

MÉLANGES
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COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES

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ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

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16

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*Ouvrage publié avec le concours
de la fondation Ebersolt du Collège de France
et de l’université Paris-Sorbonne*

Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance
52, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine – 75005 Paris
2010



Cécile Arizon

ABRÉVIATIONS

<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. instituit E. SCHWARTZ, continuavit J. STRAUB, Berlin 1914-1940.
<i>ACO, ser. sec.</i>	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda</i> , ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1984-.
<i>AIIN</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto italiano di numismatica Roma</i> . Roma.
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American journal of archaeology</i> . Boston.
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American journal of numismatics</i> . New York.
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian studies</i> . London.
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> . Bruxelles.
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales, économie, sociétés, civilisations</i> . Paris.
<i>Année épigr.</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> . Paris.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt : Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , hrsg. von H. TEMPORINI <i>et al.</i> , Berlin 1972-.
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American numismatic society. Museum notes</i> . New York.
<i>AnTard</i>	<i>Antiquité tardive</i> . Turnhout.
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> . München – Leipzig.
<i>BAH</i>	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Beyrouth.
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American schools of oriental research</i> . Atlanta.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> . Paris.
<i>BEFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris – Rome.
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i> . Le Caire.
<i>BMC</i>	W. WROTH, <i>Catalogue of the imperial Byzantine coins in the British Museum</i> , London 1908.
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and modern Greek studies</i> . Leeds.
<i>BNC 1 et 2</i>	C. MORRISON, <i>Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale 1, D'Anastase I^{er} à Justinien II (491-711); 2, De Philippicus à Alexis III (711-1204)</i> , Paris 1970.
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique</i> . Paris.
<i>BSl.</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica : revue internationale des études byzantines</i> . Praha.
<i>Byz.</i>	<i>Byzantion : revue internationale des études byzantines</i> . Wetteren.
<i>Byz. Forsch.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik</i> . Amsterdam.
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> . Berlin.
<i>CArch</i>	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i> . Paris.
<i>CCSG</i>	Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca. Turnhout.
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus christianorum. Series Latina. Turnhout.
<i>CEFR</i>	Collection de l'École française de Rome. Rome.
<i>CFHB</i>	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin 1963-.

- CJ* *Corpus iuris ciuilis. 2, Codex Justinianus*, rec. P. KRÜGER, Berlin 1877.
- CNI* *Corpus nummorum Italicorum*. Roma 1910-.
- CPG* *Clavis patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout 1974-2003.
- CPR* *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*. Wien 1895-.
- CR* *Classical Review*. Oxford.
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Paris.
- CRIPEL* *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille*. Villeneuve-d'Ascq.
- CSCO* *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. Louvain.
- CSHB* *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn.
- DChAE* *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*. Athènes.
- DOC I* A. R. BELLINGER, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 1, Anastasius I to Maurice 491-602*, Washington DC 1966.
- DOC II, 1* Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 2, Phocas to Theodosius III, 602-717. 1, Phocas and Heraclius, 602-641*, Washington DC 1968.
- DOC III, 1* Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 3, Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081. 1, Leo III to Michael III, 717-867*, Washington DC 1973.
- DOC III, 2* Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 3, Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081. 2, Basil I to Nicephorus III, 867-1081*, Washington DC 1993.
- DOC IV* M. HENDY, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 4, Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261. 1, Alexius I to Alexius V (1081-1204); 2, The emperors of Nicaea and their contemporaries (1204-1261)*, Washington DC 1999.
- DOC V* Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection. 5, Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1258-1453*, Washington DC 1999.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks papers*. Washington
- DOS* *Dumbarton Oaks studies*. Cambridge Mass.
- DOSeals 1-6* *Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. 1, Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, ed. by J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, Washington DC 1991 ; 2, *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, ed. by J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, Washington DC 1994 ; 3, *West, Northwest, and Central Asia Minor and the Orient*, ed. by J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, Washington DC 1996 ; 4, *The East*, ed. by E. McGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, Washington DC 2001 ; 5, *The East (continued), Constantinople and environs, unknown locations, addenda, uncertain readings*, ed. by E. McGEER, J. NESBITT and N. OIKONOMIDES, Washington DC 2005 ; 6, *Emperors, patriarchs of Constantinople, addenda*, ed. by J. NESBITT, Washington DC 2009.
- DOT* *Dumbarton Oaks texts*. Washington.
- DTC* *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique : contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire*, commencé sous la dir. de A. VACANT, continué sous celle de E. MANGENOT, Paris, 1899-1968.

- EEBS *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*. Athènes.
- EHB *The economic history of Byzantium : from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. E. LAIOU, ed.-in-chief (DOS 39), Washington DC 2002.
- EKEE *Ἐπετηρίδα του Κέντρου επιστημονικῶν ερευνῶν*. Nicosie.
- EO *Échos d'Orient : revue d'histoire, de géographie et de liturgie orientales*. Bucarest.
- FHG *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1841-1872.
- GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies*. Durham.
- HBN *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*. Hamburg.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1903-.
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Beyrouth – Paris 1929-.
- ILS *H. DESSAU, Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin 1892-1916.
- IRAIK *Izvestija Russkogo arheologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*. Sofija.
- JESHO *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient*. Leiden.
- JHS *The Journal of Hellenic studies*. London.
- JNG *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*. München.
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*. Wien.
- JRA *Journal of Roman archaeology : an international journal*. Portsmouth.
- JRS *The Journal of Roman studies*. London.
- MEC Ph. GRIERSON and M. BLACKBURN, *Medieval European coinage : with a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. 1, *The early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries)*, Cambridge 1986. Ph. GRIERSON, L. TRAVAINI, *Medieval European coinage*. 14, *Italy*. 3, *South Italy, Sardinia, Sicily*, Cambridge 1998.
- MEFRA *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*. Rome – Paris.
- MEFRM *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*. Rome – Paris.
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. Berlin.
- MIB I W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*. 1, *Von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I. (491-565) : einschliesslich der ostgotischen und vandalischen Prägungen* (Veröffentlichungen der numismatischen Kommission 1), Wien 1973.
- MIB II W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*. 2, *Von Justinus II bis Phocas (565-610) : einschliesslich der Prägungen der Heraclius-Revolt und mit Nachträgen zum 1. Band* (Veröffentlichungen der numismatischen Kommission 4), Wien 1975.
- MIB III W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*. 3, *Von Heraclius bis Leo III./ Alleinregierung (610-720)* (Veröffentlichungen der numismatischen Kommission 10), Wien 1981.
- MIBE I M. A. METLICH, *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire. Anastasius I – Justinian I, 491-565* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 6), Wien 2000.
- MIBE II W. HAHN et M. A. METLICH, *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire. Justin II – Revolt of the Heraclii, 565-610* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte der Universität Wien 13), Wien 2009.
- MM *Acta et diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi sacra et profana collecta*, ed. F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, Athènes – Wien 1860-1867.
- MUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*. Beyrouth.
- NAC *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche*. Lugano.
- NC *The Numismatic chronicle*. London.

- NCirc* *Numismatic circular*. London.
Néos Hell. *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*. Athènes.
Nov. *Corpus iuris civilis. 3, Novellae*, rec. R. SCHOELL, absolvit G. KROLL, Berlin 1895.
NSA *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Notizie degli scavi di antichità*. Roma.
OCA *Orientalia Christiana analecta*. Roma.
OCP *Orientalia Christiana periodica : commentarii de re orientali aetatis christianae sacra et profana*. Roma.
ODB *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, A. P. KAZHDAN ed. in chief, New York 1991.
PBE *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire. 1, 614–867*, ed. by J. R. MARTINDALE, Aldershot 2001.
PG *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, accur. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1856-1866.
PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, erstellt von E. TRAPP, unter Mitarbeit von R. WALTHER und H.-V. BEYER ; mit einem Vorwort von H. HUNGER. Wien 1976-.
PLRE *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. JONES, J. R. MARTINDALE & J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971-1992.
PmbZ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Berlin 1998-.
PO *Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris.
RA *Revue archéologique*. Paris.
RALLÈS-POTLÈS *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, éd. G. A. RALLÈS & M. POTLÈS, Athènes 1852-1859.
RBN *Revue belge de numismatique*. Bruxelles.
RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.
REA *Revue des études anciennes*. Bordeaux.
REB *Revue des études byzantines*. Paris.
RIN *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini*. Milano.
RN *Revue numismatique*. Paris.
ROC *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*. Paris.
SBS *Studies in Byzantine sigillography*.
SC *Sources chrétiennes*. Paris.
SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*.
StT *Studi e testi*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano.
Syn. CP *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, éd. H. DELEHAYE, Bruxelles 1902.
TIB *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Wien.
TLL *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.
TM *Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.
VTIB *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Wien.
VV *Vizantijskij Vremennik*. Moscou.
ZEPOS *Jus Graecoromanum*, cur. J. et P. ZEPOS, Athènes 1931.
ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn.
ZRVI *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*. Beograd.

SOME THOUGHTS ON MINTS FROM UNPUBLISHED NOTES BY PHILIP GRIERSON

by Lucia TRAVAINI

When I was invited to contribute to a volume in honour of Cécile Morrisson I was very glad indeed to have an opportunity to join the many who have appreciated and admired her intellectual achievements, generosity to other scholars and warm human qualities. A variety of possible topics came to mind, touching some of the different areas explored by Cécile Morrisson in her studies; in the end I decided to offer her a small contribution which contains some unpublished comments on mints made by our mutual friend and master Philip Grierson in 1999, and adding a few notes of my own. In Milan in October 1999 an international symposium was dedicated to the theme of mint buildings from antiquity to early Modern Europe (“I luoghi della moneta”).¹ Both Cécile Morrisson and Philip Grierson were present and took part in the discussion. The proceedings were published in 2001 but the texts of the discussions were omitted. I later found the notes of the unpublished discussion, and this short paper gives me the possibility to honour Cécile, and remember at the same time Philip Grierson, hundred years from his birth (15 November 1910).

The first paper addressed by Grierson was the one by Andrew Burnett on “The invisibility of Roman Imperial mints”.² Burnett observed—here I quote his published text—that “mints were temporary or unimpressive structures”, and “an official mint cannot be distinguished from a forger’s one in terms of archaeological remains or even location, both were small and easily portable”. The exception was the imperial mint in Rome at the site of San Clemente, and Burnett observed that it was located in an area without important public function, and not within the area of the Palace and the Treasury (unlike what became a norm in the highly centralized mints of Venice or Florence in the

1. L. TRAVAINI, I luoghi della moneta : storia di un convegno, in *I luoghi della moneta : le sedi delle zecche dall'antichità all'età moderna : atti del convegno internazionale, 22-23 ottobre 1999, Milano*, Milano 2001, p. 11-17. I am grateful to Benedikt Zäch for discussing some of the topics dealt with in this paper.

2. A. BURNETT, The invisibility of Roman imperial mints, in *I luoghi della moneta* (cit. n. 1), p. 41-48.

middle ages or the Renaissance): it was a functional building. For other mints Burnett noted that “it was easy for a city to set up its mint in some suitable building, as it was for a forger to set up a mint in his own house or back yard”, and that “minting was a simple activity that could be set up in any convenient building, sometimes centrally located, but sometimes situated in an industrial area”.³ The response given by Philip Grierson to Andrew Burnett’s presentation shows his attentive interest on a matter that concerns all numismatists, but also tells us a piece of his own family history:

I must express my scepticism over the current fashion for multiplying mints of forgers in the main streets and densely inhabited parts of Roman cities. A mint would require the regular delivery of large quantities of fuel, and appreciable quantities of metal in scrap or ingot form. Would not neighbours’ attention be drawn to the smoke of the furnaces, and to the smells and noise of the operations? Even if the curiosity of neighbours was not aroused by these, would not the police notice that something unusual was going on? Even if they were covered up by the existence of legitimate metal-working on the same premises, there would always be the danger of members of the staff acting as informers. It is of course true that legitimate operations can be mistaken for illegal ones. A member of my own family, living in Dumfries in Scotland, was arrested by the police as a possible counterfeiter in the early 17th century. The police had been informed by a malicious neighbour that loud hammering was often heard on his premises. The explanation was that he had invented, and was using, a new method he had devised for stamping coloured patterns on muslin cloth, and, when he proved that this was the case, he was released. But I find it hard to believe that the counterfeiting on a main street could be concealed for any length of time.

One may recognize in this story Philip Grierson’s humour and also his scepticism on the matter, but the topic can be further explored. It was indeed easy to set up a mint in almost any location before machine minting. King Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1438 set up a temporary “royal-clandestine” mint in a house in Palermo to produce counterfeit gold Venetian ducats to be used in his campaign to conquer Naples: his official mint was at Messina. It was an unofficial activity under the authority of the king: how noisy this was for neighbours is of no interest here because it was the king himself who was responsible for this mint and soldiers or police may have guarded the place. In 1489, in Milan, the keeper of the Castle of Porta Giovia, Filippo Eustachi, was accused of having produced false silver coins with the use of alchemy (“grossi falsi d’alchimia”) inside the castle itself.⁴ These two cases were both examples of State dependant or tolerated mint activity, and the “alchemy production” in the second one was not necessarily noisy. Were

3. In late medieval and modern Italy some documents point to the presence of forgers in urban centres, although these may not always be described as “mints”: in February 1455 a “grida” in Milan tried to prevent people from keeping at home furnaces crucibles and any other tool necessary for clipping striking or forging coins, and the fact that similar “gride” were again issued the following March, and in 1456, then twice in 1467, in 1472, 1474, three times in 1475, twice in 1476, shows that it was not easy to stop the forgers’ activity (E. BERNAREGGI, *La politica monetaria e l’attività della zecca a Milano nel periodo sforzesco*, *AIIN* 16-17, 1969-1970, p. 171-197).

4. N. COVINI, Eustachi Filippo, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, t. 43, Roma 1993, p. 537; more bibliography in L. TRAVAINI, *Milano, Rocca del Castello di Porta Giovia (Lombardia)*, in *Le zecche italiane fino all’Unità*, a cura di L. TRAVAINI, Roma 2011, p. 1513.

clandestine forgers' mints more at risk in an urban centre? How central did a mint have to be in order to conclude that it was not a forger's mint? Andrew Burnett mentioned the discovery of moulds for producing flans in the agora at Thessalonika and suggested that such a central location, although possibly an official mint, was not sufficient to exclude the possibility of a forger's mint. Cécile Morrisson on the contrary, during the discussion and later in her own paper, shows a different opinion: "la localisation de la découverte dans un lieu aussi central et officiel que l'agora, le fait qu'il s'agisse de moules à flans et non de moules de monnaies, me paraît exclure l'hypothèse d'un atelier de faux-monnaieur."⁵ About this last point, however, Andrew Burnett suggested that moulds for blanks such as those found in the agora at Thessalonika should not be considered as a certain trace of an official mint, given the fact that similar moulds were discovered for example within the town of Augusta Raurica, even if not in the area of the forum.⁶

It is true that traces of forgers' workshops, for the medieval period, have been discovered most frequently in secluded castles,⁷ but some mint production could have taken place in central locations under the protection of authorities or important people. Although there has been much work done on this topic, discussion seems always very useful, bearing in mind that a great variety of situations (in perceptions, status and people involved) lay between the easy definitions of "official" and "clandestine" mints, and "official" and "clandestine" coins.⁸

One more category of mint activity is the "imaginary" and "rhetorical" one: the coin forger is frequently quoted in literature as a "topos", and there are stories about minting activities in the most unpredictable places. To amuse Cécile, I wish to quote two Italian voices from the sixteenth century, Michelangelo Buonarroti and the Sienese chronicler Angiolo Bardi.

In early 1547 Michelangelo had just been appointed as director of works for completing the new basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican after the death of Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. In a letter written to Bartolomeo Ferrantino, between late 1546 and early 1547, Michelangelo praised Bramante's first project for the new basilica but bitterly criticized Sangallo's project; among various defects, Michelangelo remarked that the project had too many hidden corners where one could hide outlaws, strike false coins and impregnate nuns!

5. C. MORRISON, *Moneta, kharagè, zecca* : les ateliers byzantins et le palais imperial, in *I luoghi della moneta* (cit. n. 1), p. 49-58.

6. BURNETT, *The invisibility* (cit. n. 2), p. 44 n. 26.

7. See the recent case studied by A. SACCOCCI, *La zecca clandestina : le monete*, in ... *pro construendo Castrum et Domum de laurentino... : il castello di Toppo : un progetto di recupero e valorizzazione tra archeologia e restauro*, a cura di L. VILLA, Travesio 2010, p. 145-158, 256, and the many forgers' mints listed in the section "Zecche clandestine o non ufficiali" in *Le zecche italiane* (cit. n. 4), p. 1507-1521.

8. See the proceedings of the colloquium: *Faux, contrefaçons, imitations : actes du quatrième colloque international du Groupe suisse pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires, Martigny, 1^{er}-2 mars 2002*, éd. par A.-F. AUBERSON *et al.*, Lausanne 2004: for the medieval period Marc Bompaire discussed the rôle of princes (Les princes, imitateurs ou contrefacteurs : exemples français des XIII^e-XV^e siècles, p. 107-127). Other literature is quoted by L. TRAVAINI, *Monete e storia nell'Italia medievale*, Roma 2007, chapter 11.

... toglie tucti i lumi a la pianta di Bramante, e non solo questo, ma per sé non à ancora lume nessuno; e tanti nascondigli fra di sopra e di sotto, scuri, che fanno comodità grande a infinite ribalderie: come tener segretamente sbanditi, far monete false, impregnar monache e altre ribalderie...⁹

In 1528 the chronicler Angiolo Bardi wrote that the local copper coins recently issued in Siena were soon massively falsified, in castles, in the woods, in the cellars, and some people were even able to produce coins in the street with a screw machine. Among these was a man named Camillo Gobbi who—according to the chronicler—struck coins under his cloak as he was talking to other people: later he was discovered and decapitated, whilst others were hung!

... ne battevano fuori di zecca, chi per le fortezze e per le macchie, nelle cantine e di quelli che andando per la strada con un ingegno a vite l'improntavano. Fra gli altri uno Camillo Gobbi, mentre che andava per le strade e parlava coll'altri, sotto la cappa stampava moneta; scoperto li fu mozzo la testa e dell'altri impiccati.¹⁰

“Machine-coin-production-under-the-cloak-as-you-go” is possibly the most unbelievable thing ever said on the topic of forgery: if Camillo Gobbi was really decapitated I hope to find the papers of the trial in the Siena archives for future research, but even if he really was executed for forgery it is impossible to believe in his extravagant technique. The fascination and myth of forgers produced indeed very imaginative inventions.

The second paper commented upon by Philip Grierson in Milan was read by Marc Bompaire on “Lieux de monnaie et ateliers monétaires dans la France médiévale.”¹¹

Bompaire introduced his treatment of the subject by analysing the terms used for “mint” found in French medieval documents: the term *moneta* meant minting rights as well as the mint itself, and very rarely one can find more certain definitions for the building such as *domus monete* or *moneteria* or *seca*, the latter two in Perpignan, Provence, Orange and occasionally Montpellier (*seca* being derived from the Arabic *sikka* like the Italian “zecca”). Having said this, the author remarked on the importance to consider three points: 1) the place-names written on the coins, 2) the place-name attributed in documents as the origin of a coin, 3) the explicit reference in documents to a mint building (such as in Carcassonne the *turris vetus monetaria* quoted in 1126). So, Marc Bompaire made it clear that “le nom figurant sur la pièce de monnaie peut ainsi être différent du nom de la monnaie dans le document et du lieu de frappe”; and he offers examples: “l’atelier de la Marche était à Bellac, ville de cette seigneurie”; “la monnaie de Nevers, portant le nom de Nevers, est frappée au XIII^e siècle à Clamecy (Nièvre) où résident des monnayeurs et d’où provient en 1276 une boîte du monnayage... est-ce un second atelier qui existe à coté de celui de Nevers ou est-ce alors le seul?”

9. *Il carteggio di Michelangelo*. 4, a cura di P. BAROCCHI e R. RISTORI, Firenze 1979, p. 251.

10. A. DEL MANCINO, Documenti sulla zecca e sulla circolazione delle monete senesi dal XIII al XVI secolo, a cura di G. CATONI, in B. PAOLOZZI STROZZI, G. TODERI, F. VANNEL TODERI, *Le monete della Repubblica senese*, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano) 1992, p. 405-486, at p. 413-414.

11. M. BOMPAIRE, Lieux de monnaie et ateliers monétaires dans la France médiévale, in *I luoghi della moneta* (cit. n. 1), p. 87-100.

Philip Grierson commented as follows:

Je n'ai pas de question à poser, mais je veux profiter de l'occasion de féliciter Marc Bompaire de sa communication. Féliciter, mais en même temps exprimer ma consternation d'avoir appris, grâce à sa documentation, que dans tant de cas le nom du lieu dans la légende d'une pièce quelconque ne prouve pas du tout que celle-ci a été frappée à l'endroit ainsi nommé. Tout le monde sait que METALLVM a pu couvrir un groupe d'autres ateliers en Poitou, mais Marc Bompaire a démontré qu'un phénomène, qu'on pensait avoir été exceptionnel, et lié au fait que Melle était la source du métal et pas forcément l'atelier monétaire, était plutôt un phénomène assez commun.

The fact that a place-name written on a coin does not correspond to the place where it was struck is a reality in many periods and countries. For Italy we can mention the patriarchs of Aquileia, who struck coins in Aquileia, Udine, Cividale, and the bishops of Volterra, who struck their coins in Volterra but also in the castles of Berignone and Casole: their coins only refer to Aquileia and Volterra.¹² But in the case of Berignone there is an even more complicated aspect as it seems that the mint in this castle did not produce just coins for the bishop of Volterra, but served merchants on demand. There is evidence for this in the account book of Lippo di Fede del Sega, a Florentine money changer active from around 1314 to 1322, whose activities have been studied admirably by Charles M. de la Roncière. Lippo did move from place to place buying and selling coins and bullion, using different mints to have his metal coined at the best value; according to de la Roncière, in 1317 he brought metal to the mint of Berignone to receive silver grossi of Florence (!) and not of Volterra as we may expect from that mint, and, most extraordinary, he probably got the uncoined silver blanks from the mint of Florence itself.¹³ Only in November 1317 the Florentine authorities prohibited the production of Florentine coins outside Florence (*in Tuscia vel extra Tusciam sub signo vel titulo seu conio cominis Florentie*).¹⁴

The two topics discussed by Philip Grierson—mint location (clandestine/official) and mint name on the coins—are thus strictly linked and we can ask again and again: what is a mint? The answer is a complex of business and State finances, and only very rarely

12. For these mints see now the entries in *Le zecche italiane* (cit. n. 4). It is also a frequent case that a king's name, or emperor's name, written on a coin does not correspond to the ruler of the time, this being caused by immobilization of a type, or by the fact that a king's or emperor's name was written on a coin only as a testimony of the minting right granted by him: and this was the case in many Italian communal coinages.

13. Charles M. de LA RONCIÈRE, *Un changeur florentin du Trecento : Lippo di Fede del Sega (1285 env.-1363 env.)* (Affaires et gens d'affaires 36), Paris 1973, p. 60; L. TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti e matematica : le monete medievali nei trattati di aritmetica e nei libri di mercatura*, Roma 2003, p. 26.

14. LA RONCIÈRE, *Un changeur* (cit. n. 13), p. 64 footnote; TRAVAINI, *Monete, mercanti* (cit. n. 13), p. 27. It was not uncommon for official mints to have a parallel secret production of non-local coins for the use of merchants: reference to this for Genoa are in L. TRAVAINI, *La collezione numismatica di Banca Carige : arte e storia, economia e segreti, simboli e politica in sette secoli di monetazione, in Il patrimonio artistico di Banca Carige. Monete, pesi e bilance monetali*, a cura di L. TRAVAINI, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano) 2010, p. 13-14 and for other Italian medieval and modern mints in L. TRAVAINI, *Le zecche italiane*, in *Le zecche italiane* (cit. n. 4), p. 31-126, at p. 100-106.

and very late in time a concern for “populi commoditas”. Cécile Morrisson has dedicated much of her research to understanding and explaining mints and coins of the Byzantine Empire and her work has inspired many of us. I am grateful to Cécile for her constant advice and help on mints and coins, and a lot more, over many years.¹⁵

15. I am very grateful to Cécile Morrisson for contributing to the book *Le zecche italiane* (cit. n. 4) with two texts: C. MORRISSON, *Le zecche nell'Italia bizantina : un quadro d'insieme*, p. 415-425, and, with V. PRIGENT, *La monetazione in Sicilia nell'età bizantina*, p. 427-434.

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