuovo near Lucca – another stage of the route (Fig. 5.10, nos. 1 and 2, respectively).

As Figure 5.10 indicates, *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* have also been found along or very close to some of the main ancient Roman roads, namely the Via Cassia (nos. 10 and 15), Via Aurelia (nos. 7 and 8), Via Salaria (no. 9), Via Flaminia (nos. 14, 17 and 20), Via Clodia (no. 16), and the Via Traiana (nos. 34, 35, 36). Further hoards and single finds have been traced not far from these same roads. It is worth asking whether the distribution of these coins reveal that much of the ancient Rome road network in Italy was still in use in the Late

Middle Ages – along with the Via Francigena. It has been argued¹⁵⁹ that the foundations of the Roman roads did not survive after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire; although Germanic codes included provisions for the maintenance of streets and bridges, they were overall actually incapable of putting these into practice. However, on the basis of the available archaeological evidence, this study would contend that, at least in Italy, medieval itineraries do tend to follow ancient road networks because of two main factors: firstly, the persistence of towns and cities of Roman foundation; secondly, the existence of immutable geographic factors such as rivers, lakes and mountain ranges. This continuity seems to be confirmed by the distribution of the numismatic materials so far recovered across the Italian peninsula: as Figures 5.9 and 5.10 indicate, in most cases, hoards and single finds were hidden or lost along/near itineraries that followed ancient consular roads, or in sites of ancient foundation – among them Lucca and Amatrice.

The final aim of this chapter was to present the *denier provinois* and *denaro provisino* as crucial information sources, which we cannot ignore if we want to fully understand the Late Middle Ages in Rome and central Italy. As a measure of account and as a means of exchange, the *denaro provisino* can inform us about the economy of the Rome commune – an economy which was still based on the Carolingian duodecimal system, and which included multiple forms of exchange, namely barter and currency. As votive offerings, the *denier provinois* and *denaro provisino* can also tell us about cultural and ritual habits of people across the communal period. Moreover, the distribution of the *deniers provinois* and *denari provisini* so far recovered across Italy can even shed some light on the medieval Italian communications network, and on its relation with ancient Roman itineraries. Finally, the *denaro provisino* served as a vehicle for political messages, used by both secular and religious authorities in Rome. However, this latter

¹⁵⁹ Among the scholars supporting this thesis is Lopez: Roberto S. Lopez, 'The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages', *Past & Present*, 9 (1956), 17–29.

function will be analysed in Chapter 6, which will consider the *denaro provisino* as part of a complex propaganda apparatus, developed by the Roman Senate and the papacy to legitimise their power.



Figure 5.9: Deniers provinois and denari provisini found across Italy and now kept in public institutions (source: author).

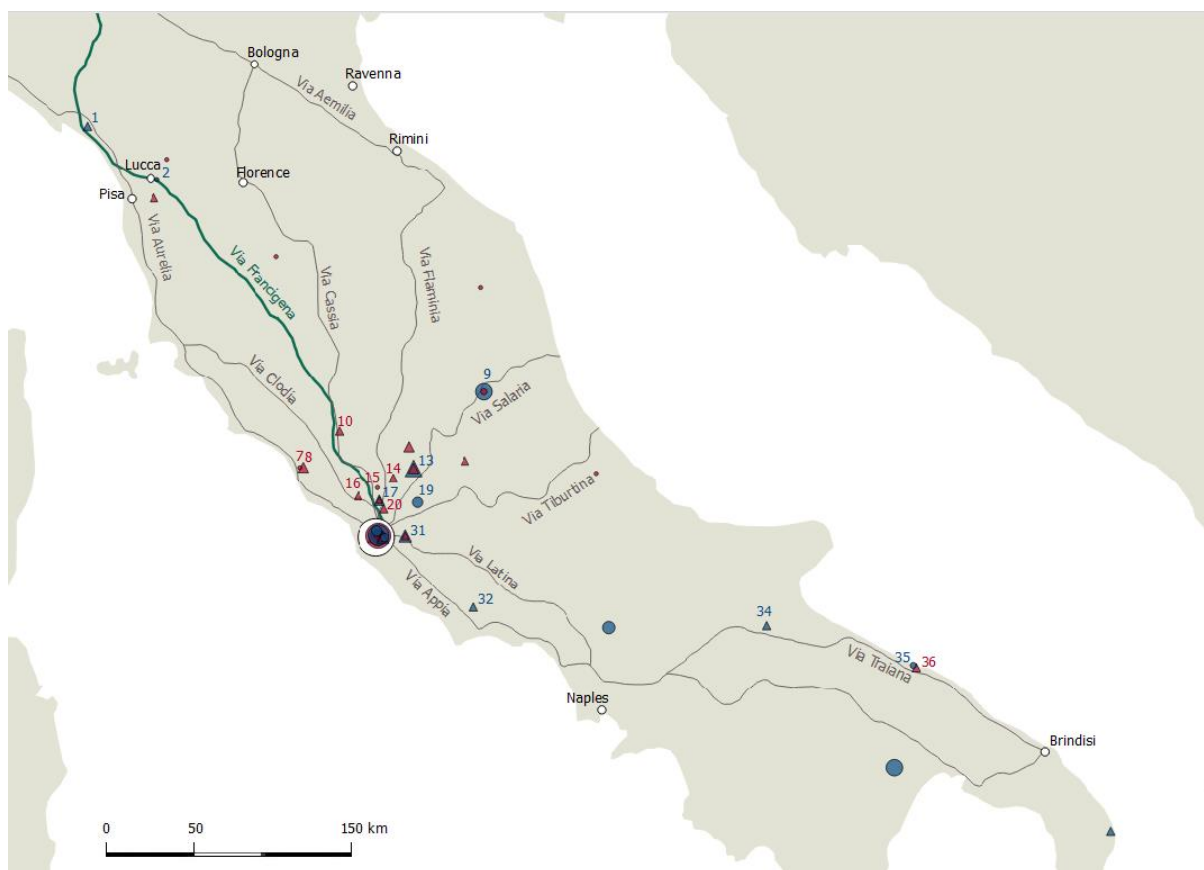


Figure 5.10: Deniers provisois and denari provisini found along ancient consular roads and the Via Francigena (image: author).

Chapter 6

From Economics to Politics:

A Peculiar Commune and its Republican Legacy

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 5, the *denaro provisino* served multiple economic and religious functions, as a measure of account, a means of exchange, a store of wealth, and as an offering to shrines or ordinary graves. This chapter, however, will examine the hypothesis that the secular authority in Rome also used the *denaro provisino* as a vehicle for political messages to justify its power.

With this function, the *denaro provisino* was part of a complex propaganda programme, which aimed to present the local mixed elite as a genuine heir of ancient Roman institutions.¹⁶⁰ This elite also included merchants very active in national and international trade, who asserted themselves in Rome, as well as in numerous cities in northern and central Italy.¹⁶¹ Section 6.2 will describe the rise of these elites as a wide phenomenon, but which occurred in Rome relatively late compared to other Italian communes.

Section 6.3 will then explore the ways in which the leading class utilized ancient values and traditions in order to build a stronger sense of identity among Romans and to present itself

¹⁶⁰ According to Brezzi, the renaissance of ancient values was first developed by Rome's elite in the early tenth century. See Brezzi, *Studi su Roma*.

¹⁶¹ As for the communal movement in Italy, see: Elisa Occhipinti, *L'Italia dei comuni. Secoli XI-XIII* (Rome: Carocci editore, 2000); Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*; Ludovico Gatto, *L'Italia dei comuni e delle signorie. La nascita e lo sviluppo dei governi locali nel Medioevo* (Rome: Newton Compton, 2012).

as the legitimate successor of ancient Rome's authorities. The renaissance of Antiquity will be discussed here as an eclectic process, which influenced a variety of areas, such as legislation, architecture, popular culture and military strategies. This same section will also detail the examples of Arnold of Brescia (1090-1155) and Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354) as leaders of the communal movement in Rome (Sections 6.3.5.1 and 6.3.5.2 respectively) – their use of the ancient past clearly indicating that the recovery of pagan traditions for political purposes was consistent across the communal period.

Section 6.4 will then focus on the *denaro provisino* as one of the diverse tools exploited by the commune to present itself as a living image of ancient Rome. Particular focus will be placed on the legends SENATVS.P.Q.R. and ROMACAPVTMVNDI, as well as on the obverse and reverse symbols of this issue. Through the systematic analysis of the iconographic features of the *denaro provisino*, this section will discuss what this coin can reveal about the real role played in Rome by the Senate, which has traditionally been considered a secondary institution when compared to the papacy.

6.2. Rome's Distinctive Identity in the Communal Period

From c.1100 until c.1350, most of the cities and towns in northern and central Italy transformed into independent city-states, which probably came to be called communes in c.1120 – the formula *comune civitatis* frequently appears in documents from this time onwards.¹⁶² Before 1100, these cities had been held by aristocratic, military and also clerical elites such as counts and bishops – thus, figures who were fully part of traditional institutionalized hierarchies.¹⁶³ In c.1100, however, new urban collectives started to develop in the north and centre of the

¹⁶² Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*, pp. 12–13.

¹⁶³ Chris Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World: The Emergence of Italian City Communes in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 6.

peninsula. These organizations included most of the male citizens, usually bound together by oaths,¹⁶⁴ and were run by magistrates called by different names in different cities – amongst these were *Consul* and *Senator*. Every year, citizens could choose, or at least validate, their magistrates. The latter had freedom of action in welfare and justice, taxation and legislation, although they were nominally subjugated to superior powers, namely, the pope and the emperor.¹⁶⁵ These communal magistrates generally belonged to a dynamic social class, which started to gain power through national and international trade and as a result of close relationships with the citizens. Under the guidance of this commercial elite, in the early twelfth century, most of the urban collectivities in central and northern Italy promoted the establishment of popular governments and the development of communes. Although this phenomenon was usually not the result of open conflict, Rome officially became a commune through a revolt. Indeed, Wickham defines Rome as ‘the major exception’ to the relatively peaceful establishment of communes in Italy.¹⁶⁶

As highlighted by Menant, across the communal period, population and urbanisation increased so dramatically that these had no equal elsewhere in medieval Europe. Indeed, in c.1300, Florence, Venice and Milan, each had 100,000 inhabitants, thirteen other communes had between 20,000 and 40,000 people and another forty-six cities had between 10,000 and 20,000 individuals. It is only possible to estimate Rome’s population size because of the scarcity of information. It has been generally agreed that, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, Rome had 50,000 individuals at most, but that a few decades later, the population size reached a peak of c.80,000 inhabitants.¹⁶⁷ Menant’s study only provides approximate numbers for c.1300 (between 40,000 and 80,000 inhabitants, as indicated in Table 6.1), whereas Maire

¹⁶⁴ Gerhard Dilcher, *Die Entstehung der Lombardischen Stadtkommune* (Aalen: Verlag, 1967), pp. 142–58.

¹⁶⁵ Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 15–16.

¹⁶⁶ Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁷ Gatto, *Storia di Roma*, p. 359; 395.

Vigueur supposes that Rome had 50,000 people at that time, and between 30,000 and 50,000 inhabitants in the late fourteenth century.¹⁶⁸

The first mention of municipal institutions in documents is the criterion most commonly used to identify when the communal movement first developed in Italy. It is therefore generally assumed that numerous cities turned into communes between the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, such as Pisa in 1081-1085, Asti in 1095, Milan in 1097, Arezzo in 1098, Genoa in 1099, Ferrara and Pistoia in 1105, Lucca in 1115 and almost every other developed city in central and northern Italy before 1130. Menant, however, has asserted that we should consider the official rise of communal magistrates as the *end result* of a long formation process, during which citizens started to aggregate into communities ruled by authorities without titles.¹⁶⁹

Rome is late in this sequence: the city was formally constituted into a commune between 1143 and 1144, after fighting against Tivoli – one of its greatest rivals – for two years. On 7 July 1143 the latter was finally defeated, but this victory was not enough for Rome, which demanded that Tivoli be razed to the ground. However, Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) chose to take Tivoli under his protection and offered it relatively generous terms. As asserted by Otto of Freising (1109-1158), because of this decision, the Romans immediately rose up against Innocent, set up a new collegial government known as the Roman Senate and declared the establishment of a commune.¹⁷⁰ On this basis, in comparison with other Italian cities, the communal movement reached Rome quite late and as a violent and perhaps unexpected event.

Two elements, however, would support the hypothesis that a communal identity, autonomous from traditional powers, actually evolved in Rome some decades before 1143. Firstly, a short document preserved in the chartulary of the monastery of Montecassino – the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* – attests that in 1127 Leone ‘*consul* of the Romans’, three Frangipane

¹⁶⁸ Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*, pp. 125–45; Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 6–10.

¹⁶⁹ Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁰ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia*.

family members (Leone, Cencio and Pietro), Filippo di Alberico and Enrico of Sant'Eustachio, together with sixty *Senatores* and the whole Roman community (*una cum sexaginta senatoribus et cuncto populo Romano urbis*), granted travel permits to the ships of Montecassino.¹⁷¹ These few lines attest to the existence, at least sixteen years before the revolt, of a large aggregation making the sort of concession that had formerly been made by popes. Therefore, it might be argued that the establishment of the Roman Senate in 1143 was not a revolutionary event, but rather the result of a gradual process. Toubert¹⁷² and Maire Viguer¹⁷³ support this reading of events, highlighting that new tribunals, autonomous from the pope, evolved in Rome at least from the 1080s. These new institutions were created by horizontal aggregation, presided over by *consules* and composed of members of guilds and fraternities.¹⁷⁴

Moreover, the violent reaction of the Romans against the generous terms offered to Tivoli by the pope seems to imply that by 1143 Rome's community already had a strong sense of identity, which enabled them to express a sense of opposition to traditional authority and in turn assert their authority over neighbouring cities.

Finally, it is important to recognise that the revolt of 1143 did not have immediate effects. In fact, the revived Senate took a whole year to assert itself, since in 1144 Pope Lucius II (1144-1145) forced it to abjure, and the Senators could only return to power when Lucius fell seriously ill. Even later senatorial documents attest that the establishment of the Senate in Rome was a gradual process, since their dating clauses refer to an era beginning with the renewal of the Holy Senate (*renovatio Sacri Senatus*) between August and September 1144.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of this document, see: Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 437–39.

¹⁷² Toubert, *Les structures du Latium medieval*, pp. 1328–30.

¹⁷³ Jean-Claude Maire Viguer, 'Il comune romano', in *Roma Medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 117–57 (pp. 119–21).

¹⁷⁴ Among the documents attesting to the existence of tribunals presided by *consules*, are: *Il regesto di Farfa di Gregorio di Catino*, ed. by Ignazio Giorgi and Ugo Balzani (Rome: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1892), vol. 5, no. 1097 (year 1084), no. 1115 (year 1088); *S. Mariae in Via Lata Tabularium*, ed. by Ludo M. Hartmann and Margaret Merores (Rome: Sumptibus et Typis C. Gerold filii, 1895-1913), no. 178 (year 1151), no. 220 (year 1183), and no. 274 (year 1200).

¹⁷⁵ Maire Viguer, 'Il comune romano', in *Roma Medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 117–57 (pp. 118–21).

To conclude, we can argue that Rome became a commune far later in comparison to other Italian cities because of the presence of the pope, as head of the Church and as chief administrator in Rome from the 590s onwards.¹⁷⁶ Throughout the Middle Ages, the pontiff embodied Rome's traditions and beliefs, promoted cohesion and fostered a sense of community through processions and ceremonies within the city.¹⁷⁷ As a result of the pope's authority, even when it became a commune, Rome was distinct from the other city-states: while these were normally ruled by the sole secular authority, Rome developed an organizational structure based on two different powers – the Roman Senate as the secular authority, and the pope as the religious authority.¹⁷⁸ However, the existence of autonomous tribunals in the late eleventh century, along with a solid sense of identity that the Rome community already had in 1143, would suggest that the Romans did not obtain their emancipation from the pope after a single, hostile event – namely, their victory against Tivoli on 7 July 1143. Instead they gained their independence and identity after a long process, which culminated in a popular revolt.

¹⁷⁶ Christie, *The Fall of the Western Roman Empire*, p. 147.

¹⁷⁷ Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 196–99 and Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 375 – 405.

¹⁷⁸ For an overview of the Roman commune, see: Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*; Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City*; Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon*; Paul Hetherington, *Medieval Rome. A Portrait of the City and Its Life* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1994); *Rome aux XIII^e XIV^e siècles*, ed. by Hubert; Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*; André Vauchez, *Roma medievale* (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2001).

Cities	Inhabitants in c.1300
<i>Milan</i>	100,000/150,000 (1288)
<i>Venice</i>	100,000/120,000
<i>Florence</i>	100,000/110,000 (1338)
<i>Siena</i>	52,000 (1318-1320)
<i>Genoa</i>	50,000/80,000
<i>Bologna</i>	50,000 (1294)
<i>Palermo</i>	more than 45,000
<i>Rome</i>	40,000/80,000
<i>Pisa</i>	40,000 (c.1300)
<i>Cremona</i>	40,000
<i>Verona, Naples, Messina</i>	35,000/40,000
<i>Padua</i>	27,000/30,000 (end of 13 th century) 40,000/45,000 (1320)
<i>Perugia</i>	27,000 (1285)
<i>Brescia</i>	20,000/40,000
<i>Pavia, Mantua, L'Aquila, Piacenza, Parma</i>	20,000/30,000
<i>Lucca</i>	20,000/25,000

Table 6.1: Cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants in c.1300 (Source: Menant 2012, p. 132, Table 2). In the cases of Milan, Florence, Siena, Bologna, Pisa, Padua and Perugia, written sources provide precise chronologies (discussed in Menant, pp. 128-131).

6.3. The Renaissance of Antiquity

6.3.1. Different Models of Antiquity

The twelfth century in Europe was a flourishing age marked by the revival of ancient literature and law. This phenomenon, which involved many aspects of European culture, such as higher education, philosophy, systems of law, architecture and sculpture, is commonly known as ‘Renaissance of Antiquity’.¹⁷⁹ A number of scholars explored the ways in which the universal

¹⁷⁹ On the twelfth-century Renaissance in Europe, see: Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969); *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. by Alex J. Novikoff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

powers, namely the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, and local elite promoted the renaissance of traditional values in Rome across the Middle Ages. Amongst them are Schneider¹⁸⁰ and Schramm,¹⁸¹ who explored the intellectual foundations of the Renaissance of Antiquity throughout the Middle Ages until the twelfth century. Schramm presented Emperor Otto III (996–1002) as a key figure in this process and, more specifically, in the renewal of the Roman Christian past – in order to strengthen his position, Otto claimed a close connection with St. Peter by assuming the titles of *servus apostolorum* and *defensor Ecclesiae* and by converting ‘the barbarians’ to Christianity under his leadership. More recently, Benson¹⁸² explored the revival of antiquity in Rome as a complex phenomenon reaching its zenith in the twelfth century and involving different institutions, as indicated by the establishment of the Roman Senate (*renovatio Sacri Senatu*) and by the renewal of the Roman Empire (*renovatio Imperii Romani*). Both the Rome Commune and the German monarchs took as political and constitutional models the period of Late Antiquity and the age of the Christian emperors from Constantine to Justinian. Whilst Benson focussed on these models from the perspective of secular authorities, Herklotz¹⁸³ explored the strategies used by the papacy to highlight its close connection with the Rome of St. Peter and the Christian emperors. Like Benson, Herklotz considered the twelfth century as a period of cultural break, with the Lateran Palace becoming the centre of the papal court. At that time, the Lateran was enriched with monuments, paintings and mosaics, which Herklotz read as part of a complex *propaganda* machine.

The available epigraphical and documentary sources suggest that, among the forms of government experienced by ancient Rome, the Roman Senate also tended to adopt the Republic

¹⁸⁰ Fedor Schneider, *Rome und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: die geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance* (Munich: Drei Masken, 1926).

¹⁸¹ Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und “Renovatio”*, 2 vols (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1929).

¹⁸² Robert L. Benson, ‘Political Renovatio: Two Models from Roman Antiquity’, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable and Carol Dana Lanham (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 339–386.

¹⁸³ Ingo Herklotz, *Gli eredi di Costantino. Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visiva nel XII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 2000).

(509-27 BC) as a model. As discussed in Section 6.3.2, inscriptions such as those on the walls of the Casa dei Crescenzi indicate that, in the twelfth century, Rome's elite knew expressions and formulae typical of Republican intellectuals. In addition, as outlined in Section 6.3.3, twelfth-century aristocracy could distinguish between Republic tradition and Empire tradition and had a particular reverence for the Capitoline hill, namely one of the main symbols of the Republican-senatorial tradition, as suggested by the *De Mirabilia*. It might be argued that the Senate tended to prefer the Republic and the Empire between Constantine and Justinian as models to follow because these were the most suitable to the medieval Senate's needs. Republican institutions protected citizens' rights, encouraged their autonomist aspirations, and strengthened the bonds holding the Roman community together,¹⁸⁴ whilst Christian emperors encouraged and supported the spread of Christianity, and were therefore viewed as models of moral excellence.¹⁸⁵

The universal powers, namely the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, always considered Antiquity as a model to display legitimacy. In line with their ambitions, however, they looked at the Empire of the Christian Emperors, but not at the Republic.¹⁸⁶ This leaning is well demonstrated by the Donation of Constantine (*Donatio Constantini*) – an eighth-century forged decree by which Constantine gave the pope control of Rome and the western part of the Empire.¹⁸⁷ Through this act, the papacy could lay claim to being the legitimate heir to these lands, and using material such as purple porphyry marble, originally exclusively reserved for the emperor.¹⁸⁸ For instance, in 1143, Pope Innocent II was buried in the Lateran Palace, in a

¹⁸⁴ Arnold Esch, 'L'uso dell'antico nell'ideologia papale, imperiale e comunale', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX-XIII. Atti della Quattordicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio. Mendola, 24-28 Agosto 1998* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), pp. 3–25 (p. 17).

¹⁸⁵ Benson, 'Political Renovatio', p. 359.

¹⁸⁶ Esch, 'L'uso dell'antico', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁷ Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, trans. by Glen W. Bowersock (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁸⁸ On the use of porphyry sarcophagi by diverse popes, see: Cristina Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana dal Liber Pontificalis ai Mirabilia Urbis Romae', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 423–47.

porphyry sarcophagus (*in concha porfirica*)¹⁸⁹ that apparently had originally held the body of the Roman emperor Hadrian – this belief was based on the fact that the sarcophagus was from Castel Sant’Angelo, the former mausoleum of Hadrian. Similarly, Pope Anastasius IV was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus (*in porfiritico pretioso sepulcro*) in the Lateran Palace, in 1154.¹⁹⁰

Like the papacy, Holy Roman Emperors constantly referred to ancient Roman models. For instance, Charlemagne – King of the Franks from 768 and Holy Roman Emperor from 800 – put the motto *Renovatio Roman(i) imp(erii)* on his own seal and was depicted as an ancient Roman emperor on coinage. His successors followed his example: for instance, Otto III (996-1002) introduced titles for his officers taken from classical tradition such as *protospatharius*, *archilogotheta* and *logotheta*, and built his own residence on the Palatine Hill, next to the ruins of former imperial palaces.¹⁹¹ Under Otto III the formula *Roma caput mundi* became part of the imperial propaganda apparatus and, between the reigns of Conrad II (1027-1039) and Frederick II (1220-1250), it also appeared on imperial seals (*Roma caput mundi, tenet orbis frena rotundi*).¹⁹² Another indicative example of imperial power looking back to ancient traditions is Frederick I (1152-1190): as attested by his biographer Rahewinus, Frederick tried to restore the empire to its ancient glory, and fought against the Italian communes, which he considered as usurpers.¹⁹³ His laws were included in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*,¹⁹⁴ a collection of past laws and legal interpretations of the greatest Roman jurists, compiled under Emperor

¹⁸⁹ Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire par l’abbé Duchesne* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), vol. 2, p. 252.

¹⁹⁰ Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, p. 388.

¹⁹¹ Hubert Houben, ‘La componente romana nell’istituzione imperiale da Ottone I a Federico II’, in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 27–47 (pp. 31–32).

¹⁹² Houben, ‘La componente romana’, in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 32.

¹⁹³ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*, ed. by Georg Waitz (Hannover-Lipsia: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912), vol. 4, 86, p. 345.

¹⁹⁴ Andrea Padovani, ‘Il diritto, un passato “monumentalizzato”’, in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 49–70 (p. 53).

Justinian I (529-565).¹⁹⁵ The *Institutiones* – one of the sections of this *Corpus* – was the first to be copied in Rome in the early eleventh century, while the full *Corpus* was copied a few decades later. It is therefore likely that once copies and trained legal experts became available, the *Corpus* readily slipped into usage in Rome.¹⁹⁶ Interestingly, transcribers included the laws of Frederick I in Justinian's corpus as 'authentic'. Arguably, this co-existence of Justinianic and Frederician edicts was part of a propaganda programme aimed at setting Frederick I's actions on the same level as Justinian's ones and, ultimately, supporting Frederick as the legitimate heir of the ancient Roman emperors.

This section indicates that, indeed, Rome's secular and religious authorities used Antiquity as a means to establish their legitimacy during the Middle Ages. From the eighth century onwards, these two institutions always represented themselves as the heirs of ancient Rome in many different ways; the Roman Senate simply followed this leaning, as suggested not least by its name.

6.3.2. *The Use of Spolia in Medieval Rome*

This revival of the Antique also extended to architecture. Already from the fifth century, *spolia* – namely, parts of sculptures, inscriptions or other elements from ancient monuments – were re-used in the construction of churches in Rome. Particularly pronounced under the Carolingians in the ninth century, and again in the twelfth century, this practice can be mostly observed in the restoration of numerous churches and in the construction of aristocratic buildings. Among the churches renovated with *spolia*, is San Clemente, where pope Paschal II (1099-1118) supported restoration works that included the construction of a pulpit composed

¹⁹⁵ The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* is available at the web-site: <http://amshistorica.unibo.it/176> . On the use of Justinianic law in medieval Rome and archival sources attesting to this phenomenon: Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 366–75.

¹⁹⁶ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 367–68.

of paleo-Christian marble chancel screens (*transennae*). Similarly, Callixtus II (1119-1123) made the main nave of San Crisogono a ritual triumphal way, by re-using ancient Roman columns, bases and capitals. A few years later, in 1140, columns were taken from the Baths of Caracalla for similar re-use in Santa Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 6.1).¹⁹⁷ In this same church – as elsewhere in the city – floors were restored with decorative ancient stones including purple and green porphyry examples laid in a bed of mortar. This technique developed in the thirteenth century in the typical architectural style of medieval Rome, known as ‘Cosmatesque’ – the name deriving from ‘Cosmati’, the family of marble craftsmen who first developed this style in the city.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ On the use of *spolia* in Rome throughout the Middle Ages, see: Serena Romano; Dale Kinney, ‘Roman Architectural Spolia’, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 145, 2, 2001, pp. 138–61; Dale Kinney, ‘Rome in the Twelfth Century: Urbs Fracta and Renovatio’, *Gesta*, 45.2 (2006), 199–220; Dale Kinney, ‘Le basiliche di XII secolo tra tradizioni e innovazioni’, in *La cattedrale cosmatesca di Civita Castellana. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Civita Castellana, 18-19 Settembre 2010)*, ed. by Luca Creti (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2012), pp. 53–75; Dario Del Bufalo, *Il riutilizzo dei marmi antichi nel medioevo a Roma* (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2010); Dale Kinney, ‘Spoliation in Medieval Rome’, in *Perspektiven der Spolienforschung: Spolierung und Transposition*, ed. by Stefan Altekamp, Carmen Marcks-Jacobs, and Peter Seiler (Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 261–86.

¹⁹⁸ For an overview of the Cosmatesque style see: Peter C. Claussen, ‘Marmi antichi nel Medioevo romano. L’arte dei Cosmati’, in *Marmi antichi*, ed. by Gabriele Borghini (Rome: De Luca Editori d’Arte, 1989), pp. 65–79.



Figure 6.1: Reused columns in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere (source: Kinney 2006, p. 202, Fig. 3).

In the twelfth century, a restoration programme is also seen for some of the main secular ancient monuments in Rome. For instance, the Column of Marcus Aurelius (AD 176-192) became property of the monastery of *San Silvestro*, as declared on a plaque dated 1119 and erected in the atrium of the church. The inscription ends with the following anathema:

If anyone should seize the column of our monastery, let him be permanently cursed as the impious predator and usurper of sacred things and be forever subject to anathema.

*SI Q(UI)S EX HOMINIB(US) CO/LUMPNA(M) P(ER) VIOLENTIAM A
N(OST)RO / MON(ASTERIO)SUBTRAXERIT, P(ER)PETUE / MALEDICTIONI
SICUTI SACRI / LEGUS ET RAPTOR ET S(AN)C(T)ARUM / RERU(M) INVASOR*

*SUBIACEAT ET / ANATHEMATIS VINCULA P(ER)PE/TUO TENEATUR
FIAT.*¹⁹⁹

A similar edict was issued by the Roman Senate for the conservation of the Column of Trajan (AD 113), on 27 March 1162. It is likely that this edict was also engraved on stone, although no inscriptions survive.²⁰⁰ Also, in 1157, a section of the Aurelian Wall (AD 271-275) near the Lateran Palace was completely restored by the Senate, and a classical-style plaque was erected on the section rebuilt in commemoration of this act (Fig. 6.2). The inscription on the plaque, still in situ, reads:

In the Sant'Angelo district. In the year 1157 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Roman Senate and people rebuilt these old and dilapidated walls, when the Senators were Sasso, Johannes de Alberico, Roieri Buccane, Pinzo Filippo, Johannes de Parenzo, Petrus Deustesalvi, Cencio de Ansoino, Rainaldo Romano, and Nicola Mannetto.

*R(EGIONE) S(ANCTI) A(N)G(E)L(I) / ANNO MCLVII INCARN(A)T(IONIS) /
D(OMI)NI N(OST)RI IH(ΣO)Y XRI(ΣTOY) S(ENATVS) P(OPOLVS)Q(UE)
R(OMANVS) HEC MENIA / VETVSTA ET DILAPSA RESTAVRAVIT
SENATORES SASSO IOH(ANNE)S DE AL/BERICO ROJERI BVCCACANE,
PINZO / FILIPPO IOH(ANNE)S DE PARENZO PETRVS / D(EV)STESALVI
CENCIO DE ANSOINO / RAINALDO ROMANO / NICOLA MANNETTO*²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Translated by Stefano Riccioni in Louis I. Hamilton and Stefano Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined: Twelfth-Century Jews, Christians and Muslims Encounter the Eternal City* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 455–56.

²⁰⁰ Hamilton and Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined*, p. 456. The inscription is available in *Codice diplomatico* ed. by Bartoloni, pp. 25–27.

²⁰¹ Translated by Beneš in Carrie E. Beneš, 'Whose SPQR?: Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome', *Speculum*, 84.4 (2009), 874–904 (p. 879).

Apart from the abbreviation ‘Q’ crossed by the tail, which was introduced by medieval scribes to indicate the suffix ‘-que’, this plaque closely imitates those inscriptions that, under ancient Rome, were placed by institutions or private citizens on monuments to commemorate restorations. Most probably, therefore, the plaque on the Aurelianic defences represents one of the multiple tools used by the Rome commune to show itself as the living embodiment of ancient authorities.



Figure 6.2: Plaque erected by the Roman Senate in 1157 and commemorating the restoration of a section of the Aurelian Walls (source: author).

The ‘rediscovery’ of Antiquity is also seen in some residential buildings, which often include ancient remains in their exterior as well as interior design. The so-called Casa dei Crescenzi is the most significant example of this phenomenon (Fig. 6.3).²⁰² This building was probably built by Nicola di Cencio between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although

²⁰² Marcello Barbanera and Stefania Pergola, ‘Elementi architettonici antichi e post-antichi riutilizzati nella cd. Casa dei Crescenzi. La “memoria dell’antico” nell’edilizia civile’, *BullCom*, 98 (1997), 301–28.

defined as a ‘house’ (*casa*), it is actually an ornate tower: semi-columns and pilasters adorn the exterior, recalling the walls of the nearby first-century BC Temple of *Fortuna Virilis* (Fig. 6.4). The façade features ancient marble corbels depicting victories and winged genii; to the right of the main door there is a window, whose parapet is a likely first-century AD panel.²⁰³ The southern side is similarly decorated with ancient corbels showing winged figures and supporting two overlapping re-used friezes, one with hunting scenes, the other with floral decoration. Finally, this complex decorative apparatus is surmounted by corbels and marble rosettes (Figs. 6.5 and 6.6). Three Latin inscriptions engraved in ancient marble slabs are also present, one on the southern side and the other two on the house’s façade. The inscription on the southern wall is as follows:

You, citizens, who pass these magnificent buildings, judge from this house what a man Nicola is.

*VOS QUI TRANSITIS HEC OPTIMA TECTA QUIRITIS / HAC TEMPTATE
DOMO OS NICOLAUS HOMO*²⁰⁴

Interestingly, this inscription refers to the people of Rome as ‘*quirites*’, which was the earliest official designation for Rome’s citizens in ancient times. The etymology of this term is uncertain; according to the most accepted hypothesis, however, it might derive from the word ‘spear’ (*quiris* in Latin) and indicate the standing *militia*.²⁰⁵ Regardless of the origin of this term, the presence of the word ‘*quirites*’ in this inscription is important, since it suggests that the owner of the Casa dei Crescenzi was a notable, erudite man, or at least he sought to seem like one. To do so, and to highlight any connection with ancient institutions, Nicola used not

²⁰³ Barbanera and Pergola, 'Elementi architettonici', pp. 306–7.

²⁰⁴ Translated by Riccioni in Hamilton and Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined*, p. 460.

²⁰⁵ The hypotheses on the etymology of the term ‘*quirites*’ are illustrated in Robert E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 156–60.

only *spolia*, but also the language of his predecessors, a language which at that time persisted in the form of inscriptions and classical literature. The term ‘*quirites*’ largely occurs in ancient Roman authors who were known in the communal period, including Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-143 BC), Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86-34 BC),²⁰⁶ Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC),²⁰⁷ Titus Livius (59 BC-AD 17)²⁰⁸ and Marcus Anneus Lucanus (AD 39-65).²⁰⁹ Cicero, in particular, often refers to the Romans as ‘*quirites*’ in his orations.²¹⁰

In summary, as the available written sources suggest, classical authors were indeed part of the cultural baggage of the Roman elite in the twelfth century and, more generally, the Rome commune was certainly involved in that complex and widespread phenomenon across Europe known as the ‘twelfth-century Renaissance’. In support of this hypothesis, it is interesting to note that, in this same period, ‘Tullius’ and ‘Cicero’ were popular as first names among Roman aristocrats,²¹¹ as indicated by two senatorial records of the 1180s, one mentions a judge named Tullius²¹² and the other a certain Bartholomeus Cicero Senator.²¹³

²⁰⁶ Gaius Sallustius Crispus, *Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War, Histories*, trans. by William W. Batstone, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2010), Chapter 29. 3.

²⁰⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Frederick Ahl (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Book 7. 706.

²⁰⁸ Titus Livius, *History of Rome by Titus Livius, the First Eight Books*, ed. by Daniel Spillan (London: Henry G. Bohn. John Child and son, printers, 1857). Amongst the examples, see: Book 1.13.5, Book 2.23.8, Book 3.11.12; Book 4.3.2; Book 5.2.9; Book 6.14.10.

²⁰⁹ Marcus Anneus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, trans. by Jane Wilson Joyce, Bohn's Classical Library (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), Book 5.237.

²¹⁰ For example, Cicero used the term ‘*quirites*’ in the following orations: *Post Reditum ad Quirites* (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Archia. Post Reditum in Senatu. Post Reditum ad Quirites. De Domo Sua. De Haruspicum Responsis. Pro Plancio*, trans. by N. H. Watts (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), pp. 100–101, 102–103, 108–109, 120–121, 122–123, 126–127, and 130–131), *Pro Lege Manilia* (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia*, trans. by H. Grose Hodge (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 14–15, 26–27, 34–35, and 82–83), *De Lege Agraria* (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Quinctio. Pro Roscio Amerino. Pro Roscio Comoedo. On the Agrarian Law*, trans. by J. H. Freese (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 374–75, 380–81, and 486–87), *In Catilina* (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Catilinam 1-4. Pro Murena. Pro Sulla. Pro Flacco*, trans. by C. MacDonald (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 70–71, 98–99, and 130–33), *Philippicae* (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cicero, Philippics 3-9*, trans. by Gesine Manuwald (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), pp. 191–98); *Pro Cluentio* (Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia*, pp. 208–443) and *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* (Cicero, *Pro Lege Manilia*, pp. 444–92).

²¹¹ Dario Internullo (Università di Roma Tre), who is currently working on the cultural background of the leading class in Rome between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, presented preliminary results of his research at the research seminar *Nuovi Studi su Onorio III (1216-1227)*, held at the Pontificia Università Antonianum in Rome on 15 May 2018.

²¹² *Codice diplomatico*, ed. by Bartoloni, p. 59.

²¹³ *Codice diplomatico*, ed. by Bartoloni, p. 74.

Returning to the analysis of the Casa dei Crescenzi, this building shows further interesting decorative elements, including a second inscription, set above the window on the façade that reads:

I am here a great honour for the Roman people; the image shows the author who had me made.

*ADSUM ROMANIS GRANDIS HONOR POPULIS / INDICAT EFFIGIES QUIS
ME P[ER]FECERIT AUCTOR*²¹⁴

As this compact text suggests, it is very likely that a marble bust representing the owner of the building was originally placed on the façade. Although it is not possible to verify when the bust disappeared, we do know that it was no longer on the façade when Ferdinand Gregorovius visited the Casa dei Crescenzi in c.1852 – in his guide to Rome, he asserts that the bust was already removed.²¹⁵

Finally, a lengthier inscription placed on the architrave of the main door of this building provides further details about Nicola. An extract is as follows:

Nicholas, whose house this is, was not ignorant. He understands that the glory of the world is as nothing to him. In truth he did this not compelled by vainglory but to renew the ancient splendour of Rome. When you are in beautiful houses, reflect upon tombs, you who have trusted God do not stay there long. Death is borne on wings; no one's life is forever. Our stay here is brief, and the course of life is fleeting. Though you run like the wind, though you lock the doors a hundred times; though you boast a thousand ships [or sentinels], you will not recline without death.

²¹⁴ Translated by Riccioni in Hamilton and Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined*, p. 459.

²¹⁵ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 178.

+NON FUIT IGNARUS CUIUS DOMUS HEC NICOLAUS QUOD NIL
MOMENTI SIBI MUNDI GLORIA SENTIT / VERUM QUOD FECIT HANC NON
TAM VANA COEGIT GLORIA QUAM ROME VETEREM RENOVARE
DECOREM /
+ IN DOMIBUS PULCRIS MEMORES ESTOTE SEPULCRIS CONFISIQUE TIU
NON IBI STARE DIU MORS VEHITUR PENNIS / NULLI SUA VITA
PERHENNIS MANSIO NOSTRA BREVIS CURSUS ET IPSE LEVIS SI FUGIAS
VENTUM SI CLAUDAS OSTIA CENTUM / LISGOR MILLE IUBES NON SINE
MORTE CUBES.²¹⁶

As suggested by the evocative lines reported above, the main inscription of the Casa dei Crescenzi is unique: the subject, the style and the tone employed are very unusual for such an object and should probably be explained by Nicola's desire to show himself as a cultured Roman – the intention behind every architectural element of the town-house.

²¹⁶ Translated by Riccioni in Hamilton and Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined*, p. 459.



Figure 6.3: The Casa dei Crescenzi (source: author).



Figure 6.4: Temple of Fortuna Virilis, Rome – the Casa dei Crescenzi is on the left in the background. At the moment, this side of the temple is covered by vegetation (source: Giorgio Sommer, c.1865 – Fondo Romano, Archivio Fotografico e Cartografico di Roma).

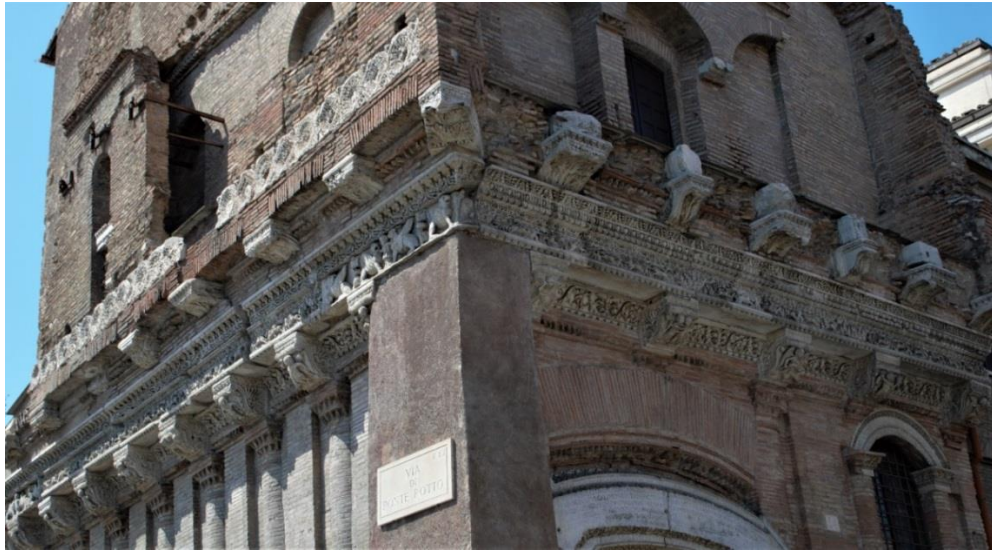


Figure 6.5: Decoration of the southern and eastern sides of the Casa dei Crescenzi (source: author).



Figure 6.6: Decoration of the southern side of the Casa dei Crescenzi – frieze (a) and detail (b) (source: author).

To conclude, in the early communal period, extensive resources were invested to make Rome a living image of the ancient *caput mundi*. Numerous churches were restored through the use of *spolia*, and private buildings likewise adorned with ancient marbles. Furthermore, greater attention was paid to the preservation of selected ancient monuments. As suggested by the architectural evidence examined above, however, the re-use of ancient remains was not the result of passive influence. Instead, it seems to be the symptom of an *active* reinterpretation of Rome's past promoted by a well-educated elite. In other words, Rome's medieval architecture provides evidence of an elite who wanted to not just familiarize, but learn, understand and embrace their past.

6.3.3. Ancient Rome as Depicted by Medieval Writers

The *De Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, a medieval handbook about ancient Roman monuments, clearly reflects how the renaissance of Antiquity was also expressed in literature.²¹⁷ The first version of this manual is included in the *Liber Politicus* of Benedict – a canon of the church of St. Peter, written between 1140 and 1143. A further two copies of the *De Mirabilia* are integrated into the *Liber Censuum* by Cencio Camerario (1192) and the *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum* by Martino Polono (late thirteenth century).²¹⁸

This manual is divided into thirty-two chapters, including a description of Rome's walls, gates and triumphal arches (Chapters 1, 2 and 3 respectively), its hills (Chapter 4), its ancient baths, palaces, theatres and martyrdom places (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8). After describing the

²¹⁷ For an overview of the *De Mirabilia*, see: Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*; Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana' in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 423–47; Maurilio Adriani, 'Paganesimo e cristianesimo nei "Mirabilia Urbis Romae"', *Studi Romani*, 8 (1960), 535–52; Dale Kinney, "'Mirabilia Urbis Romae' in the Classics in the Middle Ages', in *Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (New York, 1989), pp. 207–21; Nine R. Miedema, *Die Mirabilia Romae. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996).

²¹⁸ Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 429.

bridges and cemeteries of Rome (Chapters 9 and 10), the *De Mirabilia* focuses on two important monuments in the city: the church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli on the Capitoline Hill (Chapter 11) and the statues of the Dioscuri erected on the Quirinal Hill (Chapter 12). Their origin is explained by two legends, which are essentially Christian re-interpretations of Emperor Octavian Augustus and the sons of Jupiter, also known as the Dioscuri. Since the Christianisation of pagan icons is a key element in the revival of Antiquity, the two legends cited in Chapters 11 and 12 will be discussed below.

Regarding Santa Maria in Ara Coeli, the *De Mirabilia* reports that the Senate wanted to deify Octavian because of his greatness. Octavian, however, being aware of his mortality, turned to the Tiburtine Sybil who prophesied a future King from Heaven who would rule forever and judge the world; Octavian then had a vision of an altar in the sky, on which lay a virgin with a child; he immediately fell to the ground in reverence, refused the Senators' devotion, 'and worshipped the Christ that should come'. The vision took place in Octavian's bedchamber.²¹⁹ The medieval church was duly built on this site and called Santa Maria *in Ara Coeli*.²²⁰

The *De Mirabilia* also informs us about the origin of the statues of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal. It says that, under Emperor Tiberius, two young and naked philosophers came to Rome, and the emperor, who had been informed about their wisdom, wanted to meet them in his palace. When Tiberius asked these two philosophers the reason for their nakedness, they told him that they wore no clothes because all the things on earth are naked and unconcealed. In order to prove their theory, the Dioscuri asserted that they could tell Tiberius to the letter everything he would do in his palace during their absence. The emperor promised to build a

²¹⁹ According to this legend, Augustus' chamber was placed on the Capitoline Hill. However, Suetonius asserts that Augustus at first lived near the Roman Forum, above the Stairs of the Ringmakers, and then on the Palatine Hill. See: Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars. The Life of Augustus* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1913), p. 237, par. 72.

²²⁰ Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, pp. 35–38.

monument to them on the condition that they could prove this. When the next day the philosophers told Tiberius everything he had done over the past night, a group of five sculptures was duly commissioned in their honour. It included the two naked philosophers standing by two horses, and a woman embraced by snakes, which has been lost. According to the *De Mirabilia*, the horses should represent those ‘powerful princes’ who rule over people, and who one day will be dominated by ‘a full mighty king’ – God. As the woman has a shell full of water, it is very likely that she originally represented Mother Earth – Gaia. However, the *De Mirabilia* interprets her as the Church, encompassed by preachers and provided with baptismal water.²²¹

The two legends included in Chapters 11 and 12 are followed by four other legends related to the origin of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (Chapter 15), the foundation of the Pantheon (Chapter 16), the martyrdom of Abdon and Sennen (Chapter 17) and the institution of the feast of St. Peter in chains (Chapter 18). Like the explanations for the origin of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli and of the Dioscuri, these narratives neatly show how the Holy, communal Rome tried to re-activate and exploit its pagan past, making this part of its providential history.²²²

After describing the main buildings according to topographical order (Chapters 19-31), the author celebrates Rome once more, asserting how its ancient monuments were originally far more numerous than those included in the *De Mirabilia* (Chapter 32).

²²¹ Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, pp. 39–41; Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 405.

²²² On the reinterpretation of Rome’s pagan past in a Christian sense, see: Hamilton and Riccioni, *Rome Re-Imagined*.

As implicitly argued by Haskins²²³ and Schramm²²⁴ and then more extensively by Benson,²²⁵ such a nostalgic reverence for Rome's ruins marks the *De Mirabilia* as one of the most notable twelfth-century expressions of the enthusiasm for Antiquity. The admiration for the ancient Republic is suggested by the emphasis that the author of the *De Mirabilia* places on the Capitoline hill, on the monuments in its environs and, more generally, on Rome's senatorial tradition. In addition, this guide is populated with figures from Rome's ancient and especially Republican past, such as Julius Caesar and Augustus.²²⁶ Interestingly, among the book's thirty-two chapters, only two exclusively focus on Christian Rome – Chapter 8, which describes places where Christians suffered martyrdom, and Chapter 10, on Rome's cemeteries. In the remaining chapters, great emphasis is placed on describing ancient ruins and pagan traditions – traditions, however, often revised according to Christian values. From this perspective, the *De Mirabilia* differs strongly from the *Liber Pontificalis*, which comprises the biographies of popes from St. Peter until the fifteenth century, and which stresses the majesty of churches – the first core of the *Liber* dates back to the sixth century.²²⁷ Unlike the *Liber Pontificalis*, the *De Mirabilia*, which was probably composed in the early twelfth century, focusses on antiquity, and when it examines churches, it is on their origin as pagan temples.²²⁸ It can therefore be asserted that the *De Mirabilia* reflects the spirit and atmosphere of Rome in the twelfth century, and the aspirations of Rome's elite at that time: compared to the *Liber*, this handbook reveals a completely different attitude towards the past, the same attitude showed by the Roman Senate to reinforce its power in the early communal period (1140s-1250s).

²²³ Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1927).

²²⁴ See the edition of the *De Mirabilia* by Schramm in Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, vol. 2, p. 68–111; Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, vols 4 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968–1971), 3.331–359 and 4.1.22–42.

²²⁵ Benson, 'Political Renovatio', pp. 351–354.

²²⁶ Benson, 'Political Renovatio', p. 354.

²²⁷ Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 423.

²²⁸ Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 430.

Between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Magister Gregorius, an intellectual from Oxford, wrote a new manual of ancient Rome's monuments, known as *Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*.²²⁹ Unlike the *De Mirabilia*, however, the *Narracio* is exclusively focused on the glorification of Rome's past: it pays no attention to either churches or other devotional places and it includes no reinterpretations of pagan traditions in a Christian sense. The enthusiasm of Magister Gregorius towards Antiquity is genuine and his cultural baggage wide, as suggested by his regular quotes from Latin authors – such as Ovid, Lucan, Virgil and Suetonius – included in the *Narracio*.²³⁰ For example, he describes a statue of Venus that he saw in Rome thus:

Now, I will say a few words on the marble statues that were almost completely destroyed or ruined by the holy [Pope] Gregory. Among them, I will talk about one in particular, which excels in beauty. This effigy was dedicated to Venus by the Romans in that same form in which, according to the legend, she appeared together with Juno and Pallas to Paris during the reckless judgment: naked. The fearless judge, admiring [Venus], said: 'Venus wins over them both'.

Nunc vero pauca subiciam de signis marmoreis, quae paene omnes a beato Gregorio aut deletae aut deturpatae sunt. Quarum unam propter eximiae pulcritudinis speciem primum referam. Haec autem imago a Romanis Veneri dedicata fuit in ea forma, in qua iuxta fabulam cum Iunone et Pallade Paridi in temerario examine dicitur Venus se nudam exhibuisse. Quam temerarius arbiter intuens inquit: Iudicio nostro vincit utramque Venus.

²²⁹ Robert B. C. Huygens, *Magister Gregorius: Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Cristina Nardella, *Il fascino di Roma nel medioevo: Le 'Meraviglie di Roma' di Maestro Gregorio* (Rome: Viella, 2007).

²³⁰ Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, p. 444.

This section clearly indicates that the ultimate aim of the *Narracio* was to glorify Rome's ancient past through the description of ruins and by evoking pagan myths and ancient authors. Magister Gregorius records, for example, the legend of the judgement of Paris, which led to the Trojan War. This legend is only briefly mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*;²³¹ however, Ovid fully describes it in his *Heroides*.²³² Magister Gregorius certainly knew Ovid's work, as demonstrated by his quoting of the latter after describing the statue of Venus (*vincit utramque Venus*);²³³ it is therefore likely that he learnt of the judgement of Paris from this Latin author. Ultimately, what this passage suggests is that, in the twelfth century, Rome's ancient culture was not only part of the Roman aristocrats' cultural baggage, but it also aroused great interest among foreign intellectuals – including Magister Gregorius – and this certainly says something about the evocative power that Rome's ancient past had not only in Italy, but across Europe in medieval times.

As often declared in the *Narracio*, Magister Gregorius conjured up a description of Rome's ruins to denounce those who contributed to the destruction of Rome's heritage. Amongst them is Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), who sought to convert pagans through the demolition of their temples and *idols* – the passage cited above begins with an accusation against Gregory.²³⁴ The indignant words of Magister Gregorius reveal that not only aristocrats, but also intellectuals gave importance to Rome's ruins as part of their cultural heritage.

In summary, the literary production of the twelfth century noticeably indicates that the revival of Antiquity extended into literature. It is clear that the spread of works such as the *De Mirabilia* and *Narracio* and the development of Rome's communal ideology were part of the

²³¹ *The Iliad: A New Translation by Peter Green*, ed. by Peter Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), Book 24. 25–30.

²³² *Ovid's Heroides: A New Translation and Critical Essays*, ed. by Paul Murgatroyd, Bridget Reeves, and Sarah Parker (London: Routledge, 2017), 5. 33.

²³³ *Ars Amatoria, Book 1*, ed. by Adrian S. Hollis (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1. 247.

²³⁴ Nardella, 'L'antiquaria romana', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 445–46.

same complex phenomenon: the *De Mirabilia* came into being between 1140 and 1143, just when Rome was officially developing into a commune; similarly, Magister Gregorius composed the *Narracio* at the end of the twelfth century, when the Roman Senate was strong and able to stipulate treaties with the papacy. At the current stage of research, there is not enough evidence to suggest a direct connection between the rise of the Rome commune and the flourishing of literature celebrating Rome's ancient past. The idea that Benedictus and Magister Gregorius belonged to an elite of intellectuals with good knowledge of the ancient past and who actively worked to convey the political messages of the Roman Senate sounds fascinating. However, further research is needed to verify this hypothesis.

6.3.4. *The Militia Romanorum: A Living Image of the Ancient Roman Legions?*

The *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum* is a history handbook written in the 1280s which includes eighty-three illustrations on specific events. Although it describes the past history of Rome, Babylon, Nineveh and Troy,²³⁵ seventy-two of its eighty-three illustrations refer to Rome's mythology and history. Interestingly, these illustrations clearly indicate that their author knew about Roman legionary armour, military camps, triumphs and classical architecture. Some of the helmets and armour depicted resemble those of antiquity; also, horses are represented without stirrups – items of tack only introduced in Europe in the Early Middle Ages.²³⁶ Noticeably, in these illustrations, soldiers often hold shields or standards decorated with the formula SPQR (Fig. 6.11a), although there is no evidence of the original use of this abbreviation on legionary shields²³⁷ – military standards and shields displaying the letters SPQR are in fact

²³⁵ Nilgen, *Roma e antichità romane*, in *Roma antica nel Medioevo*, pp. 456–60.

²³⁶ Lynn T. White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 1–38.

²³⁷ Beneš, 'Whose SPQR?' p. 875; Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1984), p. 67 and plates; Michael Grant, *The Army of the Caesars* (London: Macmillan Publisher & Co., 1974), p. 269 and plates.

attested to for the first time only in the communal period.²³⁸ Other medieval elements appear: Rome and the cities conquered by the Romans, such as Fidene and Carthage, are defended by medieval crenellated walls and towers (Fig. 6.11b), and some soldiers even use damascene swords (Fig. 6.11a), which the Europeans imitated from the Muslim world at the time of the Crusades.²³⁹ Such co-existence of ancient and medieval elements might suggest that the author of these illustrations had limited knowledge of Rome's past and was strongly influenced by his own time; accordingly, he might have simply used Rome's communal shields to clearly designate the soldiers as Romans.

It is also possible, however, that the *Liber Ystoriarum* intentionally combines elements from ancient and medieval military contexts to represent a different reality, wherein Antiquity and the Middle Ages naturally co-exist. Following this hypothesis, the conquest of Fidene or Carthage might deliberately recall much more recent military campaigns conducted by the army of the Rome commune in central Italy. Known as *Militia Romanorum*, this corps was mainly composed of that same elite who promoted the revolt in 1143 and who ruled Rome as Senators from c.1144 to c.1250.

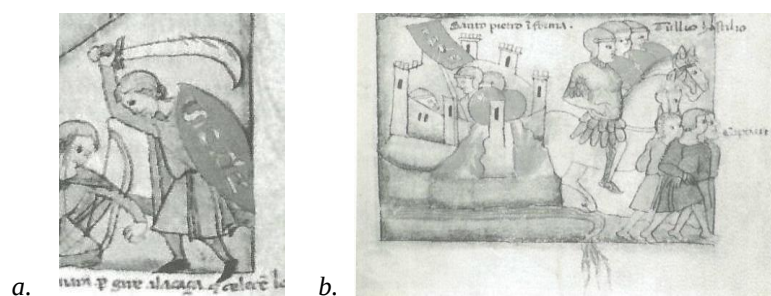


Figure 6.11: a. Assassination of Remus – detail of the scene, showing the shield with the abbreviation SPQR (source: *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, f. 29r); and b. Destruction of Fidene (source: *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, f. 34r).

²³⁸ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 268.

²³⁹ Madeleine Durand-Charre, *Microstructure of Steels and Cast Irons* (Berlin: Springer, 2004), p. 20.

From the twelfth century onwards, Rome invested substantial resources and incurred a heavy loss of men, in attempts to annihilate its main rivals in central Italy. As highlighted by Wickham, compared to other major cities, Rome controlled an extremely large area (c.6000 km²), which was more than double the area under the influence of Milan (c.2500 km²), one of the most powerful cities in Italy at that time. Rome's hinterland extended from Sutri in the north to Velletri in the south, and inside this area, only Albano, Tivoli and Tuscolo represented real obstacles to Rome. However, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the *Militia Romanorum* had to suppress revolts in numerous minor centres – among them Viterbo, Sutri and Narni (north of Rome), and Anagni, Velletri and Terracina (south of Rome). As observed by Gregorovius, it seemed that this commune was going back to ancient times, when Rome, as a Republic, had to deal with Latin and Etruscan centres in order to assert its dominance and autonomy in central Italy.²⁴⁰ In propaganda terms, the fact that the *Militia Romanorum* and the legions of ancient Rome Republic operated in the same area might have been highly significant. Given that the commune used every opportunity to portray itself as a living embodiment of ancient Rome, it would not be surprising that the renaissance of Antiquity extended to the art of fighting – in addition to architecture and literature.

Owing to their considerable size and proximity, and their requests for independence, Albano, Tivoli and Tuscolo in fact represented a real political/economic menace to Rome. Their revolts were therefore punished with great cruelty: thus, Albano, the smallest of these three centres and the first to succumb, was razed to the ground in 1168; its end is described thus in the *Annales Ceccanenses* (dating to 1217):²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 93.

²⁴¹ 'Annales Ceccanenses', in *MGH SS, Vol. 19*, ed. by Georgius H. Pertz (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866), p. 286.

In April 1168, the Roman army under the guidance of emperor's chancellor and Rome's Prefect marched against the city of Albano, and razed this to the ground. They did not allow for its reconstruction. The noted archbishop Corradus wanted to reach the Campania [now the province of Frosinone] along with the army of Pope Alexander [III] in order to subjugate Albano, but he did not succeed since the counts of Ceccano courageously resisted his attack.

1168. ind. 1. mense Aprili Romani cum cancellario imperatoris et cum praefecto Romae perrexerunt super civitatem Albanensem, et dextruxerunt illam a fundamentis, et non sinebant illam reaedificare. Praedictus Corradus archiepiscopus voluit introire in Campaniam cum exercitu Alexandri papae, ut subiugaret illam, sed non valuit, quia comites de Ceccano resistebant ei fortiter.

(Annales Ceccanenses in MGH SS, Vol. 19, p. 286)

Tuscolo suffered the same fate as Albano in 1191. A first military campaign was launched by Rome in 1167, and five years later Tuscolo was forced to demolish all of its fortifications. Soon after however, its inhabitants rebuilt some bastions, and this move led Rome to attack Tuscolo again in 1183. The latter was finally defeated through the support of Emperor Henry VI in 1191.²⁴² In his chronicle,²⁴³ Roger of Hoveden (died c.1201) asserts that the treatment inflicted on the rebels by Rome was vicious: while some were 'simply' killed, some were punished through the amputation of their feet, some by blinding, and some with the amputation of hands, which were then suspended around the necks of the victims (*quosdam enim ex illis quos capiebant morti tradebant omnino, quosdam mutilatos pedibus, quosdam orbatos oculis, quosdam truncates manibus collo suspensis*). The violence perpetrated was such that, it is

²⁴² Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 268–70.

²⁴³ 'Ex Rogerii de Hoveden Chronica', in *MGH SS, Vol. 27*, ed. by Ferdinand Liebermann (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1885), p. 155.

claimed, not even a single stone of Tuscolo remained (*lapis super lapidem non remansit*). After Tuscolo was destroyed, its lands were consigned to the pope and any survivors were forced to leave the site.²⁴⁴

Another key rival was Tivoli, which Wickham defines as Rome's only serious rival for over 80 km in any direction.²⁴⁵ In 1140, Tivoli managed to put the Roman army to flight; in 1141, Rome responded with great violence and, supported by Pope Innocent II (1130-1143), obtained Tivoli's capitulation. Rome's citizens wanted to punish its rival with full destruction, but Innocent preferred to sign a peace treaty on the following terms and conditions: the inhabitants of Tivoli would be required to be loyal to St. Peter and the popes; they would not take any action against the pope; they would reveal to the pope any conspiracies against him; they would help the pope maintain his power in Rome and Tivoli and preserve all his gratuities – among them: Ponte Lucano, Vicovaro, San Polo, Cantalupo, Boverano, Burdellum and Ciciliano.²⁴⁶ Infuriated by this treaty, under the guidance of the *Militia Romanorum*, the Romans immediately gathered on the Capitoline Hill, declared war against Tivoli and the pope, established their commune and renewed the Roman Senate as the city's core municipal institution. According to Gregorovius, Innocent II died on 24 September 1143, wounded by his own fear and sorrow.²⁴⁷ New revolts broke out in Tivoli in 1146. Again, the citizens of Rome demanded Tivoli's destruction, but Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153) only allowed the dismantling of its walls. When Eugenius returned to Rome from Tivoli, however, the Romans gained their revenge by attacking this city and killing many of its citizens.²⁴⁸ Nonetheless, it was only in the mid-thirteenth century that Rome definitively subjugated Tivoli.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, pp. 151–52.

²⁴⁵ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, pp. 36–37.

²⁴⁶ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, p. 71.

²⁴⁷ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, pp. 70–72.

²⁴⁸ Gregorovius, *Storia di Roma nel Medioevo*, pp. 92–93.

²⁴⁹ Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso Medioevo*, pp. 29–31.

However, the annihilation of rivals was in many ways economically problematic, since it required the investment of substantial resources and prevented the development of a trading hinterland.²⁵⁰ Nonetheless, Rome considered this as the only possible solution to remove its enemies, as the events illustrated above clearly indicate. It is worth highlighting that such vicious aggression was a common practice among Italian communes: Florence, for instance, razed nearby Fiesole in 1125; Viterbo did the same to Ferento in 1172;²⁵¹ and Milan destroyed Lodi and Como in 1111 and 1127 respectively.²⁵² It can be certainly argued that such powerful cities invested men and money to defeat their rivals because they needed local resources and security to develop. Such needs, however, cannot explain the calls for annihilation and the inhuman punishments inflicted on the captives. The destruction of Tuscolo, for instance, was unexpected, sudden and total, something being restated by excavations by the *EEHAR* at this site.²⁵³

Strikingly, the annihilation of cities and exemplary punishments were strategies commonly used by the ancient Roman state, as attested by Livy (59 BC-AD 17) in his *Ad Urbe Condita*. The first ten of the 142 books composing Livy's work, which focus on the origins of Rome and on its assertion in Italy, were transcribed in ten manuscripts between the ninth and eleventh centuries. These manuscripts are known as *Codices Dominicanus, Einsiedlensis, Florianensis, Harleianus, Mediceus, Oxoniensis, Parisiensis, Romanus, Upsaliensis and Veronensis*. Along with the *Codex Agennensis*, composed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, these manuscripts are called 'Nicomachean Family' and suggest that at least the first section of the *Ad Urbe Condita* was well known in Rome in the Middle Ages. On the basis of

²⁵⁰ Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, p. 179.

²⁵¹ Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *Comuni e signorie in Umbria, Marche e Lazio* (Turin: Utet, 1987), p. 121.

²⁵² Menant, *L'Italia dei comuni*, pp. 14–15.

²⁵³ Valeria Beolchini, 'Renacimiento, apogeo y declive de Tuscolo en el medioevo: Historia de una ciudad en las puertas de Roma, a la luz de las recientes excavaciones arqueológicas españolas', *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 14 (2007), 103–38.

these sources, which focus on the origins of Rome and on its assertion in Italy, recounting sieges and the capture of cities such as Fidene (425 BC)²⁵⁴ or Ferentium (413 BC),²⁵⁵ it could be argued that the Rome commune adopted ancient Rome's aggressiveness and valour as models to follow. Indeed, the annihilations of Albano (1168) and Tuscolo (1191) do not differ much from the destruction of Veii (396 BC),²⁵⁶ which Livy describes in detail and which the manuscripts of the Nicomachean Family report as follows:

Some attacked the enemy on the walls from behind, others forced back the bars of the gates, others again set fire to the houses from which stones and tiles were being hurled by women and slaves. Everything resounded with the confused noise of terrifying threats and shrieks of despairing anguish blended with the wailing of women and children. In a very short time the defenders were driven from the walls and the city gates flung open. Some rushed in in close order, others scaled the deserted walls; the city was filled with Romans; fighting went on everywhere. At length, after great carnage, the fighting slackened, and the Dictator ordered the heralds to proclaim that the unarmed were to be spared.

Pars auersos in muris inuadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum reuellunt, pars cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac seruitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia uariis terrentium ac pauentium uocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet. Memento temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis patefactisque ports cum alii agmine inruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde multa iam edita caede senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet ut ab inermi abstinenceatur.

(Livy, *Ad Urbe Condita*, 5. 21. 10-14)

²⁵⁴ *History of Rome by Titus Livius, the First Eight Books*, ed. by Daniel Spillan (London: Henry G. Bohn. John Child and son, printers, 1857), Book 4.35, pp. 290–91.

²⁵⁵ *History of Rome by Titus Livius*, ed. by Spillan, Book 4.51, p. 309.

²⁵⁶ *History of Rome by Titus Livius*, ed. by Spillan, Book 5.21, pp. 348–51.

Through the manuscript of the Nicomachean Family, Livy's work informed the medieval Romans not only of sieges, but also of exemplary punishments, including the massacre of the inhabitants of Tarquinia in 354 BC.²⁵⁷ If compared with this account by Livy, the chronicle of Roger of Hoveden – which reports the destruction of Tuscolo by the *Militia Romanorum* – would suggest that the military actions promoted by the Rome commune resembled the violence against enemies of Rome's Republic or at the very least that medieval writers wanted to show this as a further way to bridge the gap between past and present. As detailed in this section, two elements in particular support this idea: first, the use of shields decorated with the evocative formula SPQR, and second, the spread of military scenes in twelfth and thirteenth century manuscripts – scenes which show no clear distinction between the ancient legions and the communal army.

6.3.5. *The Commune as the Living Image of Ancient Rome: Two Examples*

Amongst the most charismatic leaders of the communal movement and the renaissance of Antiquity in Rome are Arnold of Brescia (1090-1155) and Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354). Arnold was one of the key figures in the rise of the Romans against the papacy in 1143, while Cola ruled as sole governor of Rome for six months in 1347. They had similar cultural backgrounds, sharing the same passion for Latin and classical authors; to use Musto's words, 'as Arnold of Brescia was for the twelfth century, so Cola di Rienzo was for the fourteenth'.²⁵⁸ Below I examine the available primary sources on the activity of Arnold and Cola in Rome, in order to understand how they both used Rome's classical tradition politically.

²⁵⁷ *History of Rome by Titus Livius*, ed. by Spillan, Book 7.19, p. 469.

²⁵⁸ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 48.

6.3.5.1. *Arnold of Brescia and the Restoration of Ancient Republican traditions*

Arnold was born in Brescia in c.1100 and after conducting his studies in Paris between 1114 and 1119, he returned to Italy and became canon at San Pietro Olivetta in Brescia. However, in 1139 Pope Innocent II exiled Arnold from Italy, since he had supported the commune of Brescia in its rebellion against ecclesiastical control.²⁵⁹ In c.1146 he was reconciled to the Church by Pope Eugenius III; as a condition of reconciliation, Arnold was requested to go to Rome as a penitent, but once in Rome, he was employed by the Senate in the revolt against the papacy. In the eyes of the commune, Arnold was an important resource: he knew Latin and was a strong communicator; he could thus strengthen the movement by helping the Romans to understand their past, providing historical foundation to the Senate's ambitions. It is generally agreed that Arnold became a supporter of the Senate in 1147, while Pope Eugenius III was away in France.²⁶⁰ In 1148, Eugene III excommunicated Arnold; but the Senate did not obey the edict of excommunication, and offered him, instead, a mutual support pact. Between 1149 and 1155, Arnold explicitly preached in Rome against the papacy and its political ambitions, because of which, he said, the clergy did not have enough time to ministry, study and to worship. Arnold also rejected the doctrine by which popes and bishops' authority came from God, and rather asserted that everyone has God-granted power.²⁶¹ In spite of the Senate's support, Arnold was condemned as a heretic in 1155. He was hanged and his body burned and his ashes thrown into the Tiber River so that none could venerate them.

²⁵⁹ For an overview on Arnold of Brescia: George W. Greenway, *Arnold of Brescia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931); Phillip D. Johnson, *Arnold of Brescia. Apostle of Liberty in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2016); Arsenio Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia nelle fonti del secolo XII* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1954).

²⁶⁰ Johnson, *Arnold of Brescia*, p. 88.

²⁶¹ For an overview on Arnold's theological and philosophical thought: Johnson, *Arnold of Brescia*, pp. 53–60.

Available primary sources on Arnold's life include *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* by Otto of Freising²⁶² and the *Historia Pontificalis* by John of Salisbury.²⁶³ Both authors highlight Arnold's eloquence and his admiration for Rome's Republican past. Three pieces in particular attest to Arnold's activity as a preacher in Rome; two are from *The Deeds* and the third from the *Historia*:

In these days, a certain Arnold, who wore a religious garb but was by no means faithful to it, as was evident from his teaching, entered the city of Rome. Because of his hatred for the honours paid to the Church, and seeking to restore the dignity of the Senate and the equestrian order to their ancient status, he aroused almost the entire City, and especially the populace, against his pope (...).

His diebus Arnaldus quidam religionis habitum habens, sed eum minime, ut ex doctrina eius patuit, servans, ex aecclesiastici honoris invidia urbem Romam ingreditur ac senatoriam dignitatem equestremque ordinem renovare ad instar antiquiorum volens totam pene Urbem ac precipue populum adversus pontificem suum concitavit (...).

(Ottonis Frisingensis et Rahewini, *Gesta Friderici I*, 1, 28)²⁶⁴

As he found the City aroused to rebellion against the pope, he incited it all the more to revolt, not following the counsel of the wise man who says of a situation of this kind: "Heap not wood upon his fire" [Celestine II (1143-1144)]. He set forth the examples of the ancient Romans, who by virtue of the ripened judgment of the Senate and the disciplined integrity of the valiant spirit of youth made the whole

²⁶² Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* by Otto of Freising and His Continuator Rahewin, trans. by Charles C. Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

²⁶³ John of Salisbury, *John of Salisbury's Memoirs of the Papal Court*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956).

²⁶⁴ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. by Mierow, p. 61.

world their own. Wherefore he advocated that the Capitol should be rebuilt, the senatorial dignity restored, and the equestrian order reinstituted. Nothing in the administration of the City was the concern of the Roman pontiff; the ecclesiastical courts should be enough for him (...).

Ne in eius ignem ligna struas, amplius eam in seditionem concitavit, proponens antiquorum Romanorum exempla, qui ex senatus maturitatis consulto et ex iuvenilium animorum fortitudinis ordine et integritate totum orbem terrae suum fecerint. Quare reedificandum Capitolium, renovandam senatoriam dignitatem, reformandum equestrem ordinem docuit. Nichil in dispositione, Urbis ad Romanum pontificem spectare, sufficere sibi aecclesiasticum iudicium debere.

(Ottonis Frisingensis et Rahewini, *Gesta Friderici I*, 2, 28)²⁶⁵

But there were many obstacles in the way of peace, the greatest of all being the refusal of the Romans to expel Arnold of Brescia, who was said to have bound himself by oath to uphold the honour of the city and Roman Republic. The Romans in their turn promised him aid and counsel against all men, and explicitly against the lord pope; for the Roman church had excommunicated him and ordered him to be shunned as a heretic.

Sed pacem tum multa prepediebant, tum maxime quod eicere nolebant Ernaldum Brixiensem, qui honori Urbis et reipublice Romanorum se dicebatur obligasse prestito iuramento, et ei populus Romanus uicissim auxilium et consilium contra omnes homines et nominatim contra dominum papam repromisit; eum namque excommunicauerat ecclesia Romana et tamquam hereticum preceperat euitari.

(John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, 31)²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. by Mierow, p. 144.

²⁶⁶ John of Salisbury, *John of Salisbury's Memoirs*, ed. by Chibnall, pp. 62–65.

These passages only summarily reveal Arnold's intention to restore ancient Rome's traditions – reading them, it seems that he promoted the restoration of the Senate and of the equestrian order in very general terms. This vagueness might suggest that Arnold did not actively fight for the proclamation of a commune in Rome. Instead, he may have exploited the communal movement and its ideas to attract a large number of people to his cause, namely the removal of the pope from his temporal power. In his speeches, Arnold promoted the restoration of the Capitoline Hill as the city's political focus – interestingly, it seems that he always talked to the Romans there – and described the restoration of the Senate as a genuine return to the Republican past glory. In his mind as well as in the minds of Romans, there was a real link between the Senate and ancient Rome, a continuity that the city made clear through the construction of the senatorial palace over the remains of the *Tabularium*, the archives of Ancient Rome erected on the Capitoline Hill in c.78 BC.

6.3.5.2. Cola di Rienzo and a New Model to Follow: *The Roman Empire*

Cola di Rienzo was a man of humble origins, as recounted by his contemporary biographer, the Anonimo Romano;²⁶⁷ his father, named Lorenzo, was a tavern keeper, and his mother, Maddalena, was a washerwoman and water-carrier to support the family. But given his passion for Latin and for Rome's ancient past, Cola studied legal and classical texts and became a notary. The Anonimo Romano described his passion thus:

From his youth, he [Cola] was nourished on the milk of eloquence, a good grammarian, the best of rhetoricians, and a good student of the Classical authors. My, what a fast and voluminous reader he was. He loved to peruse Livy, Seneca, Cicero, and Valerius Maximus. He delighted in recounting the magnificent tales of

²⁶⁷ Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta.

Julius Caesar. Every day he used to examine and meditate upon the marble engravings that lie around Rome. No one else but he knew how to read the ancient epitaphs. He used to translate all the ancient writings. He would interpret these marble figures exactly. My, how often would he say, “Where have those good Romans gone? Where is their high justice? If only I could have lived in these people’s time.” He was a handsome man with a wonderful laugh always on his lips. This man was a notary.

Fu da soa ioventutine nutricato de latte de eloquenzia, buono gramatico, migliore rettorico, autorista buono. Deh, como e quanto era veloce lettore! Moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca e Tulio e Valerio Massimo. Moito li delettava le magnificenzie de Iulio Cesari raccontare. Tutta dìe se speculava nelli intagli de marmo li quali iaccio intorno a Roma. Non era atri che esso, che sapessi leiere li antiqui pataffii. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava. Queste figure de marmo iustamente interpretava. Deh, como spesso diceva: “Dove soco questi buoni Romani? Dove ène loro summa iustizia? Pòterame trovare in tempo che questi fussino!” Era bello omo e in soa vocca sempre riso apareva in qualche muodo fantastico. Questo fu notaro.

(Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, XVIII, ll. 7–22)²⁶⁸

This passage suggests that, like those thinkers and politicians who contributed to the establishment of the Rome commune and its assertion in central Italy, Cola viewed the past with admiration and nostalgia, and so tried to revive ancient customs to reach his ambitions. Unlike other leading figures in the communal movement, however, he could read Latin; he could therefore consciously exploit primary sources to present his government as a living image of ancient Rome.

²⁶⁸ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, pp. 34, 45.

The Rome of Cola was a city ruled by baronial families – chiefly the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, Caetani and Anguillara at that time – who saw themselves as the descendants of an ancient nobility destined to defend Rome’s interests.²⁶⁹ Yet their main concern was to assert the authority of their own families. With the rise of the barons in the mid-thirteenth century, Rome began to suffer economically and culturally; in the early fourteenth century, its social life was being drained by continuous infighting among baronial families. The first experience of the poet Petrarch in Rome neatly describes this situation: Petrarch was a member of the Colonna household and in 1337 he visited the Eternal city for the first time. When he arrived in Civitavecchia (Rome’s port), he found all the roads to Rome blocked by the enemies of the Colonna. Stopping at Capranica, he wrote a letter to his patron Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, which clearly illustrates the desolation caused by barons’ abuses in Rome and surroundings. The letter states that Capranica does not know peace (*sola da questa terra è bandita la pace*): shepherds and herdsmen wear armour (*chiuso nell’armi veglia sul gregge il pastore (...) coperto di lorica il bifolco*); and voices call people to arms everywhere (*voci che d’ogni parte chiamano all’armi*); always involved in hostilities, the inhabitants can neither say peaceful words nor feel human compassion (*nulla dicon mai di pacifico, nulla sentono in cuore di umano, sempre in guerra, in inimicizie, in affetti da inferno*).²⁷⁰ After about three weeks, Petrarch eventually left Capranica for Rome together with Giacomo Colonna, accompanied by a hundred horsemen to protect them from supporters of the hostile Orsini.

Due to the continuous abuses committed by the barons, the discontent increased much in the early fourteenth century. Taking advantage of this situation and of his standing, Cola set up a reform programme, which he brought to the attention of policy makers and citizens using not only oratory but also the visual arts. He commissioned a large panel painting, for the façade of

²⁶⁹ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 89.

²⁷⁰ Letter 12 to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in Giuseppe Fracassetti, *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1863), pp. 389–91.

the Senatorial Palace, which the Anonimo Romano describes in detail as a montage of metaphorical scenes: Rome is represented on this panel as a widow on her knees inside a ship in the midst of turbulent waves, while the barons are depicted as lions, wolves and bears.²⁷¹ Such a description is extremely valuable since it enables us to understand the complexity of Cola's campaign and his originality as a politician. He knew how to communicate with the masses, mostly using images and symbols, which he considered to be clear solutions to promote his programme. After nearly three years of campaigning, from 1344 until May 1347,²⁷² Cola finally led a popular revolt on 20 May 1347, supported by that mixed elite who had ruled in Rome until the rise of the barons.²⁷³ He occupied the Capitoline Hill, established a new government and proclaimed new ordinances on legal justice, general security, works of mercy and taxation – both direct taxes and *gabelle* would be devoted to the public good rather than to the barons.²⁷⁴ Throughout his government, Cola took a hard line against the previous political class: he ratified numerous decrees against the barons, and in fact always celebrated these ratifications with public events such as feasts and donations to the poor, orphans and widows.²⁷⁵

Cola resurrected ancient terms such as 'Tribune', which he chose as his own title instead of the traditional designation of 'Senator'.²⁷⁶ Although this term can be certainly considered as a reference to the ancient Republic, it is worth highlighting that the ancient tribunes could acquire extraordinary powers in difficult circumstances – indeed, under Octavian, the tribunes of the plebs played a key role in the transition from Republic to Principality. It is likely that Cola was aware of this peculiar connotation; his understanding of the past might have been so sophisticated that he could distinguish between Republican and Imperial terms and choose the

²⁷¹ Anonimo Romano, XVIII, ll.68-132 (Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta, pp. 145–47); Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 105.

²⁷² Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 130.

²⁷³ Anonimo Romano, XVIII, ll.256–90 (Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta, pp. 151–53).

²⁷⁴ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 145.

²⁷⁵ Seibt, 'La rivoluzione di Cola di Rienzo', in *Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Scalessa, pp. 15–27 (p. 22).

²⁷⁶ Seibt, 'La rivoluzione di Cola di Rienzo', in *Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Scalessa, p. 19.

title of ‘Tribune’ to legitimise his political aspirations.²⁷⁷ Cola began to reveal the imperialistic nature of his project on 1 August 1347, two weeks before his coronation as Tribune: on that occasion, he was elected knight in the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano; then, he entered its baptistery, and bathed in the basanite basin where the Emperor Constantine had received his baptism.²⁷⁸ The symbolism behind this ceremony is clear: Cola wanted to present himself as a new Constantine to the Romans. His coronation as Tribune of the Roman People, held at the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on 15 August, was as splendid and histrionic as the ceremonial of knighting: Cola was granted six crowns, a sceptre, and an apple, the symbol of justice, liberty and peace. The first crown was of oak to indicate the longevity of Romans under the reign of Cola; the second was of ivy and represented religion; the third and fourth, made of myrtle and laurel respectively, symbolized prosperity; the fifth was of olive and represented humility; the last was a silver crown, and was offered by the prior of the Church of Santo Spirito, along with the sceptre.²⁷⁹

Cola’s coronation made clear his political programme; the Anonimo Romano asserted that, after the ceremonial, ‘some rebuked him for his audacity, some said that he was a dreamer, a madman’.²⁸⁰ Suspicion and anger rapidly grew against him, and soon the pope and the Curia began to target his overthrow. On 15 December 1347, after months of plotting against him, Cola was forced to abdicate. He spent three years of exile among the hermits of the Maiella (in Abruzzo), before he was absolved of heresy by the Inquisition. He then received the new title of Senator and made a triumphal return to Rome in 1354. However, in October of that year a revolt broke out; Cola tried to flee the city, but he was captured and led into the Senatorial

²⁷⁷ Anna Modigliani, ‘Popolo romano e tribunato nel pensiero e nell’azione di Cola di Rienzo’, in *Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Scalessa, pp. 49–59 (p. 56).

²⁷⁸ Anonimo Romano, XVIII, ll.1286-1291 (Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta, p. 186).

²⁷⁹ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 185.

²⁸⁰ Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, p. 188.

Palace, where a mob had gathered. One man after another attacked Cola, who died under their swords and daggers.

In summary, the activities in Rome of Arnaldo da Brescia and Cola di Rienzo demonstrate once again that Rome's authorities – in the shape of collegial as well as sole rulers – exploited classical tradition to reinforce their power throughout the communal period. Arnold, one of the key figures of the communal movement in its first phase, constantly referred to the Republican past in his speeches. Two centuries later, in the 1340s, Cola followed similar strategies – although he exploited Imperial rather than Republican models.

Between Arnold and Cola, the Roman Senate ruled in Rome either as a collegial authority or as a sole Senator. As seen in Section 6.3, restoration works in the city, the use of *spolia* in the construction of religious and secular buildings, as well as the creation of guides/chronicles of ancient monuments suggest that, throughout the communal period, Rome constantly referred to classical traditions in numerous ways, being therefore part of an European movement originally known as 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance', but which had repercussions in all aspects of European culture in the following centuries. The following section argues that coinage, and more specifically the *denaro provisino*, should be considered in some ways a local expression of this complex phenomenon, this penny being a part of the propaganda apparatus of the Rome commune.

6.4. *Denaro provisino*: A Vehicle for Political Messages?

6.4.1. The Reopening of the Rome Mint in c.1184

It is in this context of a 'Renaissance' of ancient Roman government under the new Senate, that we must understand the use of coinage, and more specifically of the *denaro provisino*, as a vehicle for propaganda. This coin was introduced in c.1184, when Rome's mint was reopened

after around two centuries (see Section 3.2), and shows the name of the Roman Senate. The latter possibly started to issue *denari provisini* as a revolutionary act against the papal authority, since the reopening of the mint occurred in the middle of a popular revolt against the pope (see Section 4.2.1). This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that not only did the Roman Senate start minting *denari provisini* in the years of the popular revolt, but the Prefect Pietro II, who was an opponent of the pope, also minted *denari provisini* in his own name – possibly to celebrate his election as Prefect of Rome, in 1186 (the coin type of Pietro II was examined in Section 4.2.1). It is therefore likely that, among the strategies used by the Rome commune to gain greater autonomy from the papacy, was the re-appropriation of the right to mint – a right originally held by Rome’s secular authority, and which the popes had obtained at the end of the seventh century.

The available evidence thus indicates that the *denaro provisino* was not just an economic tool; most probably, it also played a role in the political conflict between Rome’s powers across the communal period. The following section will discuss this hypothesis in detail, asking how the cultural and political programmes of the Rome commune reflected on the *denaro provisino* over time.

6.4.2. *Denaro provisino: Messages behind its Symbols*

Throughout the communal period, the iconography of the *denaro provisino* remained constant; it always showed a cross – usually surrounded by symbols – and a carding comb, both of which were derived from the *denier provinois* of the County of Champagne. The fact that Rome never displayed on the *denaro provisino* symbols related to its own identity might sound surprising, given the considerable efforts by this commune to glorify its ancient past. This lack of local symbols is even more surprising considering that the commune had symbols referring to its

identity: for instance, the lion symbolised the free Roman community,²⁸¹ while a woman holding a globe and seated upon a throne like a female ancient divinity was the personification of the city. From 1253, Rome's mint even put these two symbols onto a new silver coin equivalent to twelve *denari provisini*: the *grosso* (Fig. 6.12). Noticeably, the type of Rome seated upon a throne resembles closely a type that commonly appeared on Roman coinage, and more specifically on the *siliqua*,²⁸² throughout the fourth century (Fig. 6.13).²⁸³ This type was also used after the fourth century, for example, on coins and medallions in the name of Emperor Priscus Attalus (409; 414) (Fig. 6.14).²⁸⁴



Figure 6.12: Thirteenth-century grosso (source: <https://www.deamoneta.com/auctions/view/211/1196>).



Figure 6.13: Siliqua in the name of Valentinian II (375-392), Trier mint, size: 15mm (source: RIC IX, no. 46c).



²⁸¹ Carlo Pietrangeli, 'Lo stemma del comune di Roma', *Capitolium*, 2.28 (1953), p. 58.

²⁸² *Siliqua*: modern denomination of a Roman silver coin introduced by Emperor Constantine I in 323.

²⁸³ For an overview of Roman fourth-century issues showing this type, see: Harold Mattingly, Carol H. V. Sutherland and Robert A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. IX (London: Spink, 1953).

²⁸⁴ John P. C. Kent and Robert A. G. Carson, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. X (London: Spink, 1994), n. 1401-1412.

Figure 6.14: Solidus in the name of Priscus Attalus (414-415), Rome mint, size: 21 mm (source: RIC X, no. 1406).

The iconographic similarities between the *grosso* of the Senate and Roman imperial coinage suggests that, after the twelfth century, the Rome commune continued to highlight its connection with ancient authorities in many ways, including the production of high-value coins showing symbols prominently used on Roman ancient types. Why, then, unlike the *grosso*, did the *denaro provino* never allude explicitly to Rome's identity? Two different answers, which mutually corroborate each other, might explain this lack of local symbolism.

Firstly, the *denier provinois* was the official issue at the Champagne fairs and the strongest coin in central Italy since the 1160s; replacing such powerful issue with a completely different one might have been conceivably perceived negatively by the 'market', which is generally conservative in nature. Rome, therefore, might have strictly imitated the popular *denier provinois* in order to maintain market stability.

The imitation of strong coins withdrawn from circulation can be observed in different contexts. For example, the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik'ibn (685-705) promoted a monetary reform aimed at introducing new silver and gold issues – the *dirham* and *dinar* respectively – which reflected the power of the Caliphate. Noticeably, the first *dinar* closely imitates a gold coin, which circulated successfully before the rise of Abd al-Malik: the *solidus* of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius I (610-641). Whilst the latter depicts Heraclius with his two sons on the obverse, and a cross on three steps on the reverse (Fig. 6.15), the *dinar* of Abd al-Malik'ibn shows three stylised figures on the obverse and a column on three steps on the reverse – a column which is the result of the removal of one of the two arms of the Christian cross (Fig. 6.16). Also, both the issues weigh between 4.50 g and 4.25 g. Arguably, the Caliph decided to imitate the *solidus* of Heraclius for different reasons: indeed, he wanted to highlight a connection with one of the most powerful figures of the recent past; most probably, however,

he needed to follow an iconographic tradition, so that people could accept his new issues more easily.



Figure 6.15: Solidus of Heraclius I, size: 20 mm (source: The Barber Institute of Fine Arts Coin Collection, University of Birmingham, no. B2912).



Figure 6.16: Dinar of the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik'ibn, size: 21 mm (source: The Barber Institute of Fine Arts Coin Collection, University of Birmingham, no. A-B30).

In addition to the conservatism of the ‘market’, another reason might explain the lack of local symbolism on the *denaro provisino*: it could be argued that the Rome mint actually reinterpreted the cross and the carding comb, seeing them as allusions to the political and cultural identity of the Rome commune. On the *denier provinois*, the carding comb is surmounted by a T, which is a reference to the minting authority – namely, Thibault II, Count of Champagne, and his successors. This same iconographic scheme – a comb surmounted by a reference to the authority – also appears on the *denaro provisino*, although slightly changed: on the Rome’s issue, the comb is surmounted by an S, which is a reference to Rome’s authority – the Senate. On the *denaro provisino*, also the carding comb – the symbol of the County of Champagne – might have referred to the Roman Senators: the latter were mostly *mercatores*,

namely those men who, through trading activities between central Italy and Champagne, built up great influence in Rome.²⁸⁵

Although, unlike the *grosso*, the *denaro provisino* does not show symbols directly related to Rome's communal identity, its legends clearly suggest that, in the twelfth century, coinage was equally affected by the rediscovery of antiquity. Thus, on the *denaro provisino*, the cross and the carding comb are girded by the formulae SENATVS.P.Q.R. and ROMACAPVTMVNDI, both extremely popular in ancient times. The available evidence does not preclude the possibility that the selection of these two formulae for the *denaro provisino* (and for the *grosso* later on) was one of the conscious strategies used by the commune to strengthen the sense of community and historical continuity with its glorious past.

Rome's medieval Senate was an institution composed of a variable number of members, ranging from a minimum of one to a maximum of fifty-six,²⁸⁶ and which apparently never renounced the right of minting coinage in its name. The sole governors Charles I of Anjou and Cola di Rienzo even modified the traditional features of the *denaro provisino* by inserting new symbols in the field and their own names as legends. Charles I of Anjou,²⁸⁷ King of Naples and brother of King Louis IX of France, ruled as Senator in Rome for three legislatures (1263-1266, 1268-1278 and 1281-1284). His government in Rome was originally supported by the pope, as it was included in a programme of alliance between the Roman Church and the Kingdom of France. However, Charles gradually established a political monopoly that did not differ much in structure from the papal *Signoria*, and which led to monetary reforms – in 1273, he introduced the *grosso rinforzato*, equivalent to twenty-one *denari provisini*, and in 1278, he

²⁸⁵ Vendittelli, 'Mercanti romani del primo Duecento', pp. 87–136.

²⁸⁶ Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon*, p. 96.

²⁸⁷ On Charles I of Anjou and his political experience in Rome: Di Gioia and Parisi Presicce.

introduced a new silver coin in southern Italy: the *carlino*.²⁸⁸ In line with this policy, Charles minted a new type of *denaro provisino* bearing his name whilst he was Senator of Rome. He probably struck this coin type during his second government (1268-1278), as suggested by two elements: firstly, the legend defines Charles as *rex* – namely, king of Sicily, a title received in January 1266; secondly, it is unlikely that he minted *provisini* after 1282, since in that year Pope Martin IV (1281-1285) ordered that coins could be struck in Rome only with special permission of the Church (*speciali licentia Sedis Apostolice*).²⁸⁹ The coin type issued in the name of Charles is extremely rare, as suggested by the fact that none of the 3336 *denari provisini* examined in this study (listed in Table 4.1) belongs to this type. The *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*,²⁹⁰ however, attests to the existence of two variants in the name of Charles, with the legends +CAROLVS:REX:SE: and +SENATVS.P.Q.R., on the obverse and reverse respectively. These variants suggest that, like the Roman Senate had done until then, Charles consciously used coinage to assert his authority in central Italy as ‘King Charles Senator of Rome’.

Similarly, Cola di Rienzo minted *denari provisini* in his name when sole ruler in Rome in 1347.²⁹¹ Like the *denari provisini* of Charles I of Anjou, those of Cola are very rare – the sample used in this study only includes two coins, both preserved at the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. One shows a cross with empty quadrants, and the other a cross surrounded by the letters V R B S – an allusion to the ancient *city* of Rome (Fig. 6.17). This term, along with the legends +ALMVS TRIBVNAT and +ROMA.CAPVT.M., seems to indicate that Cola

²⁸⁸ On the monetary reform of Charles I in the Kingdom of Sicily: Alfredo M. Santoro, ‘Metalli e monete: L’argento per la riforma monetaria di Carlo I d’Angiò. Stato della questione e primi risultati’, in *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, ed. by Pasquale Favia (Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio, 2009), pp. 670–74.

²⁸⁹ Carocci, ‘Pontificia o comunale?’, p. 167.

²⁹⁰ Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia, *CNI*, XV, pp. 114–15, nos. 122–123.

²⁹¹ On Cola di Rienzo and his political experience in Rome: Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. by Porta; Papencordt, *Cola di Rienzo e il suo tempo*; Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*; Cola di Rienzo ed. by Scalessa; Rollo-Koster and Holstein, ‘Anger and Spectacle’, in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks*, ed. by Goodson, Lester, and Symes, pp. 149–62.

consciously used coinage, amongst other tools, to show himself as the heir of ancient Rome institutions and traditions (see Section 6.3.5.2).



Figure 6.17: Denaro provisino of Cola di Rienzo – VRBS type (photo courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

In 1398, the Senate, which had struggled to manage Rome's internal tensions, gave power back to Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404), sanctioning the end of the Rome commune. The return of the papal political monopoly in Rome is clearly reflected on the final type of *denaro provisino*, which shows the name and title of Boniface IX: *+.BONIFATIVS.PP.NO* and *+IN.ROMA.S.P.Q.R.* on the obverse and reverse respectively. This is the only type of *denaro provisino* referring to the papal authority, and most probably, was introduced in 1389 to celebrate Boniface IX's accession. Even though it did not circulate widely – the sample of coins considered in this study only includes two examples – the type of Boniface IX is extremely valuable, since it reveals in the coinage a drastic change in the balance of power between the Roman Senate and the papacy. It is worth asking why the pope wanted his name on this issue, which was very low in value at the end of the fourteenth century. One explanation might be that the *denaro provisino* was still one of the most representative coins of the Rome commune, since it was one of the most popular issues in central Italy until c.1250. In summary, it is very likely that, in the late fourteenth century, the *denaro provisino* was still considered as part of Rome's communal identity, even though its value was extremely low due to the numerous

debasements that this coin suffered from the 1250s onwards. Taking this into account, the removal from the *denaro provisino* of the name of the Senate might have had an important symbolic value. Indeed, its replacement with the Pope's name might have helped the papacy to reinforce the end of the commune and, possibly, even to humiliate the Senate in the eyes of the Romans.



Figure 6.18: Denaro provisino of Pope Boniface IX (photo courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

This chapter has illustrated that the revival of the ancient past was a long-lasting phenomenon, which Rome experienced in diverse forms throughout the Late Middle Ages, from the use of *spolia* in the construction of churches and private buildings, to the revival of ancient laws, the reinterpretation of pagan traditions in a Christian sense, and the fascination with ruins described by intellectuals in works such as the *Narracio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*. In order to gain legitimacy, the leading class of the Rome commune strongly stoked this cultural movement; connections with ancient traditions can be observed in every action undertaken by this elite, starting from the choice of the very name for the municipal institution: ‘Roman Senate’.

According to the traditional view,²⁹² Rome cannot be considered a proper commune because of the ongoing presence of the papacy, which continued to be the main religious authority in the city across the communal period, in spite of the establishment of the Senate in 1144. Recently, however, scholars have paid more attention to Rome's municipal institution, arguing that its role in the city's government was actually much more influential than previously thought.²⁹³

The analysis of the *denaro provisino* features supports this new orientation of studies. It is worth recalling that, through the Concord Pact (1188), the pope obtained rights to two-thirds of the annual incomes from the Rome mint, while the Roman Senate preserved the right to only one-third. It would be natural therefore to expect that these two authorities also negotiated the right to put their own names and symbols on coinage. The *denaro provisino*, however, never directly referred to the papacy; instead, its symbols and legends only celebrated the Roman Senate.

Potentially, of course, the cross on one of the two sides of the *denaro provisino*, as well as the legend ROMACAPVTMVNDI, are actually references to Rome's religious authority, with the cross one of the main symbols of Christianity, while the formula ROMACAPVTMVNDI was used to refer to Rome as head of the (Christian) world – for instance, a fragmentary Gregorian chant by Adam, monk of St. Victor (d. 1146), includes the exhortation 'Rejoice, Rome, head of the world' (*Gaude, Roma, capvt mvndi*).²⁹⁴ However, it is very unlikely that the cross was put on the *denaro provisino* as a reference to the pope; instead, like the carding comb, it should be interpreted as a strict imitation of the symbols of the *denier*

²⁹² Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1854-1928); Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1938-1952).

²⁹³ The need for a re-valuation of the role of the Senate in medieval Rome is well expressed in Maire Vigueur, 'Il comune romano', in *Roma Medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 117–57 (p. 119); Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 120–21.

²⁹⁴ *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, Vol. 51, ed. by Etienne Gilson and Gabriel Théry (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. VRIN, 1984), p. 188.

provisinois. Moreover, most of the coins circulating in Europe at that time have a cross on one of the two sides. It is also worth highlighting that secular and religious authorities as well as private citizens extensively used the cross as well as the formula ROMACAPVTMVNDI for many different purposes. For example, the plaque erected by the Senate in 1157 to commemorate the restoration of a section of the Aurelian Walls (Fig. 6.2) starts with a cross. Similarly, the main inscription on the façade of the ‘Casa dei Crescenzi’ (discussed in Section 6.3.2) is composed of four sentences, each of which begins with a cross, and Emperors Conrad II (1027-1039) and Frederick II (1220-1250) adopted an imperial seal that included a cross and the motto *Roma caput mundi, tenet orbis frena rotundi* (see Section 6.3.1). Such instances mean that the cross and the formula ROMACAPVTMVNDI were not exclusively associated with the religious power in the Late Middle Ages, and, therefore, they cannot be considered as expressions of direct papal authority on the *denaro provisino*.

The analysis of the symbols and legends of the *denaro provisino*, along with the study of literature, legislation and residential and official architecture, combine to show that in the twelfth century the leading class of the commune was composed of cultured people, capable of effective communication strategies. If early scholars depicted the Rome commune as a city still in the hands of the pope, the materials discussed in this chapter recommend a very different scenario, with the pope and Senate as co-existing authorities of comparable power. Although further research is needed to explore this balance of powers between 1143 and 1398, we must recognise that the relationship between the Senate and the papacy necessarily changed over the two centuries. Interestingly, numismatic evidence can provide more specific information: the introduction in c.1184 of the strong *denaro provisino* informs on a powerful secular institution, which could sign treaties with the papacy, restore public monuments, and mint coins in its name. However, in the late communal period, and especially from the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) onwards, religious authority in Rome gained more stability, as witnessed in

the proclamation of the first Jubilee in 1300 and the foundation of the *Studium Urbis* – Rome’s first university – by the pope in 1303. The concomitant introduction in Rome of the silver *samperino*, which depicts the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, seemingly confirm that the papacy experienced a proper recovery under Boniface VIII. Similarly, the coinage shows that this recovery became even more evident in the late fourteenth century, when Pope Urban V (1362-1370) minted a new coin, the *bolognino*, which, strikingly, bears a portrait of the pontiff in imitation of imperial issues or of the papal *denari antiquiores*, namely, those coins issued between the eighth and tenth centuries, when Rome was still overseen by the papacy and a communal identity was a distant dream.

Chapter 7

Overview and Conclusions

This thesis has argued throughout that Numismatics is a valuable route for accessing Rome's medieval society, a topic which historians have only recently begun exploring in depth. As shown in this study, specifically in Chapters 1 and 2, the writing of the history of medieval Rome is problematic because of the relative lack of documentary sources. In spite of such difficult circumstances, however, Wickham and Maire Vigueur, amongst other scholars, have made very important contributions to the understanding of medieval Rome by conducting analyses of the socio-economic and cultural profile of the city.¹ Nonetheless, both concentrated on documentary sources. The only scholar who attempted a systematic study of Rome's medieval coinage is Angelo Finetti, but he died prematurely before finishing his work, leaving a few articles on specific hoards² and unpublished notes on the *denaro provisino* types issued until the 1260s.³ Since Finetti examined Rome's medieval coinage exclusively from a numismatic perspective, without setting the collected data in their economic and political context, and because his work remained unfinished, this has left considerable lacunae in the literature. Maire Vigueur's *L'autre Rome* can be certainly considered the most comprehensive work on the Rome commune, including a large number of archival and documentary materials. However, due to the number of written sources considered, and because of the lack of complete

¹ See for example: Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei romani*; Maire Vigueur, *L'autre Rome*; Wickham, *Roma medievale*; Internullo, *Ai margini dei giganti*.

² Finetti, 'Il ripostiglio di Fontana Antica', in *Le monete* ed. by Catalli, pp. 81–117; Finetti, 'Boni e mali piczoli', in *Moneta locale, moneta straniera*, ed. by Travaini, pp. 67–86; Finetti, 'I provisini romani del primo Giubileo', in *Anno 1300*, ed. by Righetti Tosti Croce, pp. 188–89.

³ Finetti, *Denari provisini*.

studies of Rome's medieval coinage, he necessarily excluded the numismatic evidence. This thesis has sought to fill that gap.

The research began with the intention of refining and extending Finetti's work on the *denaro provisino* and making this coinage – an often undervalued and even contentious information source – accessible for the first time to historians and, more generally, non-numismatists. It has evaluated the challenges and opportunities of the study of coins as a core line of research for deepening our understanding of medieval Rome. In order to accomplish such an aim, this research has discussed all of the coin types circulating in Rome between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, exploring their multiple functions and messages. In these terms, this thesis has contributed to the scholarship by proposing the study of coinage as a new and informative line of research on medieval Rome and its social and commercial life.

As hopefully demonstrated, careful analysis of numismatic evidence, when combined with other, better explored documentary sources, can shed much light on many aspects of Rome's medieval society. Not only can it offer insights into citizens' economic mentality and the city's complex monetary system, popular ritual and cultural habits, ambitions and even contemporary perceptions of the past, but it can also expand knowledge of Rome's economic and social networks and on the role of pilgrimage routes as a catalyst for economic growth, as well as the changing balance of power between the two key authorities of the Rome commune, the Senate and the papacy.

Three major themes have provided the underlying framework linking the various aspects of this thesis, namely: 1. The closure of Rome's mint in the late tenth century and the resulting introduction of foreign coins to the city; 2. The changes in shape, fabric and weight affecting the *denaro provisino*, which circulated in Rome from c.1184 to c.1398; and 3. The multiple functions served by this coinage in Rome as a unit of account and a means of exchange, a source for wealth display and accumulation, a possible votive offering and, importantly, as a vehicle

for political messages. To support this analysis was a re-assessment of a series of archival documents from Rome's monasteries and of specific notarial registers.

The first of these three themes was considered in Chapter 3 by exploring the foreign coins so far recovered in Rome and Tuscolo. These materials would suggest that, amongst the numerous issues circulating in Italy at that time, Rome only chose three coin types of high fineness, all from city mints – Pavia, Lucca and Provins – set along the Via Francigena, an important pilgrimage and commercial route, which connected Rome to Canterbury and, crucially, passed through the County of Champagne. The study of these coins suggested that the Via Francigena and pilgrimage routes more generally played a significant role in the development of trade and networks across Western Europe, serving first as religious itineraries, but equally as commercial circuits and places of cultural exchange. A comparative study of the famous shrine and medieval pilgrim focus of St. James at Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, identified how a great variety of foreign coins have been recovered in medieval layers in Santiago de Compostela and its surroundings, mostly deriving from France, but also from Portugal and northern Europe, which were all minted in cities along routes to the shrine of Saint James, suggesting a similar pattern to Rome. Combined, the numismatic evidence from Rome and Santiago de Compostela reveals how, in medieval times, the influx of religious (and other) travellers considerably influenced monetary systems, and particularly those of regions with devotional centres. In considering Rome, the foreign coins recovered in central Italy (mostly pennies from Pavia, Lucca and Provins, but also *denari* from Siena, Ancona and Ravenna) indicate that the network of roads that connected this commune with some of the major Italian city-states and with the County of Champagne was probably more developed and had a bigger impact than previously thought. From this perspective, this study confirms and adds

considerable nuance to the view proposed by scholars such as Vendittelli,⁴ Maire Vigueur⁵ and Internullo,⁶ who consider the Rome commune as a significant economic and cultural centre.

In terms of the reasons behind the reopening of Rome's mint in c.1184, Chapter 4 viewed the increasing wealth of Rome and the development of a communal identity as equal causes. In the 1180s, the city was flourishing and by then had generated its own economic security and political identity. Thus, arguably, new coin types in the name of Rome's municipal authority were necessary. However, it is important to highlight that the revival of the mint came during a popular revolt (1183-1188) against the pope. This event might accordingly be interpreted also as a revolutionary act against papal authority. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that one of the first types of *denaro provisino*, probably minted in c.1186, features the name of the Prefect of Rome, Pietro II, who was well-known opponent to the pope. Although very rare, the *denaro provisino* type of Pietro II is extremely important, because it confirms once more that the secular authority in Rome was more developed, had a stronger sense of identity and was more autonomous from the papal power than thought by traditional historiography.⁷

The analysis of the iconographic, epigraphic and metrological changes witnessed by the *denaro provisino* between c.1184 and c.1398 enabled for the first time the identification of nineteen coin types – numbered as Groups 1-19 in this thesis. Via careful examination of the transformations in shape and the fluctuations in production of the *denaro provisino* across the communal period and by setting the collected data in their historical and political context, this study has shown that the *denaro provisino* was quadrangular when the demand for money was high in Rome, requiring the mint to simplify the issuing process – the production of rectangular coins involves the cutting of metal sheets, making it much faster than the production of circular

⁴ See for instance: Vendittelli, 'Mercanti romani del primo Duecento', pp. 87–136.

⁵ See for example: Maire Vigueur, *L'autre Rome*.

⁶ Internullo, *Ai margini dei giganti*.

⁷ The Rome commune as a papal city is discussed for instance in: von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* and Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*.

coins. As the study of numismatic evidence reveals, the *denaro provisino* was mostly quadrangular or polygonal in the early thirteenth century. Also, most of the numismatic sample discussed in this thesis was minted between 1208 and 1250. Strikingly, these data show that, in the early thirteenth century, Rome, like any major city in Europe, experienced population growth, which provided the basis for the expansion of trade and the development of a monetized economy.

Like the study of the *denari provisini* minted before 1250, the analysis of the *denaro provisino* types issued after 1250 enables us to draw interesting conclusions. For example, the available data suggest that the number of *denari provisini* in circulation in Rome and their fineness decreased from the 1250s onwards. As argued in this thesis, such a phenomenon may have been the result of the scarcity of metals. More specifically, the inelastic supplies of metals led to the devaluation of base coinage across many parts of Europe such as Spain, France, England, The Low Countries, Bohemia and Austria. In Italy, cities such as Cortona, Viterbo and Orvieto started to produce coins of very low value.

In addition, with specific reference to Rome, two further causes may have impacted on the production of *denari provisini* in the mid-thirteenth century, namely the introduction in 1253 of a new silver coin (the *grosso*), and the rise, between the 1230s and the 1250s, of a new conservative elite, the barons. As discussed in Chapter 4, the *grosso* was introduced in Rome to facilitate international trade because the *denaro provisino* had significantly decreased in value, and therefore, could no longer be used in important transactions. Indeed, the strong and versatile *grosso* soon replaced the *denaro provisino* in both national and international trade, thus contributing to the reduction of petty coins in circulation. In this same period, those entrepreneurs who had facilitated Rome's economic growth through trading activities with Champagne (the *mercatores*), were replaced by the barons as the leading group in the city; this new elite comprised land and castle owners, often more interested in their own social standing

than in the commercial vigour of the city.⁸ As a result, the emergence of this elite led to a period of tension and great economic and political instability that lasted until the rise of Cola di Rienzo in 1347, no doubt also affecting the production of base-metal coinage.

In exploring other possible roles of coinage in medieval Rome's society, Chapter 5 drew on archival sources – mainly rent and sales agreements – which clearly indicate that coins and specifically the *denari pavesi*, *lucchesi* and *provisini* and the *denier provinois* were not simply a means of exchange in transactions, but they also served as a unit of account to count sums. As such, they formed part of a system based on multiples of twelve – the penny (*denaro*), the shilling (*solido*) and the pound (*lira*) – and which is accordingly known as 'duodecimal system'. Moreover, the large number of hoards and single finds recovered across Italy, and especially in its centre, signify that the *denier provinois* and *denaro provisino* could form stores of wealth and offerings in ritual depositions, both private and official.

Finally, Chapter 6 explored the possibility that the *denaro provisino* served a further function as a vehicle for political messages that the Senate exploited, along with other instruments, to legitimate its power and strengthen the sense of identity and community among the Romans. The fact that the *denaro provisino* always imitated the French *denier provinois* instead of showing symbols related to Rome might be explained by two concurrent causes. On the one hand, the *denier provinois* had been the strongest coin in central Italy in the 1160s-1180s. Thus, replacing this popular coin type with a completely different one might have been perceived negatively by the 'market', which tended to be conservative in nature. On the other hand, Rome's mint might have actually reinterpreted the symbols of the *denier provinois* and, more specifically, its carding comb. Thus, while on the French issue this comb is surmounted by a T – in reference to Count Thibaut II – on the Rome *denaro provisino* it is surmounted by

⁸ The rise of this new elite is discussed, for instance, in Carocci, 'Barone e podestà', in *I podestà dell'Italia comunale*, ed. by Maire Vigueur, pp. 847–75, and in Maire Vigueur, *L'altra Roma*, pp. 200–258.

an S, clear allusion to the Roman Senate. It is important to note that, until c.1250, the Senators largely belonged to that mixed elite who built up great influence in the city through their trading activities with the Champagne fairs. It is argued here, therefore, that these fairs, symbolized by the carding comb, actually were considered as an essential part of the commune's identity. The presence on the *denaro provisino* of the legends SENATVS.P.Q.R and ROMACAPVTMVNDI surely supports the interpretation of this coin as an instrument exploited by the commune, and more specifically by its commercial elite, to show itself as the new heir of ancient Rome. As hopefully demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, the *denaro provisino* is a complex source, which can inform us on multiple aspects of Rome's medieval society, including trade activities, religious beliefs, cultural practices and political ideologies.

Throughout this research, the analysis of numismatic evidence has been combined with the study of archival and notarial documents. These acts have never been exploited as a source to question the role of coinage in medieval society and the use by notaries of specific formulae, including, for instance, the expressions 'pounds of *denari pavesi*' and 'pounds of *denari lucchesi*', which are attested to in documents even after the withdrawal of the actual *denari pavesi* and *lucchesi* from Rome's currency system. In other words, the available archival sources have never been examined numismatically, which requires a shift in focus from the *subjects* of the contract to the *means* used to conclude the transaction. This approach shows how written sources can shed important light on how money was perceived in medieval Rome and how it was used for both exchange and as a unit of account in transactions.

Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that the study of numismatic evidence and the monetary analysis of documents adds significant insight to the understanding of medieval Rome, showing this city as an economically-developed centre, with relatively advanced trade networks – especially from the late twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century – and a unique government structure. Even though the pope continued to represent an important institution

after the popular revolt of 1143, this research argues that his political role in the communal period was probably less prominent than previously thought.⁹ Rather, it seems that the Roman Senate was a powerful institution with strong political ambitions and clear identity:¹⁰ the Senators had the right to mint coins, and fully took advantage of this right by putting the formula SENATVS.P.Q.R on base metal, silver and gold issues. At the same time they looked to raise the profile of Rome's ruins by supporting restoration works, many of which were commemorated through the erection of plaques. This group knew how to quote classical authors, used ancient formulae in acts and inscriptions, and considered ancient remains as a key element in official architecture – the senatorial palace itself was built over the ancient *Tabularium*. All of these elements show that the Rome commune was led by a strong municipal institution with wide cultural influences and a well-developed identity, who knew how to communicate effectively with the masses and who duly exploited the evocative power of Rome's past.

One of the main challenges, and also one of the main achievements, of this research has been the reconstruction of the iconographic and metrological changes to the *denaro provisino* across Rome's communal period. Core to this has been analysis of a numismatic sample of large size, primarily a series of hoards that people consciously hid for different purposes (see Section 5.4). The study of hoards, as the main methodology employed in this thesis, necessarily demands caution due to the scarcity of information about the place and date of recovery of these materials. Most of these hoards discussed in this thesis were found in Rome during restoration works in the 1870s and then between the 1920s and 1930s, namely in a time when little or no attention was paid to medieval numismatic evidence; as a result, almost no effort was made at

⁹ The traditional view of medieval Rome as a papal city is well-expressed in von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*; Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*.

¹⁰ In these terms, this study follows a challenging approach developed in the last decades; see for example: Maire Vigueur, 'Il comune romano', in *Roma Medievale*, ed. by Vauchez, pp. 117–57 (p. 119); Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 120–21.

the time to provide details on their recovery. The amount of lost information is very significant since, for instance, the location where a hoard is recovered can inform on the reason(s) for its concealment, while its composition provides clues to its owner and his social status. Due to such lack of details, this study has come to the conclusion that hoards need to be studied carefully in order to build an economic image of Rome in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the systematic study of the hoards recovered in central Italy remains a workable methodology, which provides an otherwise inaccessible level of detail in the analysis of Rome's medieval currency system.

Due to limitations to the level of such analysis, we need to exploit new scientific techniques to enhance the chronology of the *denaro provisino* revised in this thesis and to understand in detail the changes in this issue's silver content. It is important to highlight that the amount of precious metal of the *denaro provisino* and, more generally, of medieval pennies, tended to decrease over time; as a result, *denari provisini* of the twelfth century likely had a much higher amount of silver than *denari provisini* of the fourteenth century. Amongst the various scientific approaches to investigate the metal composition of coins, Laser Ablation Inductively-Coupled Plasma-Mass Spectrometry (*LA-ICP-MS*) is one of the most useful and reliable.¹¹ Ideally, therefore, making samples of *denari provisini* of each type so far identified and testing them via *LA-ICP-MS* is a necessity. Such a study will provide insight not only into developments in the metal content of the *denaro provisino*, but also into the reliability of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century coin lists contained in merchants' notebooks and ledgers. Such lists generally include the most popular coin types in circulation at the time, often specifying their fineness; however, experts tend to consider these documents untrustworthy due

¹¹ *LA-ICP-MS* has been increasingly used to test the metal composition of coins; for example see: Constantina Vlachou-Mogire, Ben Stern, and Gerry McDonnell, 'The application of *LA-ICP-MS* in the examination of the thin plating layers found in late Roman coins', *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B*, 265 (2007), 558–568.

to the numerous changes that these witnessed over time. Scientific studies will help verify the contemporary understanding of qualities and fineness of such issues.

Of course, a well-grounded reconstruction of the *denaro provisino* developments would lead to a better understanding of coinage production in the Rome commune; because of the lack of documentary sources, there are still numerous open questions about this topic, such as: how was the Rome mint organized and articulated? Who managed it? Was there a distribution of responsibilities between the Senate and the papacy as the Concord Pact of 1188 seems to suggest? If so, how did this distribution work? How many people did the Rome commune employ for the production of coinage? How did the metal resources necessary for the coinage production reach Rome, and where were they stored? Were these imported as sheets? Scientific studies such as X-Ray fluorescence analysis or *LA-ICP-MS* could help provenance the metal itself and give new insights into the technology of production.

The scarcity of archival evidence, mainly due to deliberate destructions of the commune's archive perpetrated by the papacy from the early fifteenth century onwards and then by the *Landsknechts* in 1527 (see Section 2.3.3), makes all these questions particularly challenging. Future research will seek to address these through the use of further scientific research and comparative analysis. Although to be used with caution, comparative analysis is certainly a powerful tool, which can offer important insights into the characteristics, programmes, aspirations and hopes of a communal city that, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, was so much more than the minor economic centre it had been under the papal authority alone.

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ASR, Ospedale Santo Spirito, box no. 59, document nos. 2, 7 and 23; box no. 60, document nos. 55, 65, 66, 74, 78, 82 and 85; box no. 61, document no. 118

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