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The petty coinage of Genoa under the early doges, 1339-1396*

I. Introduction

This paper deals mainly with the petty coinage of Genoa during the first sixty years or so of the period of the doges for life, *il periodo dei dogi a vita*. The period began in 1339 with what the Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella described as the *ardua mutatio*, or 'difficult change', which was effectively a coup d'état, and it came to a close in 1528 with Andrea Doria's takeover and the establishment of an aristocratic republic under the biennial doges. This paper focuses on the period from 1339 to 1396, the period of the early doges, though its purview spills over into the preceding and immediately following periods. The chronological scope of the paper is determined mainly by the twists and turns of Genoa's political history. On or about 24 September 1339, as a result of the *ardua mutatio*, Simone Boccanegra was confirmed as Genoa's first doge for life in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.¹ On 27 November 1396, Antoniotto Adorno, the seventh doge of Genoa, turned over the reins of government to the French king Charles VI (1380-1422), mainly in an attempt to end the divisions within Genoa but also to prevent his rivals in the city from gaining control.² To give a sense of the complicated nature of Genoa's political history, when Adorno relinquished control over the city to King Charles, he was serving in his fifth non-consecutive term as doge. He had twice served for less than a day, and had already been ousted four times, but he was resilient, and he was indeed the dominant figure in Genoese politics for most of the last quarter of the fourteenth century (see below, Table 1).

Once Adorno had submitted to Charles VI, French rule lasted until 1409, when control over the city and its territory passed to Theodore II Paleologus, the marquis of Montferrat (1381-1418), who governed Genoa until 1413. Throughout the period of the doges for life, Genoa was frequently under foreign rule. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, foreign rule was in fact a salient characteristic of Genoa's complicated history. Already before period of the doges for life, Genoa had been under

the nominal rule of Robert the Wise of Anjou, and from 1353 to 1356, Genoa was under the rule of the Visconti lords of Milan. In the fifteenth century, foreign domination was in fact the norm rather than the exception by a slight margin. Earlier periods of foreign rule are not reflected in the coinage, but from the beginning of the

* This paper has grown out of work on *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 12: *Italy (III): North Italy* (Cambridge, forthcoming). The volume is a collaborative effort between Philip Grierson, Michael Matzke, Andrea Saccocci, and myself. For Genoa, Matzke and I divide the section, with Matzke covering the period until 1339 and myself taking the later period, though of course there is some overlap. In his contribution, Matzke has re-classified Genoa's early coinage, and some of the arguments in this paper are a reflection of Matzke's research, while others stem directly from my own work on the later period. Chronologically, numismatists normally divide the coinage of Genoa between the coinage of the Genoese 'Commune' or 'Republic' (1139-1339) and the coinage issued during the period of the doges for life (1339-1528), but the terminology is really inappropriate, since the form of government in Genoa under the doges for life still retained the character of a communal regime. Matzke and I have therefore adopted the conventions 'pre-ducal' and 'ducal', respectively, to distinguish between the two periods.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at a meeting of the Cambridgeshire Numismatic Society in November 2002. I wish to express my gratitude to Philip Grierson, Michael Matzke, Andrea Saccocci, and Alan M. Stahl, who have read and commented upon previous drafts of this paper. Matzke's input has been particularly invaluable, and I have benefited much from reading drafts of his contribution on the pre-ducal coinage of Genoa to be published in *MEC* 12. Martin Allen and Elina Screen proofread the draft, and Dr Screen assisted me in putting together the illustrations of the coins. Dick Hodges prepared the scans of the coins from the Grierson Collection reproduced in the illustrations.

Abbreviations: *CNI* = *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, 20 vols, Rome 1910-1970; *MEC* = *Medieval European Coinage*, Cambridge 1986-; *MIR* = *Monete italiane regionali*, Pavia 1991-.

1. Stella, G.: *Annales Genuenses*, ed. Petti Balbi, G., Bologna 1975, p. 128-133; Epstein, S. A.: *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528*, Chapel Hill & London 1996, p. 152, 203-205.
2. For Giorgio Stella's chronicle account of the negotiations that culminated in submission to France, see Stella: *Annales Genuenses*, p. 218-219. The events leading up to the submission treaty, the submission itself, and the early years of French rule are covered in detail and supplemented by a documentary appendix in Jarry, E.: *Les origines de la domination française à Gênes (1392-1402)*, Paris 1896. For a more concise account, see Epstein: *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 247-262.

first period of French rule in 1396, foreign rule invariably left its mark on the coinage, though in general aspect the coinage still followed the time-honoured traditions.

II. Genoa's petty coinage before 1339

The petty coinage of Genoa under the early doges developed out of Genoa's pre-ducial *denari*, first issued in 1139. The obverse legend on the pre-ducial *denari* invariably reads IANVA, for Genoa, with a stylised gate in the field, sometimes also referred to erroneously as a castle. The reverse legend reads CVNRADI REX, for the German king who granted Genoa minting rights, with a cross in the field.³ The classification of the pre-ducial *denaro* is based on overall style, the number and location of stops in the legends, and wedges or other designs in the angles of the cross.⁴ The pre-ducial *denari* of Genoa were probably struck at least until the beginning of the ducal period in 1339, and they evidently continued to circulate in the lands of the northern Tyrrhenian Sea even under the early doges.⁵ Sometime after 1339, the mint began to strike an anonymous ducal *denaro* with the obverse legend DVX IANVE around the stylised gate and the reverse legend CVNRADV' REX around a cross.⁶

The half-*denaro*, or *medaglia*, followed the design and metallic standard of the *denaro*, albeit at a lighter weight and smaller size.⁷ By 1287, the mint also began to issue the quarter-*denaro*, or *quartaro*, struck mainly of copper with very little silver.⁸ According to the Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella, in 1320, the mint issued a new type of *quartaro* with a cross on one side and a griffin on the other.⁹ The *quartaro* of Genoa is usually dated to the pre-ducial period,¹⁰ but Cornelio Desimoni noted that records from 1383 indicate that the *quartaro* was still circulating in the later fourteenth century.¹¹ The appearance of *quartari* in late fourteenth-century archaeological contexts further suggests that these coins continued to circulate under the early doges.¹² The lettering and overall style of the so-called 'first type' *quartaro* (figs 1a-b) with the stylised gateway in the obverse field and a long-cross on the reverse even recommend a dating to the later fourteenth century, while the absence of a fleur-de-lis in one of the angles of the cross suggests that it antedated French rule in Genoa.¹³

Other petty coinages of Genoa conventionally attributed to the pre-ducial period but belonging instead to the period after 1339 are the *petachina*, or *patacbina*, of the CIVITAS IANVE type (figs 2a-b),¹⁴ the *denaro minuto* of

3. Desimoni, C.: *Tavole descrittive delle monete della zecca di Genova dal MCXXXIX al MDCCCXIV*, Genoa 1890, p. 2-7, nos. 1-35; CNI III, p. 3-11, nos. 1-69; Lunardi, G.: *Le monete della Repubblica di Genova*, Genoa 1975, p. 24-25, no. 1; Pesce, G.: Storia, arte e tecnica delle monete di Genova, in *Le monete genovesi: storia, arte ed economia nelle monete di Genova dal 1139 al 1814*, Genoa 1975, p. 13-16, 30 (nn. 7-9); Biaggi, E.: *Monete e zecche medievali italiane dal sec. VIII al sec. XV*, Turin 1992, p. 174, no. 835; Varesi, A.: *Monete italiane regionali: Piemonte, Sardegna, Liguria, Isola di Corsica*, Pavia 1996, p. 230, no. 16. The symbol in the obverse field of Genoa's *denaro* is referred to variously as a castle or gateway, but it was almost certainly a gate rather than a castle or lantern. In Latin, the term 'Ianua' simply means 'gate' or 'gateway', and the image was no doubt intended as a symbolic representation of the city's name. For this, I wish to thank Michael Matzke.
4. The chronology of Genoa's pre-ducial *denari* is discussed in Astengo, C.: Il *denaro* primitivo della zecca di Genova nei due secoli di sua emissione (1139-1339), in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Roma 1961*, Rome 1965, p. 583-593; Metcalf, D. M.: Classification of the thirteenth-century *denari* of Genoa, *The numismatic circular* 85, January, 1977, p. 10-11, but see also Matzke, forthcoming in *MEC* 12.
5. A Corsican hoard deposited after 1371, for example, included fourteen pre-ducial *denari* of Genoa out of a total of fifteen coins, with the remaining coin being a Sicilian *denaro* of Frederick IV (1355-77) that can be dated precisely to 1371 on the basis of the mint-master's mark. See Moracchini-Mazel, G.: Les églises piévanes de Corse de l'époque romaine au moyen âge: La Piévanie de Chiumi a Galeria (Corse), *Cahiers Corsica* 63, 1977, p. 105, 110-111.
6. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 32-35, nos. 269-275; CNI III, p. 53-54, nos. 116-131; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 55, no. 30; Pesce: Storia, arte e tecnica, p. 33-34; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 177, no. 858; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 233, no. 36.
7. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 6-9, nos. 36-44; CNI III, p. 11-12, nos. 70-80; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 25, no. 2; Pesce: Storia, arte e tecnica, p. 16, 30 (n. 10); Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 175, no. 836; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 231, no. 19.
8. The Genoese *quartaro* is first attested in written sources as *piete Januenses* in the statutes of Nice in 1287. See Desimoni, C.: Nuove considerazioni sui quarti di *danaro* genovesi, *Giornale Iugustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti* 4, 1877, p. 120. There is little question that the term *piete* in French sources, or more commonly *pite*, referred to a quarter-*denaro*. See Lafaurie, J.: *Les monnaies des rois de France*, Paris 1951, p. 48, no. 288; Bompaire, M. and Dumas, E.: *Numismatique médiévale: monnaies et documents d'origine française*, Turnhout 2000, p. 549. The introduction of the *quartaro* probably antedates the 1287 reference by only a few years. Matzke has suggested that the Genoese mint first may have begun to strike *quartari* soon after Genoa's naval victory over Pisa at Meloria in 1284 (Matzke, forthcoming in *MEC* 12). On the metallic content of Genoese *quartari*, see Janin, E.: *Scritti di argomento numismatico, 1972-1999*, Genoa 2000, p. 94-95.
9. Stella: *Annales Genuenses*, p. 93-94, esp. 94. The 1320 reference does not necessarily indicate the first issue of the *quartaro* with griffin. It is entirely plausible that the reference is to a second issue of the *quartaro* with griffin, perhaps after an interruption in the striking of these coins (Matzke, forthcoming in *MEC* 12).
10. CNI III, p. 36-40; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 45-48, nos. 22-25; Pesce: Storia, arte e tecnica, p. 26-27; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 176, nos. 850-853; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 231, nos. 21-25.
11. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. xxxiv, 119-120.
12. Baldassarri, M.: Personal communication, 2002.
13. Matzke, forthcoming in *MEC* 12.
14. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 20-21, nos. 137-152; CNI III, p. 27-29, nos. 19-39; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 37, no. 14; Pesce: Storia, arte e tecnica, p. 22; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 175, no. 844; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 230, no. 17.

the IANVA Q[VAM] D[EVS] P[ROTEGAT] type (figs 3a-b),¹⁵ and an anomalous type of *medaglia* (fig. 4).¹⁶ Of these, only the *denaro minuto* is sometimes assigned to the ducal period,¹⁷ but all of these coinages really belong to the period after 1339. The mint at Genoa struck three denominations of petty coinage during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the *denaro*, the *medaglia*, and the *quartaro*. The Venice mint likewise struck no more than three denominations of petty coinage before the *soldino* was introduced in the 1330s.¹⁸ For Genoa to have struck any more than three different denominations of petty coinage would have been exceptional, but there are other reasons to suppose that the *petachina* of the CIVITAS IANVE type, the *denaro minuto* of the IANVA Q D P type, and the anomalous type of *medaglia*, in addition to the *quartaro* supposedly of the first type, have been dated incorrectly.

III. Misattributed coins of the early doges

Petachina (figs 2a-b)

The *petachina* of the CIVITAS IANVE type is conventionally dated to the pre-ducial period because it is assumed that its introduction was related to the introduction of the gold *genovino* and silver *grosso* of the CIVITAS IANVE type.¹⁹ The *petachina* of this type is seen as a transitional type between gold and silver coins of the first type with the obverse legend IANVA, which numismatists date to the period until the middle of the thirteenth century,²⁰ and those of the third type, also known as the IANVA QVAM DEVS PROTEGAT type, believed to have been first issued around 1280.²¹ The *petachina* of the CIVITAS IANVE type is regarded as a response to the need in Genoa for an intermediate denomination of coinage between the billon *denaro* and the silver *grosso*, the latter of which was valued at two *soldi*, or twenty-four *denari*.²² The *petachina* was a quarter-*soldo*, or a six-*denari* coin, and thus is sometimes called a *sexino* or *sesino*. One of the problems in dating the CIVITAS IANVE *petachina* to sometime before 1280 rests in explaining the gulf of more than a century between the supposed introduction of this type of *petachina* and the next type, which can be securely dated to the foreign rule of King Charles VI of France (1380-1422; Lord of Genoa, 1396-1409).²³ Before the discovery of a large hoard of *petachine* in the Vallecchiara area of Genoa's old city in 1872,²⁴ Charles's *petachine* were considered very rare. The hoard contained about 530 of these coins,

but it also contained about 550 *petachine* of the supposedly much older CIVITAS IANVE type. It would be unexpected for a hoard deposited after 1396 and containing only two different coin types of the same denomination to have included such a large number of

15. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 26-27, nos. 191-192; *CNI* III, p. 35, nos. 53-55; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 41, no. 18, and p. 425; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 231, no. 18.

16. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 18-19, nos. 121-123; *CNI* III, p. 25, nos. 73-77; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 33, no. 10; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 231, no. 20.

17. Ruggero, G.: Annotazioni numismatiche genovesi (11): Minuto colla leggenda IANVA. Q. D. P., *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 1, 1888; Bianco, P.: Diversa attribuzione cronologica del minuto IANVA Q. D. P. della zecca di Genova, *Numismatica e scienze affini* 4, 1938; Bianco, P.: Ancora sul minuto IANVA Q. D. P., *Numismatica e scienze affini* 4, 1938; Astengo: Il denaro primitivo, p. 584-585; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 24, 30 (n. 16), 39, 78 (n. 7).

18. The petty coins of Venice were the *denaro*, the half-*denaro* or *bianco*, and the quarter-*denaro* or *quartarolo*. The Venetian mint first issued *denari* in the name of the doges of Venice, as opposed to that of the German emperors, under Sebastiano Ziani (1172-1178), but production was suspended by 1205 and not resumed until about 1269. In place of the *denaro*, the mint introduced the *bianco* and *quartarolo* in the early thirteenth century. Once re-issued around 1269, the *denaro* continued to be struck until about 1340, albeit at a lower standard, while the two fractional coinages were eliminated by 1290. See Lane, F. C. and Mueller, R. C.: *Money and banking in medieval and renaissance Venice*, Baltimore and London 1985, p. 92, 108-110, 113-114, 126, 180-185, 528; Stahl, A. M.: *Zecca: the mint of Venice in the middle ages*, Baltimore and London 2000, p. 13-18, 21-25, 35, 44.

19. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 18-19, nos. 124-130; *CNI* III, p. 26, nos. 1-8; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 34, no. 11; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 20, 22; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 175, no. 842; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 229, no. 6. See also Desimoni's notes published in Pesce, G.: Schede numismatiche di Cornelio Desimoni, *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* n.s. 12, 86, 1972, p. 525, no. 199.

20. The conventional wisdom dates individual denominations of this type variously. It gives the silver *grosso* of this type the unlikely inception date of 1172 and it supposes, also implausibly, that the gold *genovino* was introduced sometime around 1200. Matzke's re-classification of the pre-ducial coinage of Genoa will appear in *MEC* 12, *forthcoming*, but for the conventional approach, see Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 16-17, nos. 102-120; *CNI* III, p. 22-25, nos. 42-72; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 32, no. 9; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 20; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 175, no. 841; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 229, no. 5.

21. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 22-25, nos. 154-180; *CNI* III, p. 30-34, nos. 1-41; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 38, no. 15; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 22, 24; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 175-176, no. 845; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 229, no. 7.

22. Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 22.

23. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 48-51, nos. 438-459; *CNI* III, p. 87-91, nos. 26-72; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 81, no. 56; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 40, 78 (n. 9); Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 180, no. 883; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 237, no. 56. The Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella describes the new issue in his entry for 1402 as 'de auro non est', and having on the side without the cross a divided field with the insignia of the king occupying one half and the usual symbol of the city in the other. See Stella: *Annales Genuenses*, p. 262.

24. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. xix-xx, 20-21 (n. 1); Pesce: Schede numismatiche, p. 180, no. 142.

coins purportedly more than a century old.²⁵ The most likely explanation is that the CIVITAS IANVE *petachine* date not from the thirteenth century at all but from the second half of the fourteenth century, and other evidence indeed supports this conclusion.

It is worth noting, for example, that the CIVITAS IANVE *petachine* are the only coins of the CIVITAS IANVE type to bear mint-masters' initials. Neither the gold *genovino* nor the silver *grosso* of this type, conventionally dated to the period from 1252 to 1280, carries the initials of the masters responsible for their production. The practice evidently began with the *genovino* and *grosso* of the IANVA QVAM DEVS PROTEGAT type, introduced around 1280.²⁶ Felloni observed, moreover, that the intrinsic value of the CIVITAS IANVE *petachina*, when measured against that of the *grosso* of the same type, is equivalent to only about three *denari* rather than six.²⁷ There is also the etymology of the term *petachina* to consider. The term evidently came into the Italian vernacular languages of Liguria and the Piedmont from Provençal probably around the middle of the fourteenth century,²⁸ and it first appears in Genoese mint registers only in 1401,²⁹ when Genoa was under French rule. The coin type, though not the term, is first attested in Italy in 1350 in the records for Savona. In that year, the commune of Savona negotiated a contract with the mint-master Bartolomeo di Pietra Caprina to strike coins clearly matching the description of *petachine* and half-*petachina*,³⁰ which may have then been known in Liguria as *sesini* and half-*sesini*, respectively.³¹ The earliest use of the term *petachina* in any Italian source occurs around 1380 in a coin list that was later added to the fifteenth century merchants' manual sometimes attributed to the Florentine merchant Giorgio di Lorenzo Chiarini.³² The list specifically mentions the *petachine* of both Genoa and Savona, noting that four Genoese *petachine* were equivalent to one *grosso*, and that the *petachine* of both cities contained six *oncie* of silver for every *libbra* of alloy.³³ Most importantly, the list suggests that Genoese *petachine* of some sort were in circulation at least in certain parts of the Mediterranean region during the last quarter of the fourteenth century but before the advent of French rule in Genoa in 1396.

In general, the hoard evidence for the northwestern corner of Italy during the middle ages is scant, and the evidence for the CIVITAS IANVE *petachina* is particularly exiguous, but the little there is further suggests that Genoese *petachine* of this type were circulating in the Italian north during the years before King Charles VI of

25. Unfortunately, it has not been possible thus far to compare examples of the two types of *petachine* from this hoard for wear. Suffice it to say that the CIVITAS IANVE *petachine* from the hoard, if indeed they were struck in the later thirteenth century, would be expected to show signs of greater wear than the coins of Charles VI from the same hoard. My suspicion, however, is that the two types would show no appreciable differences in wear.

26. The mint-masters' initials are of little help in dating the CIVITAS IANVE *petachina*. Progress in identifying Genoese mint-masters has been negligible since 1890, when Desimoni published his list based largely on his own classification of the coins and only partly on information gleaned from the surviving mint registers and other documents in Genoa's State Archives, the Archivio di Stato di Genova. See Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 268-292. John Day and Giuseppe Felloni are among the few scholars to have worked with Genoese mint records since Desimoni, but alas their interests lay elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the dominant mint-masters' initials on *petachine* of the CIVITAS IANVE type are R or S at the end of the obverse legend and S almost invariably after the reverse legend. Some examples evidently have V or Y on the obverse, and one of the *CNI* examples has the initial V on the reverse. The *petachine* struck under Charles VI show a greater range of mint-masters' initials. Apart from the Y, all the initials appearing on the CIVITAS IANVE coins appear after the legends on Charles's issues, but the coins of the French king also show other initials.

27. Felloni, G.: Profilo economico della moneta genovese dal 1139 al 1814, in *Le monete genovesi: storia, arte ed economia nelle monete di Genova dal 1139 al 1814*, Genoa 1975, p. 262-263 (n. 6).

28. Edoardo Martinori supposed that the term Provençal term *patac*, whence derives the Italian term *petachina*, may have been Arabic in origin, and Dieudonné noted the theory that the term perhaps stems from the Arabic *abu taka*, though he added that the reasoning behind this notion was unclear. See Martinori, E.: *La moneta: vocabolario generale*, Rome 1915, p. 367; Dieudonné, A.: L'histoire du patard ou patac, *Revue numismatique* ser. 4, 37, 1934, p. xxxi. Numismatists have continued to lend credence to the suspicion that the term *petachina* might have ultimately derived from Arabic. See Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 78 (n. 9); Giuria, D.: *La moneta savonesi*, Savona 1984, p. 32 (n. 4); Amandry, M., ed.: *Dictionnaire de numismatique*, Paris 2001, p. 440; Ferro, W.: *Storia di Savona e delle sue monete dagli albori al 1528: emissioni inedite della zecca di Savona*, Savona 2001, p. 275 (n. 727). Any connection there might have been nevertheless appears to have originated in the early modern period. See Schrötter, F. v., ed.: *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin and Leipzig 1930, p. 487-488. Giovan Battista Pellegrini, in his authoritative work on terms of Arabic origin in the vernacular languages stemming from Latin, and particularly Italian, made no mention of either *patac* or *petachina*, even when discussing coin designations in Liguria that derive from Arabic. See Pellegrini, G. B.: *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine con speciale riguardo all'Italia*, 2 vols, Brescia 1972, II, p. 356-357. At any rate, the term *patac* and related words are securely attested in Provençal sources as coin designations towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The earliest appearance of a cognate, *patatius*, occurs in the records for the Dauphiné in 1343. See Du Cange, C. d. E.: *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, new ed., 10 vols, London 1884-1887, VI, p. 208. Other cognates attested in French sources from the middle decades of the fourteenth century include *patar* in 1348 (Forestié, E., ed.: *Livres de comptes des Frères Bonis*, 3 vols, Paris 1890-1894, II, p. 269), *patat* in 1361 (Le trésor de la langue française [http://atilf.inal.fr/], citing Pansier, P.: *Histoire de la langue provençale à Avignon du XII^m au XIX^m siècle*, 3 vols, Avignon 1924-1927, III, which I have been unable to verify in time for publication), *pataquus* in 1362 (Du Cange: *Glossarium*, VI, p. 207), and *patas* in 1374 (Espinas, G.: *La draperie dans la Flandre française*, 2 vols, Paris 1923, II, p. 937).

29. Martinori: *La moneta*, p. 368; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 78 (n. 9); Giuria: *La moneta savonesi*, p. 32 (n. 4).

France assumed control of Genoa. Apart from the Vallechiara hoard, already mentioned above, only one other hoard is known to have contained Genoese *petachine* of the CIVITAS IANVE type. This hoard surfaced in 1941 at Lenno on the western shores of the Lago di Como, about seven kilometres south of Menaggio (see below, Table 2).³⁴ The hoard included 632 silver and billon coins. Maila Chiaravalle's summary of the contents of the Lenno hoard identifies 598 of the coins, and all but two of these were products of northern Italian mints. Most of the coins were struck in the mint of Milan in the name of Giangaleazzo Visconti (1385-1402), but the hoard also contained some slightly earlier coins of Milan as well as coins of Pavia and Verona, plus three Genoese *petachine* presumably of the CIVITAS IANVE type and two pennies of Berne.³⁵ Leaving aside for the moment the Genoese *petachine*, the other 593 identifiable Italian coins in the hoard all date from the period between 1354 and 1402, and for the most part after 1385, suggesting that the hoard was probably deposited or closed during the period between 1390 and 1400.³⁶ The Lenno hoard by no means constitutes an overwhelming body of evidence, but viewed together with the Vallechiara hoard and the other data proffered above, it strongly suggests that the Genoese mint was striking the CIVITAS IANVE *petachina* during the second half of the fourteenth century. More research in the Genoese archives is needed to date the issue more precisely, but the evidence at hand at least establishes the *terminus ante quem* of its introduction around 1380 while suggesting a *terminus post quem* of about 1350.

Denaro minuto (figs 3a-b)

There are two chronologies for the *denaro minuto*, but they both have their shortcomings. One of the chronologies assigns *denari minuti* with the obverse legend IANVA Q D P to the later pre-ducal period, associating them with other coins of the IANVA QVAM DEVS PROTEGAT type on the basis of the legend. With this chronology, there is a large gap between the time when these coins were supposedly first issued, sometime after about 1280, and the next known issues of *denari minuti* under Antoniotto Adorno (1378 [one day], 1383 [one day], 1384-90, 1391-2, 1394-6). After Adorno submitted to King Charles VI of France in 1396, he continued to issue *denari minuti* as governor of Genoa for the French king, a role in which he served until March 1397. Submission to France is indicated on these coins by the fleur-de-lis in the second angle of the cross on the reverse.³⁷ Charles VI used the same device

30. The contract does not use the term *petachina*, but it obliges the mint-master to strike, among other denominations, a *moneta grossa* of six *denari* and another of three *denari*. Numismatists commonly regard these references as alluding to, respectively, the *petachina* and half-*petachina* of Savona struck posthumously in the name of Louis IV of Bavaria (1314-1347, emp. from 1328). See Promis, D.: *Sulle monete del Piemonte, memoria sesta: Monete della zecca di Savona*, Turin 1864, p. 21; Giuria: *La moneta savonesi*, p. 22-24; Ferro: *Storia di Savona*, p. 203. See also *CNI III*, p. 574-575, nos. 2-9. The Savona mint also struck *petachine* and half-*petachine* under the authority of the commune (*CNI III*, p. 576, nos. 7-11, and p. 577-578, nos. 1-7) and, during the period from 1396 to 1410, in the name of Charles VI of France (*CNI III*, p. 581, nos. 1-4).
31. I am unaware of any specific reference to the term *sesino* in the sources for either Genoa or Savona, but the term does appear in a mint contract that Count Amedeus VI of Savoy (1343-83) granted to the Lucchese master Nicola di Podio for the mints at Chambéry and Pont d'Ain in 1349. See Biaggi, E.: *Otto secoli di storia delle monete sabaudie*, Turin 1993, p. 126. Biaggi's reference is Turin, State Archives (Archivio di Stato di Torino), sez. Corte, Protocolli camerali neri, Notaio Bonifacio de Mota, vol. 62, 1349, fols 31r-38v, 3 giugno 1349.
32. Borlandi, F., ed.: *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de' paesi*, Turin 1936, p. 156; Travaini, L.: *Monete, mercanti e matematica: le monete medievali nei trattati di aritmetica e nei libri di mercatura*, Rome 2003, p. 164-173, esp. 172. The manual is commonly known as the pseudo-Chiarini, because, in the oldest manuscript (Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Sezione Palatina, Panciatichiano 72), Chiarini himself stated that he had merely copied the manual from that of another Florentine merchant based in Ragusa (Dubrovnik). See Borlandi, ed.: *El libro di mercatantie*, p. xx; Travaini: *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 164. The main text is datable to the middle of the fifteenth century, but the coin lists, including those based on the assays of one Petrozzo di Mazzolo in Perugia that mention the *petachine* of Genoa and Savona, can be dated to around 1380 on the basis of internal evidence. Some of these lists, again including the one mentioning the *petachine* of Genoa and Savona, are missing from the earliest manuscript, which suggests that they were added to later copies of the pseudo-Chiarini. On the dating of the coin lists in particular, see Cortese, A.: *Nomenclatura ed esame delle monete della zecca di Savona, Atti della Società savonese di storia patria* 12, 1930, p. 51-52; Travaini: *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 164-165.
33. See again Borlandi, ed.: *El libro di mercatantie*, p. 156; Travaini: *Monete, mercanti e matematica*, p. 172.
34. Chiaravalle, M.: Ripostigli monetali con monete milanesi conservati nelle civiche raccolte numismatiche di Milano, in *La zecca di milano (Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Milano, 9-14 maggio 1983)*, ed. Gorini, G., Milan 1984, p. 573-580, esp. 576, no. 6. As far as I am aware, the hoard is otherwise unpublished.
35. I state here that the Genoese *petachine* in the Lenno hoard were 'presumably of the CIVITAS IANVE type' because Chiaravalle identified them merely as *petachine* of the Genoese 'Republic', datable to the pre-ducal period (1139-1339), which, in the literature, has invariably connoted the coins of the CIVITAS IANVE type.
36. Because it is easy to distinguish the Milanese coins of Giangaleazzo Visconti struck before 1395 from those struck afterwards, a more thorough examination of these coins should make it possible to narrow down the date of the hoard.
37. Most numismatists group all of the *denari minuti* struck in the name of Antoniotto Adorno together and date them to Adorno's rule as governor for the king of France on the grounds that some of these coins bear a fleur-de-lis in the second angle of the cross on the reverse. See Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 44-47, nos. 410-418; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 73, no. 48; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 38-39; Biaggi: *Monete e zecche*, p. 179, no. 876; Varesi: *MR: Piemonte*, p. 236, no. 50. Only the compilers of *CNI* differed somewhat in assigning all of Adorno's *denari minuti* to the period from 1394 to 1397, which includes his last dogeship and his term as governor. See *CNI III*, p. 79-82, esp. 80-82, nos. 9-31. It would nevertheless be more appropriate to draw a chronological distinction between the *denari minuti* of Adorno with the fleur-de-lis and those without the symbol, and to view only the coins bearing the fleur-de-lis as gubernatorial issues. The coins without the fleur-de-lis were more likely struck during one of Adorno's three substantial dogeships.

on Genoese *denari minuti* struck in his own name.³⁸ The alternative chronology assigns the IANVA Q D P *denari minuti* to the end of the fourteenth century, partly based on the mint-master's initials and partly on metrological grounds,³⁹ but this is still unsatisfactory. It assigns the IANVA Q D P *denari minuti* to Valerando of Luxembourg, who succeeded Antoniotto Adorno as governor for Charles VI, but these coins do not carry the fleur-de-lis to mark French overlordship.

While the IANVA Q D P *denari minuti* almost certainly belong to the period of the doges for life, they must have antedated those of Antoniotto Adorno, and the correct dating probably lies between the extremes proposed in these two existing chronologies. In all likelihood, the *denaro minuto* of the IANVA Q D P type was introduced sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century to replace the anonymous ducal *denaro* conventionally attributed to Simone Boccanegra as Genoa's first doge (1339-44). This would give a much better sense of continuity between the *denari minuti* of Adorno and Charles VI on the one hand and later issues on the other, but it is by no means the only reason to suspect that Genoa's mint was striking *denari minuti* in the second half of the fourteenth century before the time of Adorno. In notes published posthumously, Desimoni mentioned that the Genoese collector Luigi Franchini had pointed out a *denaro minuto* with the initials D C on the obverse, possibly struck during the dogeship of Domenico di Campofregoso (1370-8).⁴⁰ More recently, Enrico Janin has commented rather vaguely on *denari minuti* perhaps attributable to Domenico di Campofregoso.⁴¹ There is every reason for exercising extreme caution about this, but written sources suggest that the Genoese mint was indeed issuing *denari* of some sort during the dogeships of Domenico di Campofregoso and Nicola Guarco (1378-83), and they also support the contention that Adorno was striking *denari minuti* while still doge.

Documentary records for mint output suggest that the mint at Genoa was striking billon coins through much of 1370 and early 1371, though the denomination of these issues is unclear.⁴² Records dating from 1374 or thereabouts attest to issues specifically designated as *denari* and even as *medaglie*.⁴³ Between March 1380 and February 1381, under the dogeship of Nicola Guarco, *denari* and even *medaglie* are again specifically attested in mint records.⁴⁴ Despite these precise references to *denari* and *medaglie*, the denomina-

tion of these issues still is not entirely clear, but later evidence certainly raises the possibility that the *denari* mentioned in these records were *denari minuti*. Mint records from 1390 indicate that 'minuti' were struck at the standard of 1.5 *onzie* of silver per *libbra*, and that one *libbra* of the alloy was valued 27*s.* 9*d.*⁴⁵ The standard was the same in 1404-5, though the value of one *libbra* of alloy had increased to 36*s.*⁴⁶ In 1392, *denari minuti* are specifically mentioned in records concerning building maintenance.⁴⁷

It is impossible to say whether the references of 1390 and 1392 referred to coins of the IANVA Q D P type or to Adorno's ducal *minuti*, but the documentary record clearly establishes that a *denaro minuto* of some sort was in circulation by the beginning of the last decade of the fourteenth century.⁴⁸ The evidence also intimates, albeit rather less clearly, that Domenico di Campofregoso and Nicola Guarco were striking *denari minuti* already during the 1370s and early 1380s. Further research in the Genoese archives is sorely needed to determine whether the *denari minuti* mentioned in these records were coins of the IANVA Q D P type or belonged to some other type. Unfortunately, there is at present no meaningful hoard evidence for these coins. The available data nevertheless suggest that the Genoese mint might have been striking *denari minuti* from as early as the dogeship of Domenico di Campofregoso. It seems likely that any *denari* struck under Domenico di Campofregoso were indeed *denari minuti* of the IANVA Q D P type and that they were

38. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 50-51, nos. 460-461; *CNI* III, p. 91-92, nos. 73-79; Lunardi: *Le monete*, p. 82, no. 57; Pesce: *Storia, arte e tecnica*, p. 40, 41; Biaggi: *Monete e zeche*, p. 180, no. 884; Varesi: *MIR: Piemonte*, p. 237, no. 57.

39. See above, n. 18.

40. Pesce: *Schede numismatiche*, p. 518, no. 152.

41. Janin: *Scritti di argomento*, p. 110.

42. Felloni: *Profilo economico*, p. 318; Felloni, G.: *Ricavi e costi della zecca di Genova dal 1341 al 1450*, in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, 4 vols, Naples 1978, p. 152.

43. Output for the period covered in these records amounted to 2,752 *lire* in terms of legal value, and about seventy-five per cent of this was in *denari*. See again Felloni: *Profilo economico*, p. 318; Felloni: *Ricavi e costi*, p. 152.

44. The value of all billon coins issued by the mint during this period evidently amounted to a little more than twice the value of the issues mentioned in the 1374 records, and *denari* accounted for more than ninety-three per cent of billon issues. See Pesce: *Schede numismatiche*, p. 526, no. 207; Felloni: *Profilo economico*, p. 318; Felloni: *Ricavi e costi*, p. 152.

45. Pesce: *Schede numismatiche*, p. 518, no. 153.

46. Pesce: *Schede numismatiche*, p. 518, no. 156, and p. 527, no. 209.

47. Pesce: *Schede numismatiche*, p. 518, no. 154.

48. Adorno was doge for the first seven months of 1390 and for nearly the entire first half of 1392 at the end of his fourth term.

first issued under the early doges to replace the anonymous DVX IANVE *denaro* conventionally attributed to Simone Boccanegra, though the hypothesis awaits confirmation.

Medaglia (fig. 4)

This leaves the question of the *medaglie* that are mentioned alongside the *denari* in the Genoese mint records for 1374 and 1380-1. Once again, documentary sources clearly suggest that the mint was issuing a fractional billon coinage in the second half of the fourteenth century, but the numismatic literature has taken little account of this. Desimoni was certainly aware of evidence indicating that *medaglie* were still in circulation in 1380 but he neither discussed the relevant sources nor grasped the full implications of the evidence.⁴⁹ While it is certainly plausible that pre-ducial *medaglie* still circulated in Genoa around 1380, the records refer to a contemporary issue. The *medaglia* appearing in the written sources therefore probably correspond to an anomalous group of *medaglie* conventionally attributed to the pre-ducial period.⁵⁰ The stylised gateway in the obverse field of these half-*denari* cuts across the upper part of the legend, similar to the way in which the gateway cuts across the lower part of the legend on *denari minuti*. No other Genoese coin struck before the beginning of the period of the doges for life displays this kind of device.⁵¹

The punctuation on these *medaglie* is also more elaborate than on the common pre-ducial type, and a mint-master's initial often follows the obverse and reverse legends, whereas the common type carries no initial.

IV. Conclusion

It bears repeating that only further research in the Genoese archives will validate the claims put forward in this paper, but there is a very powerful *prima facie* case for reconsidering the chronologies for the petty coinage of Genoa during the late pre-ducial period and under the early doges. The CIVITAS IANVE *petachina*, the IANVA Q D P *denaro minuto*, and the anomalous type of *medaglia* all very likely belong to the period between 1339 and 1396. The CIVITAS IANVE *petachina* was almost certainly introduced sometime between about 1350 and 1380, and both the IANVA Q D P *denaro minuto* and the anomalous type of *medaglia* can be tentatively dated to the dogeships of Domenico di Campofregoso and Nicola Guarco (1370-78 and 1378-83). To these coins must also be added the *quartaro* with the stylised gate in the obverse field and long-cross in the reverse field, heretofore commonly thought to have been the earliest type of *quartaro* issued by the Genoese mint.

49. Desimoni: *Tavole descrittive*, p. 6-7.

50. Both Desimoni and the compilers of CNI distinguished between the two types of *medaglie*, but other numismatists have failed to make the distinction, and some have neglected the anomalous type entirely. See above, n. 17.

51. The only other coins that have the stylised gateway in field cutting across a part of the legend are the *quartari* mentioned above that are conventionally thought to have been the first type of this denomination but are more likely the last, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century.

Table 1. *Doges and foreign rulers of Genoa, 1339-1413*⁵²

Simone Boccanegra, Doge I, 23 September 1339 – 23 December 1344
Giovanni di Murta, Doge II, 23 December 1344 – † January 1350 *
Giovanni Valente, Doge III, 9 January 1350 – 9 October 1353
Visconti lords of Milan , 10 October 1353 – 14 November 1356 *
Simone Boccanegra, again, Doge IV, 15 November 1356 – † 14 November 1363
Gabriele Adorno, Doge V, 14 March 1363 – August 1370
Domenico Campofregoso, Doge VI, 13 August 1370 – June 1378
Antoniotto I Adorno, Doge VII, 17 June 1378 (for a few hours)
Nicola Guarco, Doge VIII, 17 June 1378 – April 1383
Federico di Pagana, Doge IX, 3-5 April 1383 *
Antoniotto I Adorno, Doge VII, 6-7 June 1383 (proclaimed but not confirmed)
Leonardo di Montaldo, Doge X, 7 April 1383 – † 11 June 1384
Antoniotto I Adorno, again, Doge VII, 12 June 1384 – 3 August 1390
Giacomo Campofregoso, Doge XI, 3 August 1390 – 6 April 1391 *
Antoniotto I Adorno, again, Doge VII, 9 April 1391 – 15 June 1392
Antonio da Montaldo, Doge XII, 16 June 1392 – July 1393 *
Pietro di Campofregoso (proclaimed but not confirmed), 15 July 1393 *
Clemente Promontorio, Doge XIII, 13-14 July 1393 *
Francesco Giustiniani da Garibaldo, Doge XIV, 14 July – 31 August 1393 *
Antonio da Montaldo, again, Doge XII, 31 August 1393 – 24 May 1394 *
Nicolò Zoagli, Doge XV, 24 May – 18 August 1394 *
Antonio Guarco, Doge XVI, 19 August – 3 September 1394 *
Antoniotto I Adorno, again, Doge VII, 3 September 1394 – 25 October 1396
Charles VI of France , Lord of Genoa, 4 November 1396 – 3 September 1409
Antoniotto I Adorno, governor, 17 November 1396 – 18 March 1397 († 1398)
Valerando of Luxembourg, count of Ligny, governor, May 1397 – September [?] 1398
Collardo di Colleville, governor, September 1398 – 17 January 1400 *
Battista Boccanegra, captain, 17 January – 26 March 1400 *
Battista Franchi, captain, 26 March 1400 – September 1401 *
Giovanni le Maingre, called 'Bouciquault', governor, s.d. *
Theodore II Paleologus , Marquis of Montferrat, captain, 6 September 1409 – 22 March 1413

Shaded entries denote periods of foreign domination; names in bold type denote foreign rulers.

† Died in office.

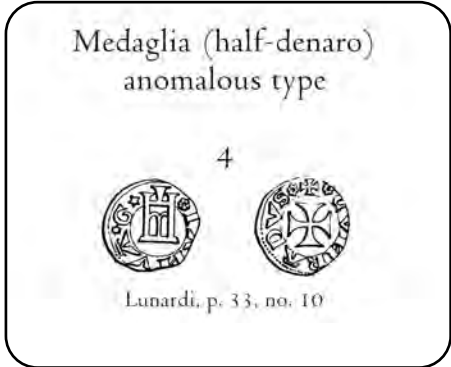
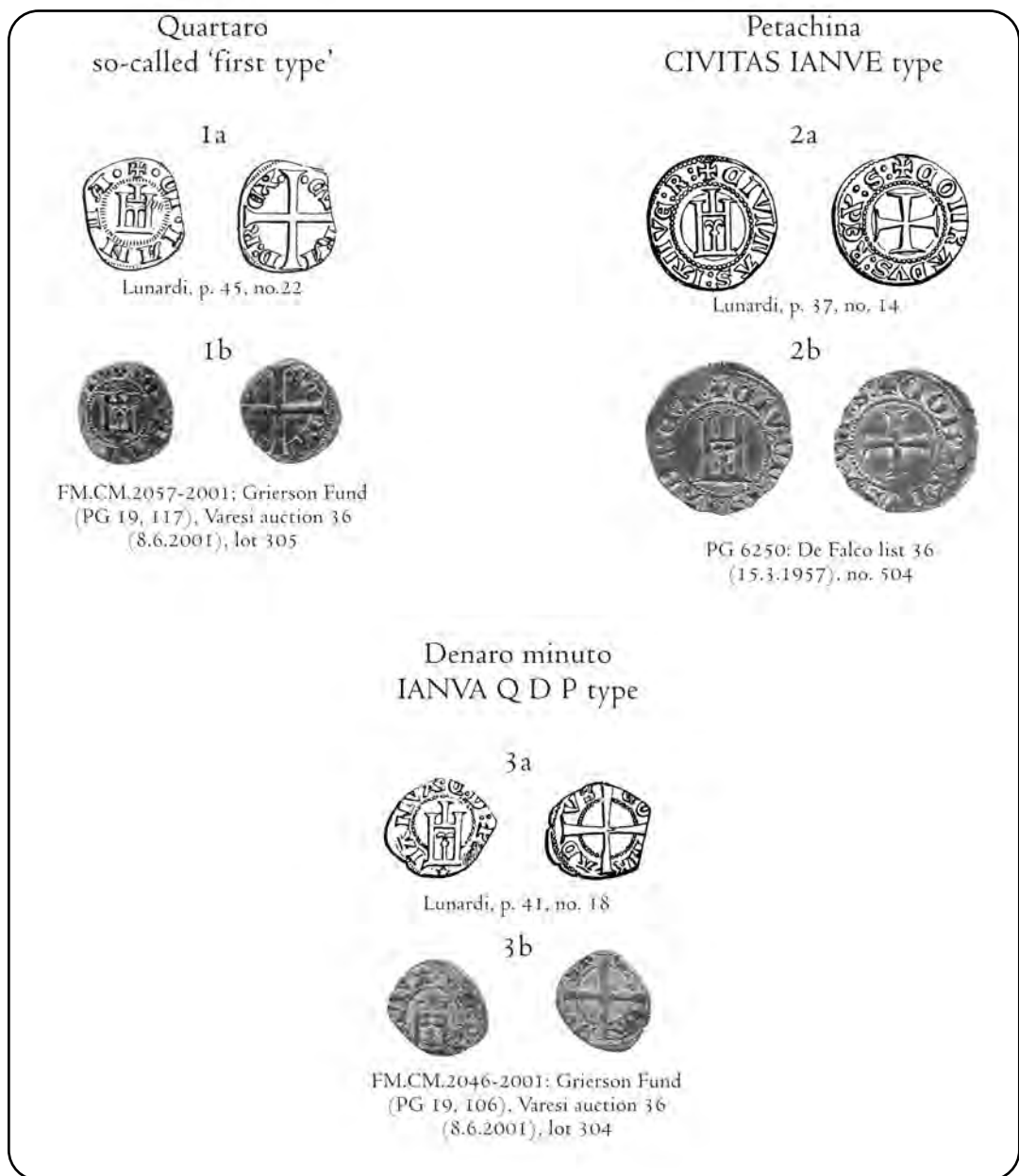
* No coinage known.

52. Stella: *Annales Genuenses*; Cappelli, A.: *Cronologia, cronographia e calendario perpetuo dal principio dell'era cristiana ai nostri giorni*, 6th ed., Milan 1988, p. 316-317; Epstein: *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 325-327.

Table 2. *The Lenno board*⁵³

LENNO (CO) 1941 (dep. c. 1390-1400): 632 AR & Billon; 598 identified, 34 unknown				
GENOA	Bill. Petachine ('Republic, 1139-1339' [?] = CIVITAS IANVE type)			3
MILAN	Galeazzo II & Bernabò Visconti	1354-1378	AR Grossi	5
			Bill. Sesini	17
	Giangaleazzo Visconti	1385-1402	AR Grossi	202
			Bill. Soldi	225
		Bill. Sesini	94	
PAVIA	Visconti lordship	1359-1402	AR Grossi	5
VERONA	Giangaleazzo Visconti	1387-1402	Bill. Sesini	45
BERNE	Bill. coins of the 14 th century			2
UNKNOWN	Unidentified coins			34
212 AR + 386 billon + 34 unidentified = 632				

53. Chiaravalle: Ripostigli monetali con monete milanesi, p. 573-80, esp. 576, no. 6.



Source for line-drawings:
Lunardi, G:
*Le monete della Repubblica di
Genova*, Genova 1975.

Source for reproductions:
Grierson Collection,
Fitzwilliam Museum,
University of Cambridge.