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Florins and Ducats in the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon:
The Syracuse Hoard (1313–c.1369)

by

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Florins and Ducats in the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon: The Syracuse Hoard (1313–c.1369)

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[PLATES 39–43]

Abstract: This article publishes for the first time a coin hoard discovered in Syracuse in 1938 and kept at the local Museo Archeologico Regionale ‘Paolo Orsi’. The hoard consists of 91 gold coins: 83 Florentine florins, seven Venetian ducats and one deceptive imitation (or counterfeit) ducat of apparently good gold, dating between 1313 and c.1369. Given the scarcity of numismatic evidence and the inadequacy of archival documentation for those years, this material provides important details about the circulation of ducats and florins in the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon, in a period in which Sicilian and Southern Italian mints had ceased to mint gold. This study also sheds light on further aspects of these coinages, including the use of secret marks on Venetian ducats, the production of imitation ducats, the identification of individual florins and their chronologies. A die analysis reveals connections with the almost contemporary Montella hoard (1354).

Introduction

Even in the later Middle Ages the study of coin hoards can still provide vital evidence for monetary history. Although documentary references to coins survive in increasing quantity, the practice, particularly in regions where many different types of coin were in use, was to record the coins actually paid in transactions as a single monetary unit – so called ‘money of account’. Consequently, archival sources need to be combined with the archaeological evidence provided by surviving coin finds to give a more comprehensive picture of the circulation of money and its actual use in a given time and place.

In this context, the Syracuse coin hoard, here published in full for the first time, forms an important source for the monetary history of eastern Sicily in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹ Owing to natural or man-made disasters, political

¹ The publication of this hoard is the product of collaboration between the Medagliere of the Parco Archeologico of Syracuse, Eloro and Villa del Tellaro, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi and the Department of Historical Studies of the University of Milan. I would like to express my gratitude to Angela Maria Manenti, curator of the numismatic collection in Syracuse, and to Prof. Lucia Travaini at the University of Milan for the opportunity to study and publish this hoard. Data was originally collected by Matteo Brogginì, who was unable to continue numismatic research due to other professional engagements. I am grateful to him and to Barrie Cook for all their support throughout the preparation of this article. My thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewer for the valuable comments, and to Fabrizio Ansani, Monica Baldassarri, Massimo De Benetti, Dario Ferro, and Federico Pigozzo. Photographs courtesy of Regione Siciliana - Assessorato Regionale ai Beni Culturali e dell’Identità Siciliana - Parco Archeologico of Syracuse, Eloro and Villa del Tellaro.

upheavals, and weakly developed administrative structures, most of the Sicilian records of those years have been completely destroyed. Of the few hundred notarial registers surviving from that time, the majority come from western Sicily and the city of Palermo; the first notarial records for eastern Sicily are those of Catania, Syracuse, Noto, Randazzo and Messina, but these date only from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.² In light of the lack of adequate archival documentation, therefore, the Syracuse hoard has the advantage of offering unique and crucial information for the spread and use of foreign gold coins in the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon, at a time when Sicilian and Southern Italian mints had ceased to mint gold. Its importance is also highlighted by the fact that, so far, no other fourteenth-century coin hoards containing gold florins and / or ducats and discovered in that territory have ever been published.³ The following analysis will therefore shed light on many aspects of the monetary context of the time, including the circulation of gold ducats and florins in the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon, the use of secret marks on Venetian ducats, the production of imitation ducats, the identification and classification of certain florins and their production within the Florentine mint. In so doing, the present article complements and extends the recent study on the almost contemporary hoard of Montella (Avellino), which has provided information on the circulation of gold coins in Southern Italy, but not Sicily.⁴ The comparison between the florins in that hoard and the ones from Syracuse reveals die-links never previously documented.

The discovery of the hoard

The 91 gold coins forming the Syracuse hoard were discovered in 1938 and acquired by the local Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi where they are kept today. In 1995 Pina Cassarino Tranchina, former curator of the numismatic collection, published a preliminary account of this find, including details of the date and location of its discovery, and a summary list of the coins with an initial classification by type along with their inventory numbers.⁵ According to Cassarino Tranchina, the hoard was originally found in Via Gelone, which is not to be confused with the Corso Gelone in the modern part of the town. Research has shown that the Via Gelone was the old name of the present day Via Vittorio Veneto in the north-eastern part of the island of Ortigia, the historic centre of Syracuse.⁶ In the fourteenth century, this street corresponded to the western edge of the 'Contrada Mastrarua' neighbourhood (fig. 1).⁷

The lack of detail for the archaeological context in which the coins were found represents a major issue affecting the understanding of this hoard and its interpretation. Nothing is known about exactly where the coins were discovered (i.e. whether in the walls or beneath the floor of a building, or on the side of the road) or about the

² For more details see Epstein, *An Island for Itself*, pp. 15–19.

³ The lack of coin hoards of this kind in the lists provided by MEC 12; Stahl, *Zecca*; and MEC 14 emphasises the exceptional nature of the Syracuse hoard.

⁴ For a full account see Travaini and Broggin (eds), *Il tesoro di Montella*.

⁵ Cassarino Tranchina, 'Soprintendenza', p. 222, no. 35.

⁶ I owe this information to Angela Maria Manenti as it does not appear in the report of Cassarino Tranchina.

⁷ Giansiracusa, *Ortygia*, pp. 20–2.

circumstances of their finding (i.e. construction works, road works etc.). It is also impossible to know if the hoard reached the museum intact or whether it suffered from losses through appropriation by its discoverers.⁸



Fig. 1. The neighbourhood 'Contrada Mastrarua' on the island of Ortigia. Via Gelone, today Via Vittorio Veneto, is the road running through the middle.

Syracuse in the Middle Ages

The history of Syracuse in the late Middle Ages seems to suggest a direct link between these coins and the thriving economy of the city and its port. Founded by the Greeks in the eight century BC, Syracuse was always one of the major centres of the Mediterranean, disputed by different powers across the centuries.⁹ Despite the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Syracuse maintained its economic prestige and political role under the Byzantines (535–878), before being captured by the Arabs in 878.¹⁰ Under Muslim domination, the city lost its authority, shrank in size and became concentrated mainly on the island of Ortigia. Similar conditions would also apply in the eleventh century, when Roger of Hauteville defeated the Arabs and became Count of Sicily (1071–1101), establishing his court in the city of Palermo. Syracuse was one of the last Muslim strongholds to be conquered by the Norman ruler in 1085.

Due to the shortage of documentary evidence, a full and clear narrative of the history of this city – and that of many other Sicilian towns – between the Norman conquest and the fifteenth-century Argonese Kingdom is hard to reconstruct.¹¹ It is

⁸ See for example the case of the *Logge de' Banchi* hoard of Pisa; cf. Baldassarri and Burrese (eds), *Il tesoretto di Banchi*.

⁹ For a detailed account of the history of Syracuse in the ancient world see Savarino, *Siracusa*.

¹⁰ In 663–8, Syracuse was also appointed as the new capital of the Byzantine Empire, seat of the emperor Constans II (641–68); cf. Abulafia, 'Syracuse', pp. 1064–5.

¹¹ Fasoli, 'Incognite', pp. 7–14.

likely that Syracuse shared the same vicissitudes as the rest of the island. In 1162, for example, the town became part of the reward that the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa promised to the city of Genoa for its naval support in a campaign against the Normans, which never took place. In 1204, the Genoese sea captain and pirate Alamanno da Costa took control of the city, appointing himself 'Count of Syracuse'.¹² In 1220–1, the Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1220–50) succeeded in expelling the Genoese and re-asserting his authority over Syracuse.

After the period of Angevin rule (1265–82), the arrival of the Aragonese dynasty in the final decades of the thirteenth century coincided with a bright new era both for Syracuse and for Sicily in general. Thanks to its active participation in the military success of the Spanish dynasty over the Angevines in the war for Sicily (1282–1302), the city obtained significant benefits, crucial for its economic development. In particular, when King Peter III of Aragon demanded supplies for his army in Messina in 1282–3, Syracuse was among the centres that contributed by sending additional troops along with grain, barley, wine and meat from its rich countryside. As a reward for this military aid, the city was declared free from any tolls within the Aragonese domains.¹³ There followed a period of economic prosperity that culminated in the mid-fourteenth century. During the reign of Frederick III (1295–1337) Syracuse secured the monopoly of all the loading and unloading of goods along the southern coastline of Sicily.¹⁴ A number of other economic and fiscal benefits were provided by the Aragonese Crown to promote the participation of foreign merchants in the economic life of the town.¹⁵ Grain retained its dominance as the leading produce in Syracusan trade, although other goods such as iron, flax, silk, hides, salt, pepper and spices were also being exported. Some of these commodities were also sold in local fairs. Syracuse had two main urban fairs during the fourteenth century: a ten-day long fair starting on 8 September to celebrate the Nativity of Mary, and a major one from 11 to 28 December dedicated to the patron saint Lucia.¹⁶ For many Catalan, Genoese, Tuscan and Venetian merchant families living in the city those fairs represented the perfect occasion to develop their own business interests. In these years, Syracuse also enjoyed a special political status as part of the *Camera Reginale*, namely one of the territories of the Aragonese Kingdom under the direct authority of the Queen of Sicily.¹⁷ This strengthened its prestige, renown and economic prosperity.

Syracuse had long ceased to have a mint. It had coined gold and silver under the Byzantines but this stopped in the tenth century. It is possible that there was a brief period of minting in the time of the Fatimids.¹⁸

¹² Abulafia, 'Syracuse', p. 1064.

¹³ Epstein, *An Island for Itself*, p. 102.

¹⁴ Russo, *Siracusa medioevale*, p. 15.

¹⁵ See for example the relations between Frederick III and the Catalans in Sicily in Boscolo, 'Relazioni', pp. 15–28.

¹⁶ Orlando, *Una città per le regine*, pp. 271–5.

¹⁷ This was during the reigns of Queen Isabella of Castile, consort of James I in 1292–5, Queen Eleanor of Anjou, consort of Frederick III in 1305–41, and Queen Constance of Aragon, consort of Frederick IV in 1361–3. The *Camera* was abolished in 1536; cf. Agnello, 'Città e istituzioni', pp. 343–54.

¹⁸ Paul Balog has ascribed to Ibn al-Thumna, Lord of Syracuse (1052–62), the independent and anonymous production of quarter dinars of poor quality at the local mint in the mid-eleventh century; cf. Balog, 'Contributions', pp. 115–54.

The origin of the hoard

Unfortunately, the aforementioned lack of detailed knowledge of the hoard's discovery and its archaeological context makes it impossible to know anything about the possible owner. The gold florins and ducats could have formed the savings of one of the merchants populating the city and its port, involved as they were in long distance trade and business affairs. Yet, according to the fourteenth-century topography of Syracuse, under the Aragonese, Contrada Mastrarua had ceased to host the houses of local fishermen and craftsmen, and had become instead a residential area for the Spanish nobility.¹⁹ The wealthy owner could therefore have been a member of the aristocracy residing in the neighbourhood. There is no recorded emergency or threat that can be connected with the concealment and subsequent loss of the hoard.

Composition and chronology of the hoard

The hoard consists of 83 gold florins of Florence, seven gold ducats of Venice, and one deceptive imitation, or counterfeit, ducat. Overall, it appears to be chronologically coherent, with specimens spread over a time period of 60 years, from 1313 to c.1369.

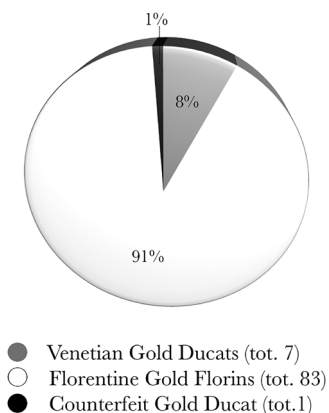


Fig. 2. Composition and percentages of the Syracuse hoard.

The Florentine florins form 91% of the hoard (fig. 2) and date to the period 1313 to 1369. The earliest florin is an issue of Totto di Tedaldo as mint-master for the gold coinage in 1313 semester I (no. 30).²⁰ The latest is a florin of Simone di Rainerio Peruzzi, minted in 1369 semester II (no. 91).

The Venetian ducats represent 8% of the hoard, and date from 1343 to c.1369, as discussed below. The oldest ducat is one of Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343–54) (no. 1). The latest one is of Doge Andrea Contarini, (1368–82) (no. 7). The remaining 1% is the imitation ducat (no. 8).

On the basis of the available coins, the concealment of the hoard occurred at some point between the years 1369 (the last florin) and 1382 (the end of Contarini's

¹⁹ Giansiracusa, *Ortygia*, p. 20.

²⁰ Details on the organisation of the mint of Florence will be given below.

dogate). If, however, we take into account the quantities of ducats produced in the Venetian mint at the time of Doge Andrea Contarini, it is likely that the hoard was hidden in the early stage of Contarini's government rather than in the final years. According to Alan Stahl, from 1370 onwards the production of gold ducats grew from almost 160,000 to 600,000 coins per year, that is from 600 to more than 2,150 kilograms of gold coined.²¹ That was two years after Contarini had become the new doge of Venice. The high frequency with which his ducats appear in coin hoards from all over Europe in the period 1370–1400, and their abundance compared to ducats of other doges, reflect the high-volume production of these years.²² Yet, given the presence of just a single ducat issued by Contarini in the Syracuse hoard, one may argue that its deposit took place shortly after the year 1369, before the Venetian mint was running at full capacity. This is also reflected in the fact that most of the florins and ducats in the hoard are concentrated in the years 1336–69 (fig. 3). This is a crucial element that will allow for a better chronology of the florins minted by an unknown mint-master and belonging to Series XX (nos 21–29), which is discussed below.

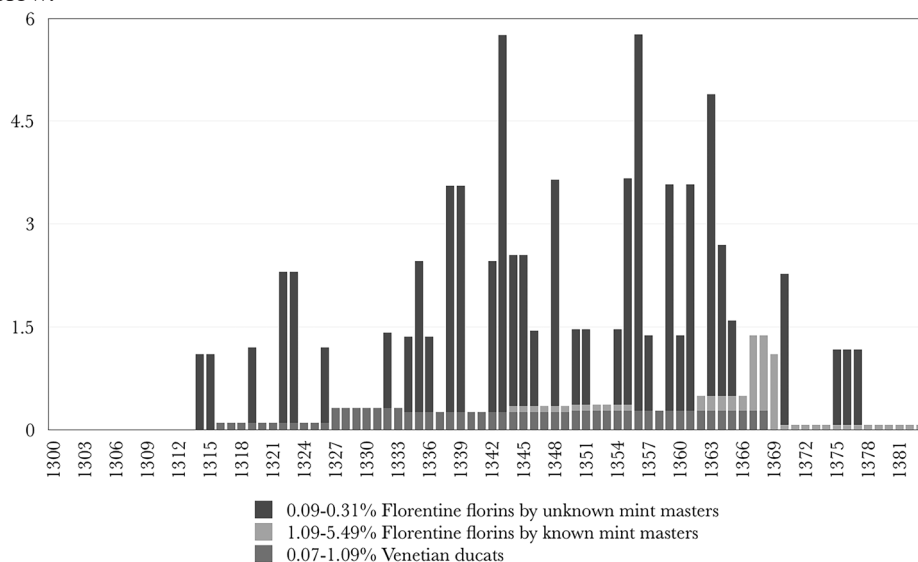


Fig. 3. Chronological distribution of the ducats and the florins in the hoard, which can be dated to a specific year or to a short period of time, thus excluding the imitation ducat and the florins of the Series XX.

The description of the coins follows their order of occurrence in the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* (henceforth *CNI*), so the Venetian ducats are discussed before the Florentine florins. This is preceded by a discussion of the historical and numismatic context of the hoard.

²¹ Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 373.

²² Gold ducats in the name of Andrea Contarini have been documented in the hoards of Faenza (dep. c.1382), Erfurt (dep. c.1382), Teodozja (dep. c.1382), Broach (dep. c.1382), Wittlich (dep. c.1390), Marbach (dep. c.1391), Regensburg (dep. c.1390), Gornji (c.1390), Mondsee (c.1395), Giulianova (c.1400), Torrevicchia (c.1400), Chignolo Po (c.1400), and Braesti (c.1400); cf. Stahl, *Zecca*, pp. 427 ff.

Historical remarks on the Syracuse hoard

Unlike much of Christian Europe there was a continuous tradition in Southern Italy and Sicily of a coinage based on gold.²³ Apart from the regions under Byzantine influence, from the eighth to the mid-thirteenth century the currency consisted almost entirely of silver pennies, of increasingly diverging value. Under the Staufer, the currency in Sicily became more western but remained dominated by the gold tari which tarified by weight. In 1231, the Emperor Frederick II introduced the new gold augustalis and its half struck at Brindisi and Messina.²⁴ These were the first gold coins to be issued for general circulation by a western ruler since the eighth century. His Angevin successor, Charles of Anjou (1266–85) issued a gold reale on the same standard.

In 1277 Charles carried out a wholesale reform aimed at imposing a uniform coinage throughout southern Italy and Sicily. Minting was centralised in Naples and the Sicilian mints closed. The political and monetary unity of the kingdom, however, was broken by the revolt known as the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. The consequent military clash between the Angevin and Aragonese dynasties led to the separation of the island of Sicily from the mainland ‘kingdom of Sicily’, and the formation of two different realms: the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon, which came under the control of Peter III of Aragon (1282–85), and the Kingdom of Naples, which remained under the Angevins. The Aragonese ruler resumed the minting of gold coins in Messina, introducing the new gold pierreale.²⁵ Its initial issues were quite abundant, since the king needed new money as a propaganda device to legitimise his power and to replace the old currencies in circulation.²⁶ Yet, despite the different denominations and monetary systems adopted, the two realms soon shared a common monetary trajectory.

In line with developments in the Middle East, Egypt and the Maghreb, both kingdoms ceased to mint gold and entered a silver phase in the early years of the fourteenth century, thus once again setting Sicily and Southern Italy apart from the rest of Europe. In the Kingdom of Naples, this occurred under Charles II of Anjou (1285–1309), whose monetary reform of 1302 did not envisage the introduction of any new gold coins. Although his successor Robert the Wise (1309–43) announced the minting of a new gold carlino in 1317, no gold coins appear to have been struck.²⁷ The minting of gold on a substantial scale was not resumed until the new alfonsino of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442–58) in the 1430s to 1440s.²⁸ In the Kingdom of Sicily-Aragon, meanwhile, the last gold coin to be issued was the pierreale of Frederick III (1296–1337): only one specimen of this coin is known today, and this was probably minted in the early years of Frederick’s reign.²⁹ There, gold coins were

²³ Cf. *MEC* 14, for a detailed survey of developments.

²⁴ *MEC* 14, p. 167; see also Kowalski, ‘Die Augustalen’, pp. 77–150.

²⁵ *MEC* 14, pp. 261–2.

²⁶ Travaini (ed.), *Le collezioni*, p. 32.

²⁷ *MEC* 14, pp. 213 and 219.

²⁸ The new alfonsino was originally minted in Gaeta in 1435, and then in Naples in 1443; cf. *MEC* 14, p. 315.

²⁹ Travaini (ed.), *Le collezioni*, p. 32; *MEC* 14, p. 266.

abandoned until 1466, when John II of Sicily (1458–79) issued his new gold reale.³⁰ From the early decades of the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, therefore, the gold coinages of both kingdoms consisted essentially of imported foreign coins. The Syracuse hoard, consisting exclusively of Florentine florins and Venetian ducats, provides clear evidence of this. Specifically, its composition seems to reflect the contemporary halt in the production of domestic gold coins in Sicily and Southern Italy, and the simultaneous spread of foreign currencies in those territories.

Gold florins and ducats

First minted in Florence, probably in November 1252 as reported by the fourteenth-century chronicler Giovanni Villani, the gold florin was thereafter one of the leading international gold currencies of the Middle Ages for almost three centuries.³¹ Together with the gold genovino of Genoa and the grosso d'oro of Lucca, it marked the return to gold as a medium of coinage in Western Europe, thus putting an end to the silver monometallism of the previous five centuries.³² Its circulation beyond Florence was rapid and there is evidence of its wide adoption in multiple areas and contexts within a few years of its introduction. In 1258, for example, the Lucchese moneychanger Gerardino Tacchi lent 10 gold deniers of the types of Lucca and Florence, that is grossi d'oro and gold florins, to two senior clergymen in need of money for an unknown purpose.³³ In 1265, gold florins were already circulating north of the Alps, at the Champagne Fairs, the major European trading and financial centre of the time.³⁴ In 1278, they were being exchanged by merchants trading in Acre and Alexandria, while in 1296 they dominated the coins paid to the collectors of the papal tithe in the Tuscan diocese.³⁵

The wide circulation of florins is also attested by the few coin hoards so far published, which date to the second half of the thirteenth century. The so-called *Logge de' Banchi* hoard of Pisa, which was buried around 1260–6, contained 91 florins out of 225 gold coins of the period 1196–1266, including Sicilian taris, augustales and the rare grosso d'oro of Lucca.³⁶ The shipwreck treasure, recovered by the royal officials of Charles of Anjou on the coasts of Trapani (Sicily) in November 1270, included 137 florins, a significant proportion of the hoard.³⁷ The hoards of Aleppo (over 600 florins) and Acre (30 florins), both lost or concealed around 1291 after the

³⁰ Travaini (ed.), *Le collezioni*, p. 36; MEC 14, pp. 318–19.

³¹ Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, I, pp. 345–7 (vii.53).

³² Lopez, 'Back to gold', pp. 219–40; and now Baldassarri and Locatelli, 'Genoa, Florence and the Mediterranean', pp. 433–75.

³³ Concioni, 'Le coniazioni della zecca lucchese', p. 48.

³⁴ Paoli and Piccolomini (eds), *Lettere volgari*, p. 57.

³⁵ See respectively Lopez and Airaldi, 'Il più antico manuale', pp. 123–4; and Day, 'La circulation', pp. 1054–68. Further details in Day, 'Before the *Libro*, II', pp. 431–84; and Spufford, 'The first century', pp. 421–36. For a detailed analysis on the origins and the early life of the florin, its agents, and the political and socio-economic reasons that led to its vast success in the second half of the thirteenth century, see now Locatelli, *The Other Side of the Coin* (unpublished PhD thesis).

³⁶ De Benetti (ed.), *Il tesoro di Alberese*, pp. 64–7; Baldassarri and Burrelli (eds), *Il tesoretto di Banchi*, p. 20.

³⁷ Carolus-Barré, 'Objets précieux', pp. 115–18.

final reconquest of Crusader territory by the Mamluks, are evidence of the impact that the Florentine currency had in the Levant and the Crusader Kingdoms at that time.³⁸ Such was its success, that it also provided the impetus for the minting of new gold coins in the decades following its introduction.³⁹ These included the gold ducat of Venice which embodied, from the very beginning, the Venetian response to the contemporary success of the Florentine florin. On 31 October 1284, the Venetian Council of Forty ordered the minting of a new gold coin: the ducat. As reported in a brief but clear statement in the registers of the Great Council, this had to be as pure as the gold florin of Florence (24 carats), and minted at a ratio of 67 coins to the mark of gold, thus with a theoretical weight of 3.54 grams, slightly heavier than the florin.⁴⁰

As early as 1291, thousands of Venetian ducats were already being shipped from Venice to the Levant.⁴¹ This export, backed by increasing mint output, created the critical mass of coins in circulation which enabled the Venetian ducat to supplant the Florentine florin in the eastern Mediterranean. This was further enhanced by the destruction of the Pisan fleet by the Genoese in the Battle of Meloria (1284). This meant that Florence lost its primary access to the sea through Pisa. From the mid-fourteenth century, therefore, the Venetian gold ducat became established as the dominant gold coin of east Mediterranean trade, supported as it was by the monetary policy of Venice and its intense economic activity.⁴² The simultaneous appearance of several ducat imitations, mainly of Aegean and Anatolian origin, emphasises the popularity of this coin in the region.⁴³ The florin, for its part, maintained a predominant role in Europe where, from the early 1320s onwards, it was also imitated. These florin imitations were identical to the Florentine florin, namely with the standing figure of St John the Baptist on one side and the lily on the other, but bore the name of the new issuing authority and / or place of issue, and were usually less fine than the original. These were minted for the first time by Pope John XXII (1316–34) at the Avignon mint of Pont de Sorgues in 1322. Within a few years, the mints of Bohemia (1325), Hungary (1325), the Rhône valley (1327), the Dauphiné (1327), the Viennois (1327) and many others had followed suit.⁴⁴

According to Philip Grierson, it was as if two distinct but entangled ‘monetary empires’ had been established in the course of the fourteenth century: the ducat of

³⁸ For the Aleppo hoard see Grierson, *Later Medieval Numismatics*, chapters xi, xii, and xxi; for the Acre hoard see Kool, ‘A thirteenth century hoard’, pp. 301–20. Other hoards of the period are the hoard of Alberese (late 1280s–early 1290s, 91 florins) and the hoard of Pavia (1290–95, eight florins); cf. De Benetti (ed.), *Il tesoro di Alberese*, especially pp. 71–2 and 117.

³⁹ Denominations of similar gold standard were minted, for example, in England (1257–8), France (1266), Rome (1271), or Naples (1278); cf. Bompaire and Bernard, ‘Le retour à l’or’, pp. 1392–1400.

⁴⁰ Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 30.

⁴¹ About 14,000 gold ducats were being carried by a Venetian ship seized by the Arabs on its way to Alexandria in that year; cf. Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 212.

⁴² Stahl, *Zecca*, pp. 190 ff.

⁴³ See Ives and Grierson, *The Venetian Gold Ducat*; Bendall and Morrison, ‘Un trésor de ducats’, pp. 176–93; and more recently Mazarakis, *Il ducato di Venezia*.

⁴⁴ Between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, around 160 varieties of imitation florin were issued in 50 different mints across western and central Europe; cf. Bernocchi V. See also the more recent Travaini and Brogini (eds), *Il tesoro di Montella*, pp. 35 ff., and Day, ‘Early imitations’, pp. 183–99.

Venice in the East, and the florin of Florence in the West.⁴⁵ The preponderance of florins compared to the ducats of Venice in the Syracuse hoard suggests that its collection and concealment occurred before the Venetian ducat had fully replaced the Florentine florin in the monetary world of the Mediterranean. In particular, there is a very good chance that this hoard reflects the monetary situation at the time of the first arrival of the Venetian gold coinage in Sicily, a territory until then dominated by the florins of Florence.

A final remarkable aspect of this hoard is the lack of florin imitations in its composition. This raises the question of how far florin imitations had spread in their early decades. Although their presence in Southern Italy has been documented by the previously mentioned Montella hoard (1354), which contains 59 imitations, mainly from Hungary, the Dauphiné and Bohemia, it is hard to say whether those coins had ever reached the island of Sicily to form part of its monetary circulation.⁴⁶ It is more likely that they never circulated there, possibly because genuine Florentine florins were more readily available and accepted in the Mediterranean than their imitations at that time.

We cannot exclude the possibility that such an abundance of genuine florins within this hoard could also be the result of a direct link between its owner and Florence. In other words, it is possible that the florins were directly imported from the Tuscan centre through the commercial and financial relationship of the owner with Florence and its merchant-bankers. Yet, the presence of an imitation ducat, possibly minted in the Anatolian peninsula as illustrated below, strengthens the link of this hoard with the (eastern) Mediterranean trade.

The Venetian gold ducats (nos 1–7)

The hoard's seven gold ducats of Venice consist of one of Andrea Dandolo (1343–54) (no. 1), one of Lorenzo Celsi (1361–5) (no. 2), four of Marco Corner (1365–8) (nos 3–6), and one of Andrea Contarini (1368–82) (no. 7). The average weight is 3.53 grams, close to the theoretical weight of 3.545 grams (fig. 4).

The iconography and the style of the Venetian ducat represented a novelty at the time of its introduction. According to the traditional interpretation, the obverse features the figures of St Mark standing on the left and the doge of Venice kneeling on the right. The saint is holding a copy of a book in his left hand while offering with his right the civic banner to the doge, whose arms reach across the body to grip it. The legend consists of the doge's name on the right, **DVX** downwards in the centre, and **S M VENETI** on the left. On the reverse, Christ is standing facing, with his right hand raised in blessing and his left carrying a book. He is surrounded by an almond-shaped frame usually containing nine stars. Around is the Latin legend **SIT T XPE DAT' Q TV REGIS ISTE DVCAT'**, which expanded and translated reads 'May this duchy which thou rulest be given to thee, O Christ'.⁴⁷ Most of the Venetian ducats in

⁴⁵ Grierson, 'La moneta veneziana', p. 93.

⁴⁶ Travaini and Brogгинi (eds), *Il Tesoro di Montella*, chapters 5–17.

⁴⁷ Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 303. The full Latin inscription is 'Sit tibi Christe datus quem tu regis iste ducatus'.

the Syracuse hoard retain this iconography (nos 1, 3–7), which remained unchanged until the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.⁴⁸

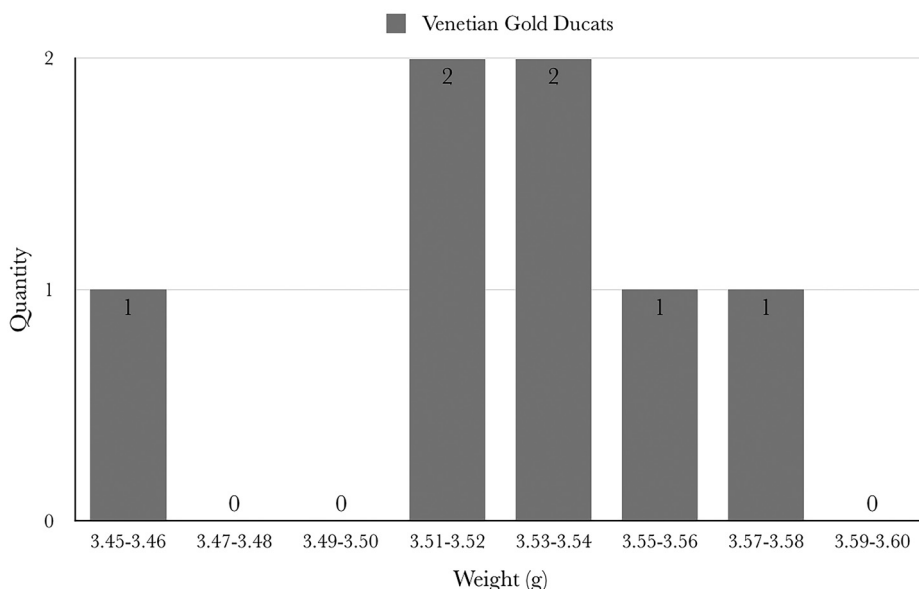


Fig. 4. Weights of the Venetian ducats and their quantity.

Only the gold ducat of Doge Lorenzo Celsi (no. 2) differs slightly from the traditional style. As illustrated in figure 5, this specimen has secret marks on both of sides: a small pellet below the knee of St Mark on the obverse and another pellet between the feet of Christ on the reverse. The use of secret marks on Venetian coins has been primarily studied in relation to the silver coinage. In the catalogue of the Papadopoli-Aldobrandini collection, for example, pellets and other marks are well documented on the reverse of the silver grossi of Venice from the time of Jacopo Tiepolo (1229–49); they remained a constant element up to 1353.⁴⁹ Recent studies, however, show that marks of this kind were also quite common among gold ducats.⁵⁰

Secret marks made their first appearance on gold ducats in the years immediately following the coins' introduction in 1284. Originally, they consisted of the modification of one of the nine stars surrounding the standing figure of Christ.⁵¹ Pellets, circles, and crosses – also combined together – were adopted from the early years of the fourteenth century onwards, but on the reverse of the ducats only. Under Doge Andrea Dandolo these marks began to be used on both sides.⁵² The coin of

⁴⁸ Ducats continued to be minted up to the early decades of the nineteenth century; cf. Ives and Grierson, *The Venetian Gold Ducat*, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Papadopoli I, pp. 98 ff.

⁵⁰ Travaini and Pigozzo, 'Contrassegni', pp. 197–205.

⁵¹ A gold ducat of Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329–39) with ten stars has recently appeared in the Montella hoard; cf. Travaini and Brogini (eds), *Il tesoro di Montella*, p. 23 (no. 12).

⁵² Travaini and Pigozzo, 'Contrassegni', p. 202.

Lorenzo Celsi under consideration is a clear example of this practice. This is the first time such a combination of marks has been recorded on a ducat of Lorenzo Celsi, although the same pattern had already been used on Andrea Dandolo's gold coinage.⁵³



Fig. 5. Secret marks on the gold ducat of Doge Lorenzo Celsi (no. 2).

Little is known about the actual purposes of these secret marks on ducats. They were used on silver grossi to indicate a specific mint master.⁵⁴ When adopted on gold ducats it is possible that they were acting as a defensive measure to guard against deceptive imitations. Only a comprehensive study of all these marks on Venetian ducats will shed new light on this aspect of the monetary production at the mint of Venice.

Two of the four ducats of Doge Marco Corner (nos 3 and 5) are struck from the same lower die. In describing medieval dies, the upper die used to strike the coin is usually referred to as the 'trussel'. The lower die, or 'pile', normally fixed into the anvil, tended to wear out less quickly since it was less affected by the stress of the direct blows from the hammer. Generally speaking, it is assumed that the pile would have the more elaborate design, requiring more work, since it would need to be replaced less often. This has tended to become conflated with the 'obverse', meaning the most important side, though it is not clear that contemporaries regarded it as such. Given the different lifetimes of the two dies, it was common for the pile to be used in combination with several trussels before being replaced.⁵⁵ This applies also to the ducats nos 3 and 5 of Doge Marco Corner, with their obverse struck by the same pile (fig. 6).

As illustrated, a total of seven dies (i.e. three piles and four trussels) were used to strike the obverse and the reverse of the four ducats of Marco Corner. Such an abundance of dies for four specimens should not be taken as direct evidence for a significant production of ducats at that time. The lifespan of a die could vary for many reasons, including the ability of the moneyer, the stress endured by the dies, or simple chance.⁵⁶

⁵³ Travaini and Pigozzo, 'Contrassegni', p. 202, fig. 5.

⁵⁴ Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 23 and p. 237.

⁵⁵ For more details on the minting process see Travaini and Bolis (eds), *Conii*, and Finetti, *Numismatica e tecnologia*.

⁵⁶ See in this regard Arslan, 'Le sequenze dei coni', p. 71.

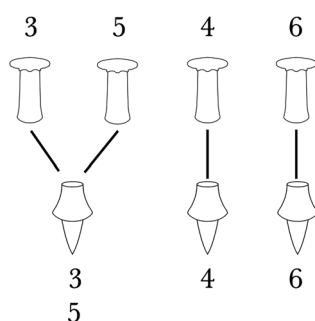


Fig. 6. Die-links between the ducats of Doge Marco Corner (1365-68) (nos 3–6). Above are the trussels () used for the image of Christ; below are the piles () for St Mark and the doge.

The deceptive imitation / counterfeit ducat (no. 8)



Fig. 7. Counterfeit ducat (x1.5) in the name of Doge Andrea Dandolo (no. 8).

No. 8, which is in the name of Andrea Dandolo, is clearly not an official product of the Venetian mint. On the obverse, the images of St Mark and the doge are much too coarse. On the reverse, Christ is slightly infantile in appearance. His right hand is hardly visible and there is a pellet between his feet. The letter S in the inscription on both sides is retrograde. It is possible that the retrograde S could have been used as an identifying mark but this seems most unlikely. The diameter (20 mm) and weight (3.52 g) of the coin do not differ significantly from official standards.⁵⁷

Such coins have long been regarded as contemporary imitations issued by anonymous authorities or individuals.⁵⁸ They exist in varying degrees of workmanship and fineness.⁵⁹ By the mid-fourteenth century the ducat of Andrea Dandolo was one of the most widely imitated coins in the Aegean, in Anatolia, and in the territories of the Black Sea.⁶⁰ Its production continued even after the end of Dandolo's dogate, possibly up to 1360.⁶¹ According to Andreas Mazarakis, this particular type might have originated within one of the small kingdoms or Beyliks governed by Turkish

⁵⁷ Although it has been noted that the lack of punctuation in the inscriptions was probably used as a marker to denote a low level of gold purity; cf. Bendall and Morrison, 'Un trésor de ducats', p. 181.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ives and Grierson, *The Venetian Gold Ducat*; and Bendall and Morrison, 'Un trésor de ducats.'

⁵⁹ Ives and Grierson, *The Venetian Gold Ducat*, p. 25.

⁶⁰ Stahl, *Zecca*, p. 50. A possible explanation of such abundance in Yvon, 'Monnaies et sceaux', pp. 101 ff.

⁶¹ Bendall and Morrison, 'Un trésor de ducats', p. 184.

chieftains or Beys, either the Principality Sarhuan, Aydin, or Monteshe.⁶² The reasons behind the minting of these imitations might have been related to the growing economic role of Venice in Asia Minor at the time, as documented by several economic treaties.⁶³ Yet, doubts remain whether this specimen should be regarded as an imitation or a counterfeit ducat.⁶⁴

I use the term ‘imitations’ to describe coins which replicated the types, weight and metal of another coin, but specifying the identity of the (new) issuing authority through its name or symbols. By contrast, I use ‘counterfeits’ to describe deceptive imitations that copy the types of another coin as closely as possible, without changing the name and symbols of the issuing authority, thus retaining the original ones.⁶⁵ Counterfeiting was a treasonous crime as fake coins would undermine the power of the authority issuing the original ones. Those responsible for this felony usually paid with their lives. This seems to be also the case of ducat no. 8 that, owing to its features, has been catalogued here as a contemporary counterfeit or deceptive imitation minted in Asia Minor between 1343 and the early 1360s, although a better classification of this under researched type of coin would require the study of a much larger body of material.

The only certainty is that the owner of the Syracuse hoard thought this ducat was good enough gold to be worth hoarding.

The Florentine gold florins (nos 9–91)

The mint of Florence opened in about 1236 and, as already described, began to strike gold florins almost twenty years later. From the very beginning, the new coins bore on one side a stylised lily, the emblem of Florence, and the legend **†FLOR ENTIA**.⁶⁶ On the other side is the figure of St John the Baptist, the patron saint standing, facing in a coat of animal hair, with a sceptre in his left hand and his right raised in benediction, surrounded by the legend **†SIOH̄A NNES B**.

At the Florentine mint, the production of the gold florin was assigned to the so-called ‘master of the mint for gold coinage’, a new official alternately appointed from the members of the *Arte di Calimala*, the guild of the merchants trading in foreign textiles, and the members of the *Arte del Cambio*, the guild of the bankers and money-changers, both belonging to the seven major guilds (or *Arti Maggiori*) of the city.⁶⁷ Elected every six months or semester (thus twice a year), this official was expected to carefully oversee all phases of minting, from the arrival of the precious metal at the mint, to the issue of the finished florins into circulation.⁶⁸ Each officiating mint-

⁶² Mazarakis, *Il ducato di Venezia*, pp. 44–56.

⁶³ For example, in 1348, Venice obtained the free movement of its goods in Ephesus, while in 1353 the Venetian government appointed a new consul to oversee its commerce in that region; cf. Mazarakis, *Il ducato di Venezia*, p. 45.

⁶⁴ Same doubts in Hasluck, ‘Imitations’, p. 263.

⁶⁵ Bompaire and Dumas, *Numismatique Médiévale*, pp. 109–11.

⁶⁶ ‘Stylised lily’ is here preferred to ‘fleur-de-lis’, which might anachronistically suggest the slightly different form on French coinage.

⁶⁷ Bernocchi III, p. 1; and also Camerani Marri (ed.), *Statuti*, p. 69.

⁶⁸ Bernocchi III, pp. 3 ff.

master had a personal *segno* (pl. *segni*) used to differentiate their florins from other issues. These were emblems that were reproduced on the side depicting the saint, in the form of simple marks or annulets before the inscription on the early specimens, then as more developed symbols usually between the end of the inscription and the head of the saint.⁶⁹ These *segni* are the main means of dating florins.

Yet, as recorded in the *Liber Monete Communis Florentie*, the official register of the mint of Florence that the notary Salvo Dini began in 1317, the chronological nature of these *segni* and their corresponding mint-masters only dates from 1303 (semester II).⁷⁰ For florins minted between 1252 and 1303, Dini could only provide a list of 72 mint marks but without matching them with the relative mint-master. It is thanks to Mario Bernocchi and his *Corpus Nummorum Florentinorum* (henceforth *CNF*), published in 1975, that we can now date and classify these and other florins more accurately.⁷¹

Bernocchi divided the florins in two large groups: the first one is based on the *Liber Monete* and comprises all florins ‘minted by a known mint-master’ in the period 1303 to 1533.⁷² For each semester, he recorded the names and the *segni* of the officiating mint-masters for gold, and for silver and billon coinage as well, together with a list of the other officials working at the mint. The second group includes gold florins ‘minted by an unknown mint-master’, thus both those struck between 1252 (semester I) and 1303 (semester I), and those issued later but by mint-masters not recorded in the *Liber Monete*, who presumably replaced the officiating mint-master once the semester had already begun. By means of empirical observations of their style and the comparison with florins that can be accurately dated, Bernocchi identified 31 different series of these florins for the years 1252–1533. Due to the difficulty in providing a clear identification based on the style of examples available today, the Series XX, XXVI, and XXXI are the only ones that, compared to the other 28, comprise florins minted over a more extended period of time than a few decades, i.e. respectively 1252–1421, 1422–60, and 1461–1533.⁷³ This hoard has been catalogued using Bernocchi’s classification.

There are 62 florins minted by a known mint-master and they correspond to 75% of all the florins in the hoard (fig. 8). These were issued from 1313 semester I to 1369 semester II (nos 30–91). The remaining 25% consists of 21 florins issued by mint-masters unknown today. They belong to Series VII (1315–25: no. 9), Series VIII (1326–32: nos 10–11), Series IX (1332–48: nos 12–15), Series X (1348–67: nos 16–20), and Series XX (1280s–1369: nos 21–29).⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Day, ‘Before the *Libro*, II’, pp. 457–8.

⁷⁰ Bernocchi I, pp. xx ff.; and more recently Day, ‘Before the *Libro*, I’, pp. 443–4.

⁷¹ The *CNF* is published in Bernocchi II. For the classification of the florins, the final catalogue refers also to the *MIR*. Massimo De Benetti is currently working on the update of the *CNF* as part of his doctorate at the University of Granada.

⁷² In 1533 the florin was completely replaced by the new gold *scudo*, introduced after the fall of the Republic of Florence in 1530, when the Medici family was restored to power; cf. Bernocchi II, p. xiv.

⁷³ Further details on these chronologies in Bernocchi III, pp. 107–9.

⁷⁴ The chronology for the florins of the Series XX is discussed below.

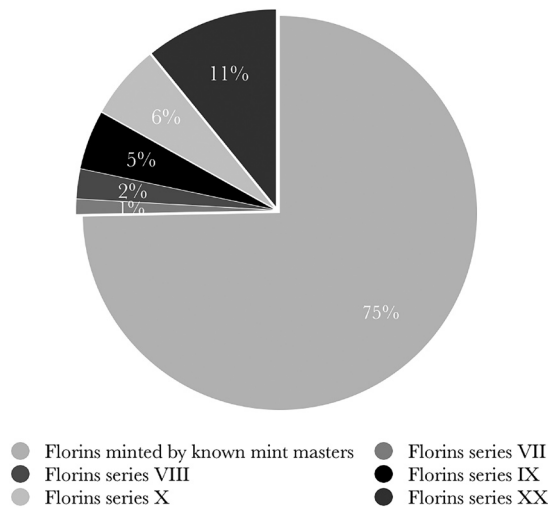


Fig. 8. Types of florins and their percentages calculated on the number of florins in the hoard (83 specimens).

The graph below (fig. 9) shows the distribution of weights of the 83 florins. The average is 3.503 grams, not too distant from the standard 3.53 grams. A few specimens weigh 3.46–3.47 grams, but the majority are between 3.49 and 3.52 grams. The mean is 3.504 grams.

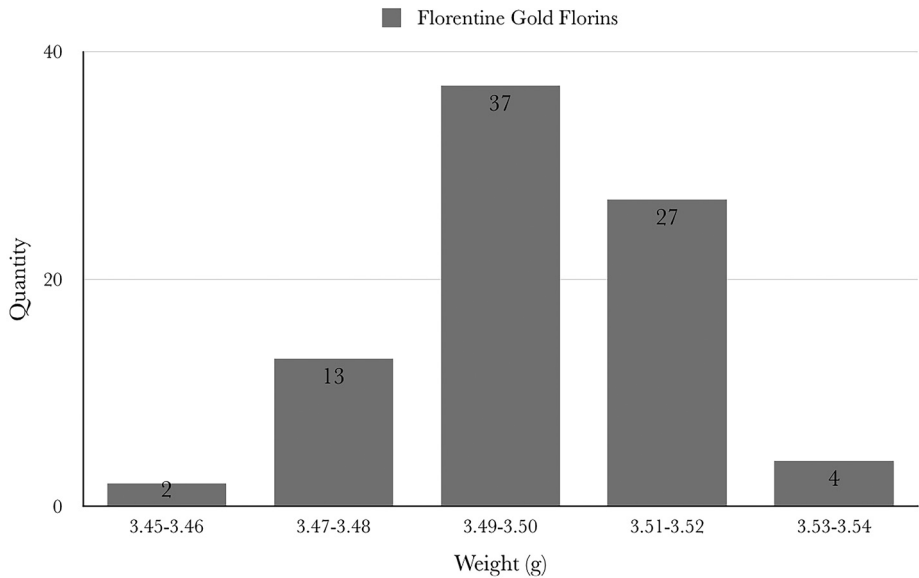


Fig. 9. Weights of the Florentine florins and their quantity.

An examination of the dies supports the view of Matteo Broggini that the side depicting St John the Baptist was the pile.⁷⁵ This is confirmed by the higher number

⁷⁵ Travaini and Broggini (eds), *Il tesoro di Montella*, pp. 29–33; and Broggini in Travaini and Broggini, ‘San Giovanni’, pp. 169–73.

of dies recorded for the Lily side (31 dies) compared to the Baptist side (22 dies) from a sample of 37 coins. As the lily side was easier to engrave, being a simpler design, it was used on the trussels, which, as already explained had to be replaced more often.

This die study revealed die links between florins of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri, mint-master for gold in 1342 semester II, in the Syracuse hoard (nos 51–55) and the almost contemporary hoard from Montella (c.1354), with two pairs of florins, namely nos 51 and 53, and nos 52 and 54, struck by one pile and two trussels. Overall, three piles and five trussels were used to mint these five coins (fig. 10).

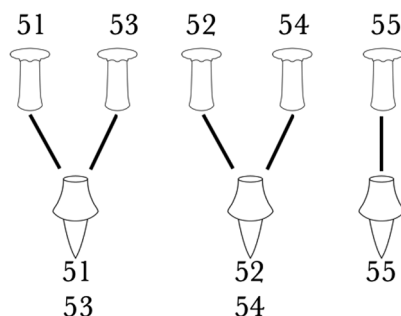


Fig. 10. Die links between the florins of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri (1342, semester II) in the Syracuse hoard (nos 51–55).

The Montella hoard includes 34 examples of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri out of 89 gold florins and their imitations. Among them, 33 florins are die linked, using a total of four piles and nine trussels. There is also one singleton.⁷⁶ By combining data from these two hoards, connections emerge. In the following discussion I have regarded the Baptist side as the ‘obverse’ because it was in all probability the lower (pile) die.

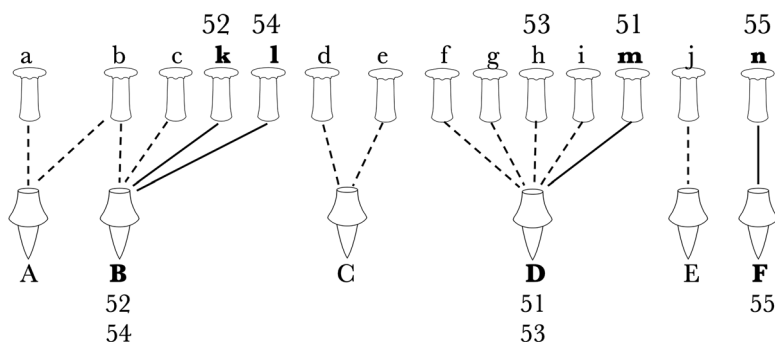


Fig. 11. Die-links between the florins of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri in the hoards of Montella and Syracuse (broken lines = die links in Montella hoard; continuous lines = die links in Syracuse hoard).

⁷⁶ Travaini and Brogginì (eds), *Il tesoro di Montella*, p. 33.

Florins of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri in the Syracuse hoard are die linked with florins of the same mint-master in the hoard of Montella (fig. 11). The pile (**B**) used to strike the obverse of nos 52 and 54 of the Syracuse hoard was also used to strike twelve florins (from two trussel dies) from Montella. Likewise nos 51 and 53 were struck with the same pile die (**D**) as nine florins (from four trussel dies) from Montella. The reverse (trussel) die **h** used for no. 53 was also used to strike six Montella florins. The trussels used for the reverse of nos 51, 52 and 54 are new (dies **m**, **k**, **l** respectively), as well as the pair of dies for no. 55 (dies **n** and **F**). In all, six piles and fourteen trussels were employed for minting the 39 gold florins of Filippo di Lippo Angiolieri in both hoards. Such a connection between two hoards is not surprising, though it has not been previously documented. Because of the different longevity of dies, as already noted, it was normal for several trussels to be used with a single pile. Explicit references to this survive in contemporary records. For the minting of the gold carlino at Naples in 1278, for example, the ratio was three trussels to one pile; in the mint of Pisa in 1318, however, one pile was normally paired with two trussels.⁷⁷

Overall, the frequent occurrence of die-links among the coins in the hoard, including the Venetian ducats, provides crucial details for a correct interpretation of this hoard. The evidence suggests that all the die-linked ducats and florins did not circulate much after their minting, but were quickly hoarded once they reached the city of Syracuse or were kept together in ‘purses’ by the owner(s). The hoard, therefore, should be regarded as savings deposits, made up of gold coins removed from circulation and accumulated throughout the years running up to c.1369, the date at which it was probably closed.

Identifying the segno

The cataloguing and dating of Florentine florins is far from straightforward. Classification is traditionally based on the identification of the *segno* on a given florin with the hand drawings of the *segni* that Bernocchi was able to record, and chronologically organise, in his *CNF* as noted above. Those drawings, however, do not always match the *segno* on the actual coins. The natural wear and tear affecting the surviving coins, and / or the dies used to mint them, may have altered a *segno*’s original shape on the examples that Bernocchi catalogued and this, in turn, affected the images in his work. This lack of an accurate representation (i.e. digital pictures) makes the entire cataloguing process more complex.

This is particularly true for nos 16 and 17 of Series X, minted by an unknown mint-master in the years 1348–67. Their *segno* seems to correspond to a five-pointed leaf drawn by Bernocchi and presented as a ‘leaf of special shape’.⁷⁸ This is also how those florins have been catalogued here. By looking closely at those specimens, however, doubts remains whether the *segno* should be better regarded as a four-pointed leaf with a stem that the saint seems to be holding in his right hand (fig. 12).

⁷⁷ Travaini, *Le zecche*, p. 76.

⁷⁸ Bernocchi II, p. 37, no. 435.

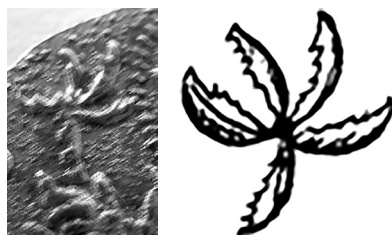


Fig. 12. *Segno* on 16 and 17 and drawing by Bernocchi.

Sometimes, such uncertainty related to the identification of the *segno* has led to erroneous classifications, especially if the *segno* on the coin is not illustrated in Bernocchi's work, such as no. 9. This coin was probably struck by a worn pile, as the blurred image of the saint seems to suggest, and it is hard to match its *segno* with any of the hand-drawn ones in the *CNF*. A florin with a similar *segno*, however, has recently been published in the catalogue of the coin collection of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence. The authors associated the *segno* with the 'spinning top' of Caroccio Alberti, the mint-master for gold coinage in 1336 semester I.⁷⁹ By comparing the uncertain *segno* with the 'spinning top' on other florins of Alberti in the same collection the differences between them are evident. The *segno* on our no. 9 has two pellets at its top, which do not appear on the 'spinning top' used by Alberti, which was placed on the coin at a different angle (fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Comparison between the *segni* on no. 9 in the Syracuse hoard (a) and the florins no. 462 (b) and no. 463 (c) of the Bargello Collection.

In the context of the chronology of the hoard, only two other *segni* recorded by Bernocchi have similar pellets in their design. These are the so-called 'palm of different shape with two pellets at the top' on the florins of Series VII minted by an unknown mint-master in 1315–25, and the 'lizard' on the florins of Series IX of 1332–48.⁸⁰ To date, none of the standard numismatic catalogues of Florentine florins contain examples with similar *segni*.⁸¹ In addition, only the *segno* of the 'lizard' is illustrated in the *CNF*; Bernocchi did not provide any drawing for the palm with two pellets.⁸² He simply reproduced the 'palm of different shape' with no pellets at the top.⁸³ Hence, a first but tentative identification can be made if we compare the *segno* on the Syracuse florin with the only drawings at our disposal, namely the simple 'palm of different shape' and the 'lizard' (fig. 14).

⁷⁹ Toderi and Vannel, *Monete italiane*, p. 42, no. 462. The reader needs to treat this volume with extreme caution as many of the catalogue entries are erroneous and these do not always match up with the images in the plates.

⁸⁰ See respectively Bernocchi II, p. 34, no. 394 and p. 35, no. 413.

⁸¹ The *CNI* XII and *MIR* do not seem to contain images of florins with one or the other mint mark.

⁸² For the lizard see Bernocchi II, p. 35, no. 413.

⁸³ Cf. Bernocchi II, p. 33, nos 391–393.

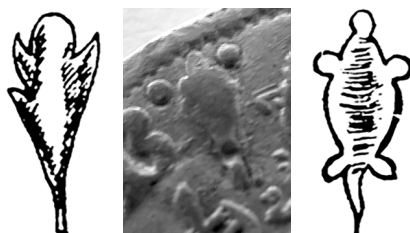


Fig. 14. The *segno* on no. 9 between the drawings of the so-called ‘palm of different shape’ on the left, and the ‘lizard’ on the right.

Despite the absence of the pellets, the *segno* on the florin seems more closely to resemble the drawing of the palm rather than the one of the lizard, as illustrated. If it were a lizard, it would have two more pellets at its base, or at least something resembling the hind legs of the animal. Not only is this detail missing, but the *segno* on the Syracuse florin also seems to have the V shape of the palm and not the O shape of the lizard. Through a stylistic examination, therefore, it has seemed reasonable to provisionally catalogue no. 9 as Series VII minted by an unknown mint-master in the period 1315–25, with a ‘palm of different shape with two pellets at the top’ as its *segno*. Due to the lack of clear images of the proposed palm, doubts must still remain about the real nature of the *segno* on this florin.

Florins nos 26 and 29 are interesting case studies. Like the previous example, the *segno* of no. 26 is listed in the *CNF* but is not illustrated. It has been possible to classify it by referring to the *CNI*, where a similar example appears among the florins of Series XX, bearing a ‘mitred head’ as *segno* (fig. 15).⁸⁴ No. 29 likewise does not appear in Bernocchi’s work, but seems to correspond to the ‘sparrowhawk facing right with open wings’ appearing on another example of the florins of Series XX recorded in the *CNI*.⁸⁵ This is how no. 29 has been catalogued. It is also noteworthy that the nine florins of Series XX in this hoard, which according to Bernocchi date between 1252 and 1421, have been dated here between the 1280s and 1369, when the hoard was likely to have been concealed. Although these specimens were minted under unknown mint-masters, their *segni* appear to be larger and more complex than the ones characterising the florins issued in the 1260s.⁸⁶ Hence, based on stylistic affinities, it can be assumed that they were struck at least from the 1280s, and are thus closer to the fourteenth-century florins.

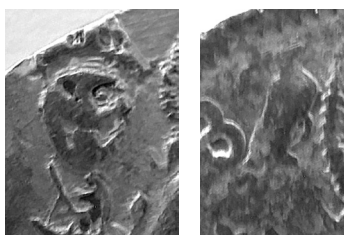


Fig. 15. The *segni* on nos 26 (left) and 29 (right).

⁸⁴ Cf. *CNI* XII, p. 101, no. 701, and plate XVII, no. 22. A florin of the same type was sold in Numismatica ARS Classica sale 44, 26 November 2007, lot 446.

⁸⁵ *CNI* XII, p. 101, no. 704.

⁸⁶ De Benetti (ed.), *Il tesoro di Alberese*, pp. 115–16.

Overall, these and the other cases discussed here show the importance of comparing the largest possible number of florins at our disposal – both from collections and other coin finds – in the process of identifying the *segno* to provide a more accurate classification and chronology of the surviving examples.⁸⁷

Finally, it is worth noting the presence within the hoard of a very rare type of gold florin belonging to the so-called ‘coins for spite’ of medieval Italy.⁸⁸ As illustrated by Philip Grierson, these were coins that the winner of one of the endless wars between Italian communes would strike in a temporary mint set up on enemy territory to celebrate his victory and humiliate the defeated rival. This was a common practice in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Northern Italy.⁸⁹ For the occasion, the traditional style of the coin issued would be adjusted to include specific symbols that recalled the historical episode, thus turning the coin into an object of commemoration for both the winners and losers. This is the case for nos 87 and 88 of Tommaso di Lippo di Marino Soldani mint-master in 1363 semester I. Along with the traditional images of St John and the lily, these coins have a chain as *segno* and the image of a fox under the feet of the standing figure of the Baptist.



Fig. 16. Reverse of no. 87 with the chain as *segno* (left) and the inverted fox under the feet of St John the Baptist (right).

Both symbols evoke the series of victories that the Florentine army, led by Pietro Farnese, achieved against the Pisans in the years 1362–3. In particular, the chain recalls the capture of Porto Pisano, the main seaport of the city of Pisa, successfully accomplished by a small Florentine fleet in October 1362. After their victory, the Florentines removed the huge chains that blocked the access to the port, and transported them to Florence, where they were cut in pieces and placed in the most symbolic sites in town.⁹⁰ The fox that lies dead under the saint symbolises the city of Pisa and its inhabitants repeatedly ‘trampled’ by the Florentines in the war of 1363. ‘Foxes’ was the term adopted by the people of Florence to refer to these hated rivals, as Dante Alighieri also does in his *Commedia*.⁹¹

⁸⁷ New and interesting details in this regard have recently appeared in Day and De Benetti, ‘The Willanzheim Hoard’, pp. 101–62.

⁸⁸ Litterally ‘*coniazioni per dispetto*’ according to Philip Grierson who coined this expression; cf. Grierson, ‘«Coniazioni per dispetto»’, p. 346.

⁸⁹ Grierson listed eight difference cases, including the one under examination, dating between 1256 and 1363, namely San Jacopo in Val di Serchio (1256), Lucca (1264), Pisa (1269), Porto Pisano (1287), Genoa (1299), Arezzo (1343), Pisa-Riglione (1363), Florence-Rifredi (1363); cf. Grierson, ‘«Coniazioni per dispetto»’, pp. 346–58.

⁹⁰ For the full narration see De Benetti, ‘Una moneta inedita’, p. 168.

⁹¹ *Purgatorio* XIV, lines 53–4.

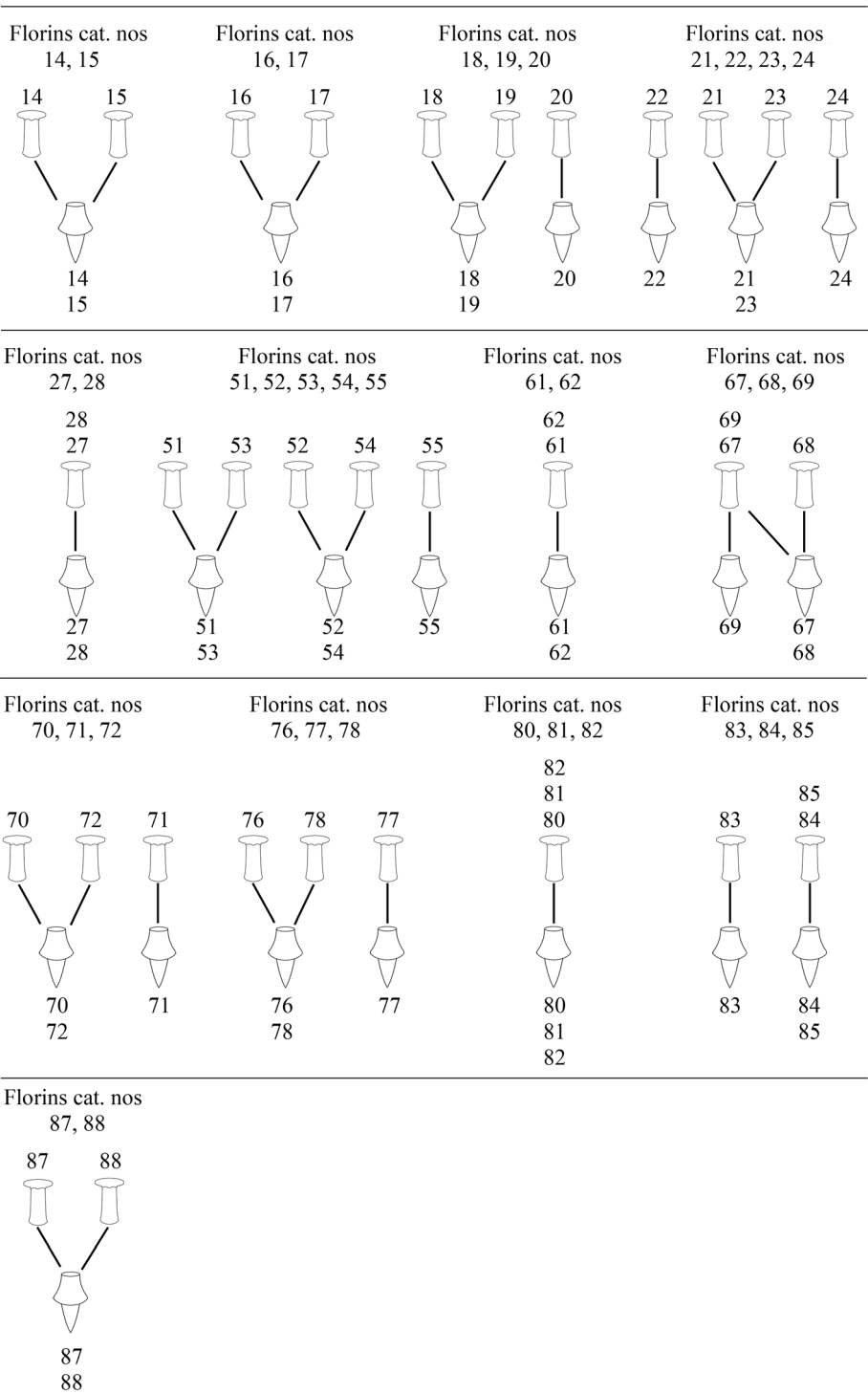


Fig. 17. Florins' Die Links

As narrated in contemporary chronicles, the Florentine army occupied the countryside around Pisa in May 1363. After a series of military successes, on 30 May, Pietro Farnese ordered the minting of new gold, silver and billon coins in the localities of Riglione and Spedaletto. Each coin had to show a fox under the feet of the saint that would represent the Pisans.⁹² To date, only one gold florin with the fox – and the chain as *segno* – has been published. This is part of the collection of the Museo Civico Archeologico of the city of Bologna.⁹³ The discovery of these two new examples represents an exceptional event. In particular, the fact that these florins appear in the Syracuse hoard clearly shows that not only did these coins enter general monetary circulation, but also that they spread widely after their minting, and well away from Florence, into Sicily, bringing with them the memory of the Florentine military victory over the Pisans.

Conclusion

The Syracuse hoard has provided a useful, although partial, snapshot of monetary circulation in that city in the first half of the fourteenth century, a time when archaeological sources and documentary records are virtually absent. Detailed analysis of its composition has demonstrated that the gold florin of Florence played a major role in the monetary context of the period, although this was also the time when the Venetian ducat was beginning to spread from the east to the west of the Mediterranean. The presence of seven examples in the hoard seems to reflect virtually the exact moment of the arrival of Venetian ducats in the Sicilian monetary world. The absence of florin imitations in the Syracuse hoard is another feature which deserves further investigation. Perhaps they never circulated in Sicily, and in the Mediterranean more generally, dominated as it was from the second half of the fourteenth century by the Venetian ducat, its imitations and forgeries. The imitation ducat (no. 8) strengthens the possibility of a link between this hoard and the eastern Mediterranean in this respect.

Doubts remain, though, regarding the chronologies and classification of specific coins, especially of the hoard's florins belonging to Series XX (nos 21–29). It is hoped that the discovery and publication of new coin hoards, not necessarily from Sicily, but of the same general period, which include florins – and hopefully documented by clear digital images – will provide new data that will help refine the classification and remove all doubt.

CATALOGUE

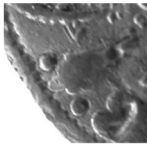
The Syracuse Hoard

Both the Venetian ducats (*ducati*) and the Florentine florins (*fiorini*) are arranged chronologically: the ducats follow the order of the issuing doges, the florins according to their mint marks.

⁹² De Benetti, 'Una moneta inedita', pp. 168–73; Grierson, '«Coniazioni per dispetto»', p. 353.

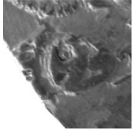
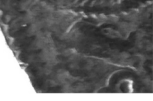
⁹³ De Benetti, 'Una moneta inedita', p. 176.

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Ref.
					Republic of Venice, Ducats		
					Andrea Dandolo doge (1343–54)		
1	306/1	3.517	20	180	ΑΝΔΡΑΝΔΥΛΟ·ΣΜΥΕ(N)ΕΤΙ DVX St Mark nimble, st. left, in l. hand a book, in r. hand the banner offered to the doge kneeling right.	·SIT·T·XΠΕΔΑΤ'·Q·TV REGISISTEDVCAΤ' Christ nimble, st. facing, surrounded by a mandorla containing nine stars; in l. hand a book, r. hand raised in benediction.	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 74, no. 39; <i>Papadopoli</i> I, p. 181, no. 1.
					Lorenzo Celsi doge (1361–5)		
2	307/1	3.551	21	330	ΛΑΥΡ·CELSI·[S]·M·VENETI DVX Same but with a pellet below the knee of St Mark.	·SIT·TXΠΕΔΑΤ'·Q·TV REGISISTEDVCAΤ' Same but with a pellet between the feet of Christ.	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 89, no. 17; <i>Papadopoli</i> I, p. 200, no. 1.
					Marco Corner doge (1365–8)		
3	305/1	3.581	20	60	ΜΑΡC·CORNΑRIO ·S·M·VENETI DVX Die = no. 5	·SIT·T·XΠΕΔΑΤ'·Q·TV REGISISTE'DVCAΤ'·	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 93, no. 14; <i>Papadopoli</i> I, p. 203, no. 1.
4	305/4	3.547	19	150	ΜΑΡC·CORNΑRIO ·S·M·VENETI DVX	·SIT·T·XΠΕΔΑΤ'·Q·TV REGISISTE'DVCAΤ'·	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 93, no. 12.
5	305/2	3.526	20	30	ΜΑΡC·CORNΑRIO ·S·M·VENETI DVX Die = no. 3	·SIT·T·XΠΕΔΑΤ'·Q·TV REGISISTE'DVCAΤ'·	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 93, no. 15.
6	305/3	3.458	20	210	ΜΑΡC·CORNΑRIO ·S·M·VENETI DVX	SITTXPEDATQTV REGISISTEDVCAΤ	Same but the inscription on the reverse has no punctuation.

		Andrea Contarini doge (1368–82)						
7	308/1	3.534	20	150	·FNDROT·ARENO ·S·M·VENETI DVX	·SIT·T·X·PE·DAT·Q·TV REGIS·ISTE·DV·CAT·	Cf. <i>CNI</i> VII, p. 100, no. 45; <i>Papadopoli</i> I, p. 215, no. 1.	
					Asia Minor, Beyliks (?) Counterfeit ducat of Andrea Dandolo doge, 1343–60			
8	306/2	3.520	20	150	·ANDRD·ANDVLO 2N·VENETI DVX The images of St Mark and the doge are sub-standard. Lettering in the inscription appear larger than the normal.	·2ITT·X·PE·DAT·CTV REGI·ISTE·DV·CAT· Christ, with a pellet between his feet, is less detailed and his r. hand seems to be missing. Letters in the legend are random and unconventional.	–	
No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	
					Florence Gold florins			
					Unknown mint masters			
					Florence, 1315–5 Series VII with symbols			
9	309/78	3.493	20	330	·FLO·RENTIA Lily ·S·IO·HA·NNES·B St John the Baptist nimbate, st. facing in a coat of animal hair; in l. hand sceptre; r. hand raised in benediction.		 Palm of different shape with two pellets at the top	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 34, no. 394; <i>CNI</i> –; <i>MIR</i> –.

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1326–32 Series VIII with symbols			
10	309/70	3.487	21	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Bunch of grapes with leaf	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 34, no. 403; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 100, no. 688; <i>MIR</i> , p. 138, no. 8/1.
11	309/25	3.467	20	30	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	Same	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 34, no. 400; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 99, no. 687. <i>MIR</i> , p. 138, no. 8/1.
					Florence, 1332–48 Series IX with symbols			
12	309/9	3.510	19	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Dog	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 35, no. 407; <i>CNI</i> XII – ; <i>MIR</i> , p. 140, no. 9/1.
13	309/6	3.501	19	330	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Three Crescents	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 35, no. 414; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 95, no. 637; <i>MIR</i> , p. 140, no. 9/5.
14	309/26	3.500	19	0	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B Die = no. 15	 Dove with rays	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 36, no. 425; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 100, no. 696; <i>MIR</i> , p. 140, no. 9/7.
15	309/24	3.493	19	30	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B Die = no. 14	Same	Same

Florence, 1348–67									
Series X with symbols									
16	309/74	3.533	19	60	✠[F]LOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE[S]·B Die = no. 17	 Leaf of special shape	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 37 no. 435; <i>CNI</i> XII –; <i>MIR</i> , p. 142, no. 10/4.	
17	309/17	3.528	19	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 16	Same	Same	
18	309/44	3.526	20	240	✠FLOR [E]NTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 19	 Three leaves	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 37 no. 436; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 99, no. 680; <i>MIR</i> , p. 142, no. 10/5.	
19	309/58	3.511	19	120	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 18	Same	Same	
20	309/55	3.507	20	300	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 18	Same	Same	
Florence c.1280s–c.1369									
Series XX with symbols									
21	309/29	3.518	19	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE[S]·B Die = no. 23	 Ram facing l.	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 42 no. 464; <i>CNI</i> XII –; <i>MIR</i> , p. 156 no. 20/6.	
22	309/4	3.514	19	0	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B·	Same	Same	
23	309/5	3.504	19	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 21	Same	Same	
24	309/49	3.499	20	60	✠FLOR [E]NTIA	✠[·S·IO]HÆ NNE[S]·B			

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
25	309/57	3.514	19	270	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·[I]OHÆ NNE·B	 Open crown	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 42 no. 476; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 97 no. 661; <i>MIR</i> , p. 156 no. 20/15.
26	309/11	3.514	19	330	✠[F]LOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B	 Mitred head	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 48, no. 551; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 101, no. 701; <i>MIR</i> , p. 158, no. 20/63.
27	309/20	3.523	19	240	✠FLOR [EN]TIA Die = no. 28	✠·S·IOHÆ [NNE]·B Die = no. 28	 Sparrowhawk facing r. with closed wings	<i>Bernocchi</i> II, p. 48 no. 546; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 101 no. 703; <i>MIR</i> , p. 157 no. 20/60.
28	309/35	3.497	20	60	✠FLO[R] ENTIA Die = no. 27	✠·S·IOHÆ NNE·B Die = no. 27	Same	Same
29	309/39	3.525	20	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠ S IOHÆ NNE B	 Sparrowhawk facing r. with open wings	<i>Bernocchi</i> II –; <i>CNI</i> XII, p. 101 no. 704; <i>MIR</i> –.

30	309/41	3.507	21	180	✠FLOR ENTIA Florence, 1313 semester I Totto di Tedaldo	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B		Furnace		<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 117 no. 1100; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 18 no. 93; <i>MIR</i> , p. 136 no. 6/3.
31	309/45	3.505	20	180	✠FLOR ENTIA Florence, 1314 semester I Nerio di Iacopo del Giudice	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B		Barrel		<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 120 no. 1117; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 18 no. 99; <i>MIR</i> , p. 136, no. 6/5.
32	309/54	3.468	20	150	✠FLOR ENTIA Florence, 1318 semester II Catellino di Aldobrandino	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B		Sun		<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 132, no. 1223; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 24, no. 135; <i>MIR</i> , p. 137, no. 7/15.
33	309/43	3.500	20	210	✠FLOR ENTIA Florence, 1321 semester I Tano di Baroncello	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B		Scissors		<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 138, no. 1269; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 27, no. 158; <i>MIR</i> , p. 137, no. 7/20.
34	309/63	3.487	20	210	✠FLOR ENTIA Florence, 1321 semester I Tano di Baroncello	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B		Same		Same

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1322 semester I Maffeo di Chiarissimo			
35	309/42	3.499	20	150	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Rose with two leaves and stem	Bernocchi II, p. 140, no. 1283; CNI XII, p. 28, no. 169; MIR, p. 137, no. 7/22.
36	309/47	3.498	19	240	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	Same	Same
					Florence, 1325 semester II Giovanni di Buonaccorso			
37	309/62	3.493	21	180	✠[FL]JOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Sejant lion	Bernocchi II, p. 147, no. 1325; CNI XII, p. 31, no. 190; MIR, p. 138, no. 7/29.
					Florence, 1331 semester I Iacopo di Alberto Alberti			
38	309/19	3.504	20	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNES·B	 Two crossed palm branches	Bernocchi II, p. 157, no. 1381; CNI XII, p. 35, no. 216; MIR, p. 139, no. 8/11.

					Florence, 1333 semester II Lapo di Niccolò				
39	309/14	3.503	19	180	✠·S·IOH·A NNE·S·B ✠FLOR ENTIA			Flag with cross	Bernocchi II, p. 163, no. 1415; CNI XII, p. 36, no. 229; MIR, p. 140, no. 9/12.
					Florence, 1334 semester II Tano di Chiarissimo				
40	309/2	3.490	20	180	✠·S·IOH·A NNE·S·B ✠FLOR ENTIA			Sword	Bernocchi II, p. 164, no. 1419; CNI XII, p. 37, no. 233; MIR, p. 140, no. 9/14.
41	309/82	3.476	19	210	✠·S·IOH·A NNE·S·B ✠FLOR ENTIA			Same	Same
					Florence, 1335 semester II Naddo di Cenne di Nardo				
42	309/40	3.487	20	60	✠·S·IOH·A NNE·S·B ✠FLOR ENTIA			Cleaver	Bernocchi II, p. 166, no. 1431; CNI XII, p. 38, no. 238; MIR, p. 140, no. 9/16.
					Florence, 1337 semester I Paolo di Boccuccio				
43	309/76	3.491	20	330	✠·S·IOH·A NNE[S]·B ✠[F]LOR [E]NTIA			Bull's head	Bernocchi II, p. 170, no. 1451; CNI XII, p. 39, no. 245; MIR, p. 140, no. 9/19.

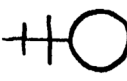
No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1337 semester II Francesco di Andrea di Amadore			
44	309/32	3.489	20	300	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES·B	 Mortar with pestle and no handles	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 170, no. 1455; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 39, no. 247; <i>MIR</i> , p. 140, no. 9/20.
45	309/16	3.486	19	210	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES·B	Same	Same
					Florence, 1338 semester I Giovanni di Stefano di Soderino			
46	309/72	3.500	20	210	✠FLO[R] ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES·B	 Buckle with prong	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 171, no. 1462; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 39, no. 249; <i>MIR</i> , p. 140, no. 9/21.
47	309/12	3.479	20	240	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES·B	Same	Same
					Florence, 1338 semester II Vanni di Manetto			
48	309/53	3.494	20	240	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES·B	 Four lilies forming a cross	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 172, no. 1466; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 39, no. 250; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/22.

		Florence, 1341 semester I Nerio di Bocceuccio									
49	309/46	3.501	19	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B		Crab Same	Bernocchi II, p. 176, no. 1487; CNI XII, p. 41, no. 261; MIR, p. 141, no. 9/27.		
50	309/73	3.500	19	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B			Same		
51	309/80	3.518	19	330	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B Die = no. 53		Letter S Same	Bernocchi II, p. 179, no. 1498; CNI XII, p. 42, no. 267; MIR, p. 141, no. 9/30.		
52	309/64	3.517	19	120	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B Die = no. 54			Same		
53	309/7	3.515	19	30	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B Die = no. 51			Same		
54	309/71	3.500	20	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B Die = no. 52			Same		
55	309/22	3.477	20	150	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B			Same		
56	309/51	3.487	20	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNES'B		Lamp with two handles	Bernocchi II, p. 179, no. 1503; CNI XII, p. 42, no. 269; MIR, p. 141, no. 9/31.		

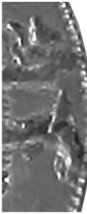
No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1343 semester II Vanni di Manetto			
57	309/10	3.504	20	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNESTB	 Cross coupé	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 180, no. 1510; <i>CNI XII</i> – ; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/32.
					Florence, 1344 semester II Giovanni di Guasco Covoni			
58	309/48	3.500	20	300	✠[F]LOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNESTB	 Haystack	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 182, no. 1517; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 42, no. 271; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/34.
59	309/77	3.485	20	300	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNESTB	Same	Same
					Florence, 1345 semester II Aldobrandino di Lapo di Tanaglia			
60	309/69	3.512	18	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠S'IOHA NNESTB	 Mermaid	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 184, no. 1534; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 43, no. 275; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/36.
					Florence, 1347 semester I Nerone del Nero			
61	309/21	3.535	19	330	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = no. 62	✠S'IOHA NNESTB Die = no. 62	 Poppy	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 186, no. 1543; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 44, no. 279; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/39.

62	309/68	3.508	19	330	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = no. 61	✠·S·[']IOHÆ NNES·B Die = no. 61	Same	Same
					Florence, 1347 semester II Nerio di Lippo			
63	309/31	3.504	20	180	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNES·B	 Rook	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 187, no. 1551; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 45, no. 283; <i>MIR</i> , p. 141, no. 9/40.
					Florence, 1349 semester II Biagio di Fecino di Ridolfo			
64	309/56	3.528	19	60	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NN[ES·B]	 Hillock with diagonal stripe	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 193, no. 1597; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 103, no. 725; <i>MIR</i> , p. 142, no. 10/14.
					Florence, 1350 semester I Lippo di Dino di Tingo			
65	309/27	3.501	20	300	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNES·B	 Shroud	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 194, no. 1612; <i>CNI XII</i> –; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/15.
					Florence, 1353 semester II Baldese di Turino di Baldese			
66	309/37	3.497	19	300	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHÆ NNES·B	 Little pig	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 201, no. 1659; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 47, no. 297; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/22.

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1354 semester II Giorgio di Ricciardo Ricci			
67	309/75	3.505	19	60	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 69	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 68	 Six-pointed star	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 202, no. 1660; <i>CNI XII</i> – ; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/24.
68	309/3	3.501	20	120	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 67	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 67	Same	Same
69	309/33	3.489	19	150	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 67	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	Same	Same
					Florence, 1355 semester I Pazzino Strozzi			
70	309/83	3.521	19	210	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 72	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 72	 Shield with crescent	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 203, no. 1662; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 47, no. 298; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/25.
71	309/79	3.504	20	150	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	Same	Same
72	309/65	3.500	19	180	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 70	Same	Same
					Florence, 1355 semester II Iacopo di Banco di Puccio di Bencivenne			
73	309/15	3.513	19	30	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 70	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B Die = no. 70	 Letter m	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 203, no. 1666; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 47, no. 300; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/26.
74	309/1	3.487	20	300	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	✠·S·IIOH·A NNE·S·B	Same	Same

							Florence, 1356 semester I Uguccione di Riccardo Ricci						<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 204, no. 1668; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 48, no. 302; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/27.
75	309/66	3.511	20	270			Florence, 1356 semester I Uguccione di Riccardo Ricci				Orb with cross on top		
							Florence, 1358 semester I Cecco di Cione						
76	309/50	3.533	20	60			Florence, 1358 semester I Cecco di Cione						<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 206, no. 1674; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 49, no. 305; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/31.
77	309/38	3.510	19	210			Florence, 1359 semester II Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti				Same		Same
78	309/36	3.477	19	210			Florence, 1359 semester II Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti				Same		Same
							Florence, 1359 semester II Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti						
79	309/67	3.514	20	60			Florence, 1359 semester II Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti						<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 208, no. 1682; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 49, no. 309; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/34.
							Florence, 1359 semester II Bernardo di Nerozzo Alberti				Orb with patriarchal cross on top		

No.	Museum No.	Wt. (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis (°)	Obverse	Reverse	Mint mark	Ref.
					Florence, 1360 semester I Francesco di Bartolino			
80	309/13	3.512	20	330	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = nos 81, 82	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B Die = nos 81, 82	 Circle with star	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 209, no. 1683; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 50, no. 310; <i>MIR</i> , p. 143, no. 10/35.
81	309/23	3.502	20	270	✠FLOR [E]NTIA Die = nos 80, 82	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B Die = nos 80, 82	Same	Same
82	309/28	3.498	19	150	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = nos 80, 81	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B Die = nos 80, 81	Same	Same
					Florence, 1362 semester I Bernardo di Covone Covoni			
83	309/61	3.521	20	270	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B	 Lion's paw and crescent	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 212, no. 1698; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 51, no. 315; <i>MIR</i> , p. 144, no. 10/39.
84	309/18	3.512	20	240	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = no. 85	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B Die = no. 85	Same	Same
85	309/34	3.505	20	150	✠FLOR ENTIA Die = no. 84	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B Die = no. 84	Same	Same
					Florence, 1362 semester II Simone di Rainerio Peruzzi			
86	309/81	3.511	20	30	✠FLOR ENTIA	✠·S·IOHA NNE·B	 Four pellets	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 212, no. 1703; <i>CNI XII</i> – ; <i>MIR</i> , p. 144, no. 10/40.

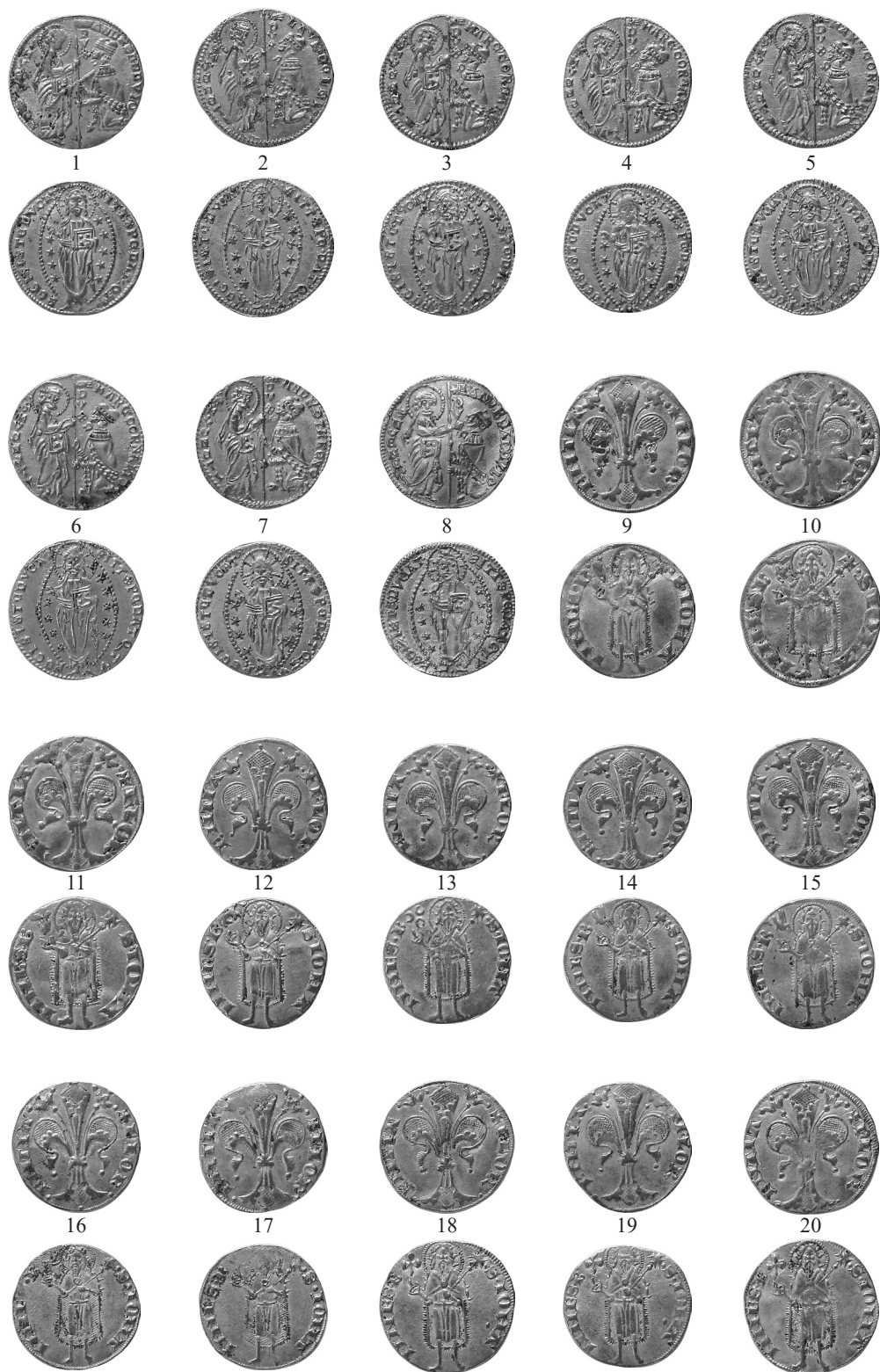
87	309/8	3.518	20	150	Florence, 1363 semester I Tommaso di Lippo di Marino Soldani ✠·S·IOH̄A NNES·B Same, but with upturned fox under the feet of the saint. 	 Chain	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , pp. 214, no. 1711; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 51, no. 317; <i>MIR</i> , p. 144, no. 10/41.
88	309/59	3.516	20	60	✠[F]LOR ENTIA Die = no. 88 ✠·S·IOH̄A NNES·B Die = no. 87	Same	Same
89	309/52	3.497	20	0	Florence, 1364 semester I Donnino di Pazzino Strozzi ✠·S·IOH̄A NNES·B ✠[F]LOR ENTIA	 Shield with crescent topped by a cross	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 215, no. 1723; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 51, no. 319; <i>MIR</i> , p. 144, no. 10/43.
90	309/30	3.527	20	330	Florence, 1369 semester I Nicolò di Lippo Alberti ✠[FL]OR [EN]TIA ✠·S·[I]OH̄A NNESB	 Two crossed pastoral staffs	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 222, no. 1755; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 54, no. 338; <i>MIR</i> , p. 145, no. 11/5.
91	309/60	3.534	19	30	Florence, 1369 semester II Simone di Rainerio Peruzzi ✠[F]LOR ENTIA ✠·S·IOH̄A NNES·B	 Monogram f and b with a pellet in the centre	<i>Bernocchi II</i> , p. 224, no. 1769; <i>CNI XII</i> , p. 55, no. 342; <i>MIR</i> , p. 145, no. 11/6.

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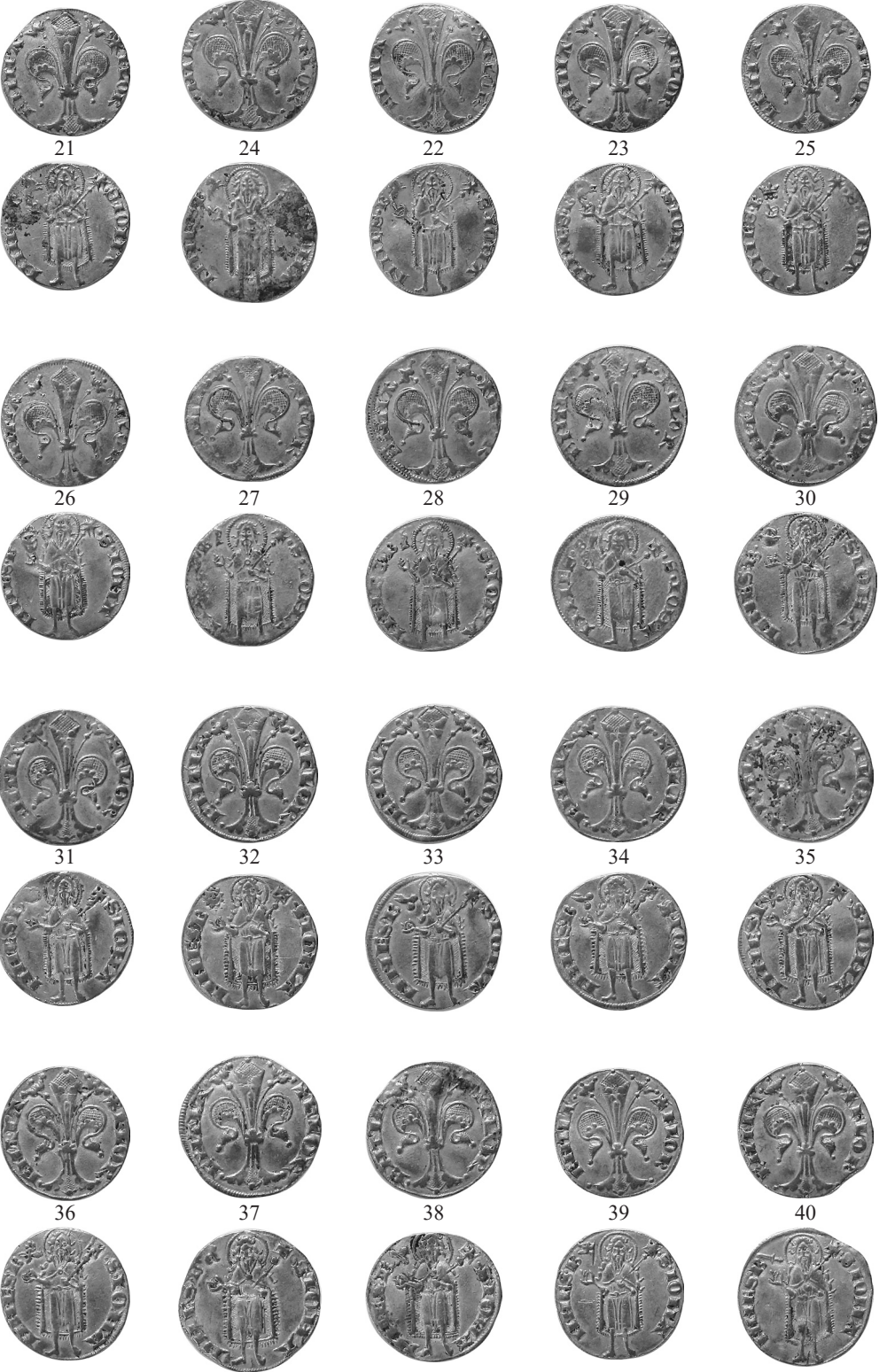
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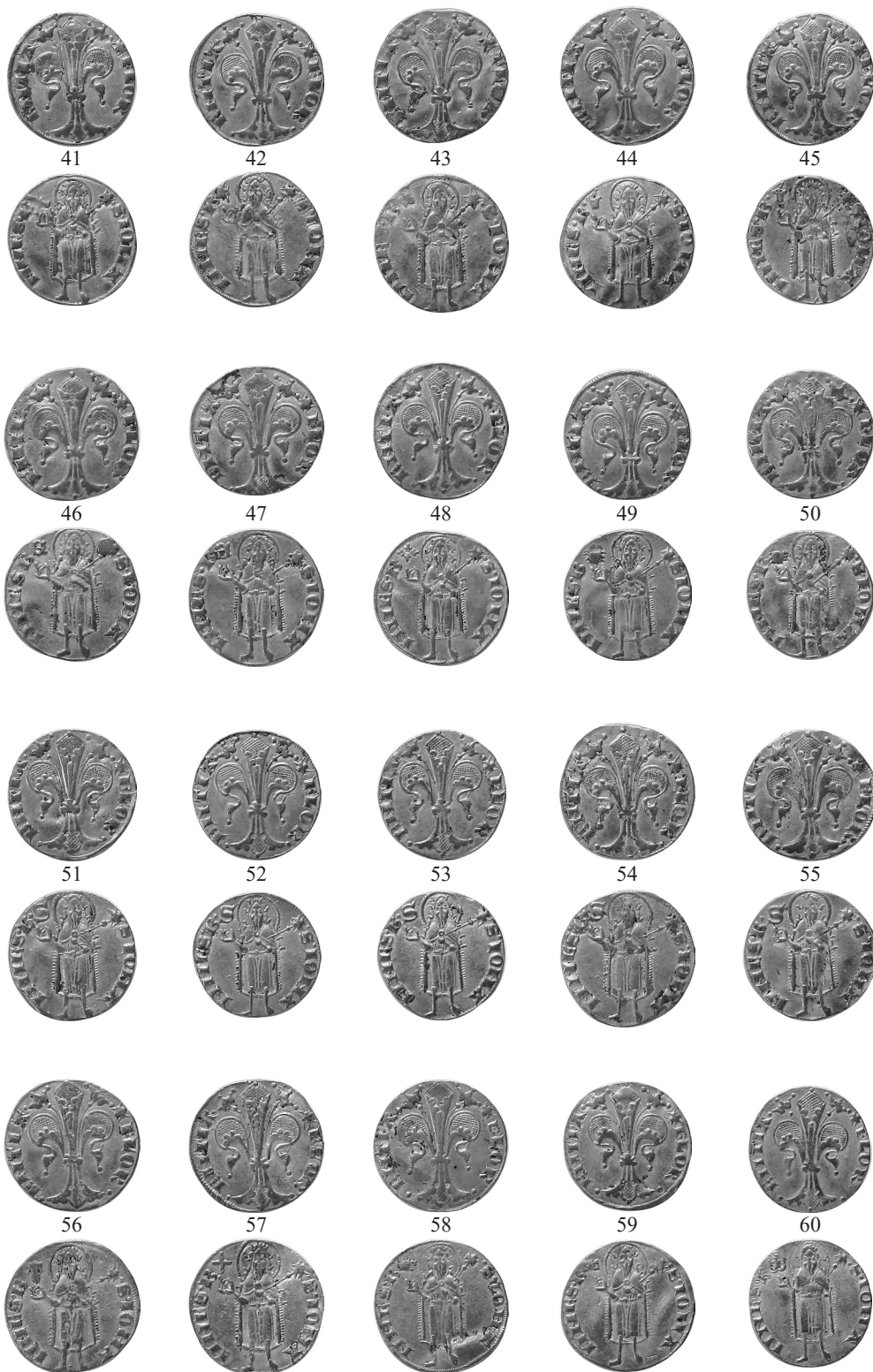


LOCATELLI, FLORINS AND DUCATS IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY-ARAGON:
THE SYRACUSE HOARD (1313–c.1369) (1)

PLATE 40

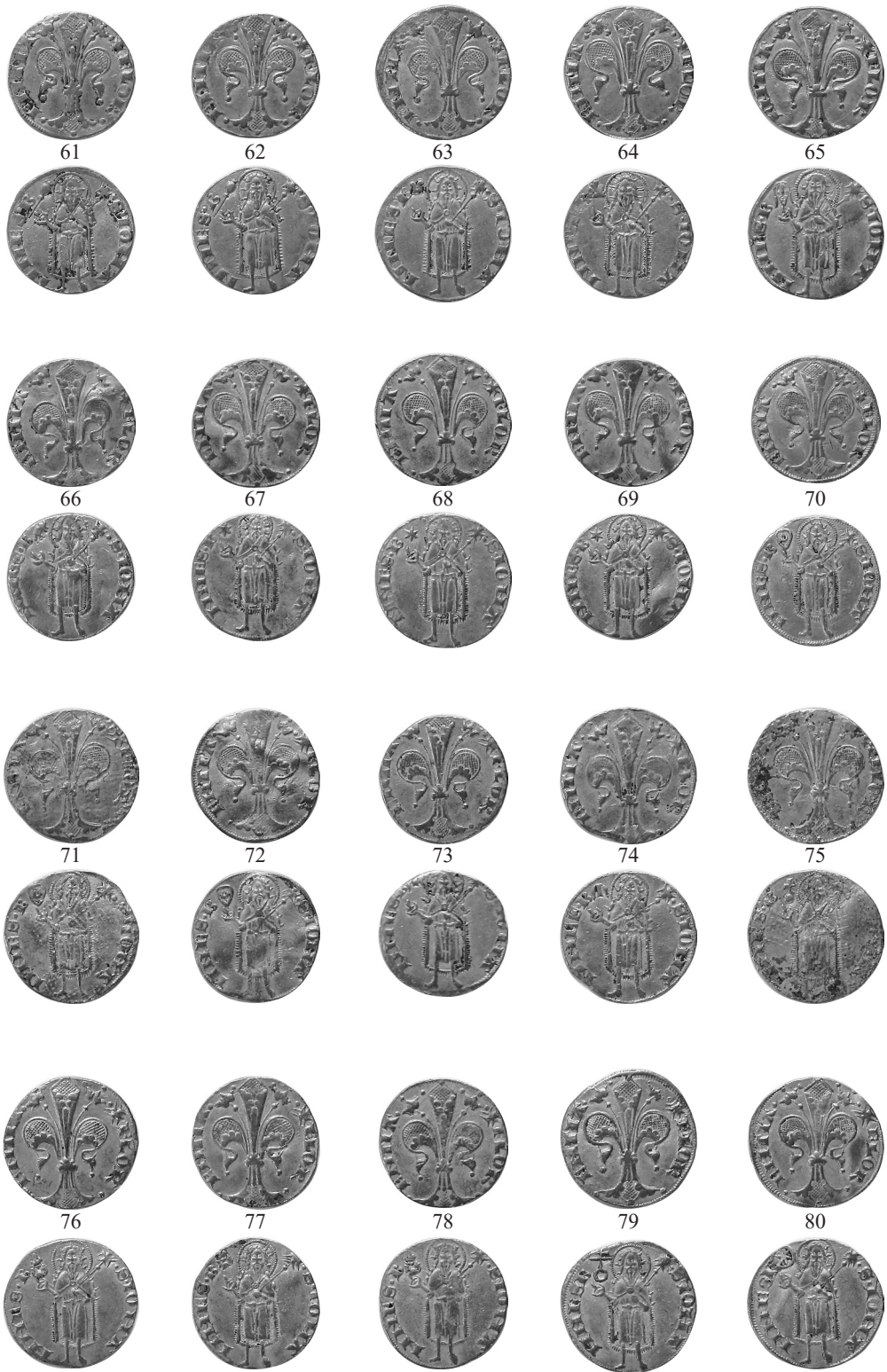


LOCATELLI, FLORINS AND DUCATS IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY-ARAGON:
THE SYRACUSE HOARD (1313–c.1369) (2)



LOCATELLI, FLORINS AND DUCATS IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY-ARAGON:
THE SYRACUSE HOARD (1313–c.1369) (3)

PLATE 42



LOCATELLI, FLORINS AND DUCATS IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY-ARAGON:
THE SYRACUSE HOARD (1313–c.1369) (4)



LOCATELLI, FLORINS AND DUCATS IN THE KINGDOM OF SICILY-ARAGON:
THE SYRACUSE HOARD (1313–c.1369) (5)

