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## Papacy and fairs: an elusive link?

The main purpose of this research is to examine how fairs, as a social and economic phenomenon, were illustrated, analysed, understood, and eventually used by a power with no equivalent in the Middle Ages—one that combined spiritual and temporal authority and legally decided on various matters.<sup>1</sup> For one of the earliest historians of pontifical finance, the Austrian Clemens Bauer, who published his works at the beginning of the last century, the “most universal” period for pontifical finance would have been the fourteenth century, since the Church and the bankers would have completely relied on one another.<sup>2</sup> In more recent times, Peter Partner, who shared these interpretations, even believed that this had been, “an essential precondition for the growth of early European capitalism.”<sup>3</sup> Such stereotyped interpretations still influence the economic analysis offered by Anglo-Saxon historiography on the papacy today. Following the collapse of the system of the collectories developed by the Avignon popes, the Roman popes would have been condemned to rely on the limited resources of the Papal State, thus withdrawing into themselves the huge tax network that their predecessors had been able to develop in Europe. In reality, the resources coming from the ecclesiastical institution did not even play a marginal role during the Renaissance, as the ‘budgets’ kept for 1480 and 1525 prove.<sup>4</sup> And in the sixteenth century, the sums collected in the periphery increased again with the conflicts between the Papacy and the Turks as well as against the Protestants, and especially through a reevaluation of taxation in the Iberian and Italian peninsulas.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore impossible to subscribe to the Anglo-Saxon thesis that absolutely wants

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1 This research has been financially supported by the ANR-DFG CoMOR programme.

2 Clemens Bauer. Die Epochen der Papstfinanz. Ein Versuch. *Historische Zeitschrift* 138 (1928): 457–503, republished in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Freiburg: Herder, 1965, 112–147.

3 Peter Partner. Financial Papal Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation. *Past and Present* 88 (1980): 19.

4 On that point, see Armand Jamme. Taxation and State in the Church Lands: a long Term Overhaul (1200–1550). In *The Routledge Handbook of Public Taxation in Medieval Europe*, Mathieu Caesar, Florent Garnier, Denis Menjot, Pere Verdés Pijuan (eds.). Abingdon: Routledge, 2023, 214. What was no longer paid in the peripheries was paid again (as in the eleventh and twelfth centuries) in the curia, with the development of the revenue coming from the central administration, mostly the Dataria.

5 Massimo Carlo Giannini. *L'oro e la tiara: la costruzione dello spazio fiscale italiano della Santa Sede (1560–1620)*. Rome: Il Mulino, 2003.

to transform the Pope, from the fifteenth century onwards, into a single territorial prince. Nevertheless, between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the financial networks used by the Church of Rome underwent a series of reconfigurations, which meant that they no longer covered the whole of Christendom.

To better define the relationship between the ‘system’ of fairs and the Roman Church, considered both in its institutional and social dimensions—that is, as a jurisdictional power and as a court—it is essential to test first a lexical question, given the polysemy of the concept ‘fair’ in the Middle Ages. Indeed, one must verify if the writers of the letters (notaries, abbreviators, secretaries, etc., as the titles of apostolic writers have changed during these centuries<sup>6</sup>) had a clear idea of what a fair was in relation to a market. The pontifical correspondence, fairly well-preserved for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and moreover largely accessible through the database, gives some answers on that point and reveals what the main problematic features in the organisation or management of fairs traced back to the Apostolic See were as well. Subsequently, it is necessary to question the role of fairs in the circulation of money generated by the ecclesiastical taxation within a burgeoning Christendom—the sources illustrate a space stretching north from Greenland to Poland—and the ways in which the calendar of the fair system could be integrated into these mechanisms. This development is important, even if the management of money transfers evidently changed between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, as much from the residence of the curia as from the evolution of taxation itself. Finally, it will be possible to test the real impact of fairs on the volume of businesses developed around the Pope, thus using both the Apostolic Chamber documentation and the accounts of the merchants and bankers employed by the Papacy.

## Words for a fair—topics for a Pope

The *Ut per litteras apostolicas* database offers the contents of 80 volumes of papal letters published by the *École française de Rome* over more than one hundred years, between the nineteenth and twentieth century. Currently, this comprises a total of roughly 257,000 documents analysed and compiled by a multitude of his-

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<sup>6</sup> Armand Jamme. *Écrire pour le pape du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Formes et problèmes. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen-Âge* 128:1 (2016). <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/3121> (14 October 2024).

torians for the years 1216 to 1378<sup>7</sup>—a sufficient ground for a lexical analysis. The search terms employed were *feria*, *mercatum*, *forum*, and *nundinae*. It appears that, out of 163 results, *feria* has 0 instances of use with the meaning of fair. The term always referred to a public feast or anything related to a feast or event. *Mercatum* was similarly always used in the sense of market. *Forum* had many meanings in medieval times, especially legal, but in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century at least, was often associated by the conjunctions ‘*aut*’ or ‘*sive*’ to *mercatum* and then never designated a fair. For the last decades of the fourteenth century, on the other hand, we can have some doubts as to this clear classification. However, this could be the sign of the lowering standard of Latin of the apostolic writers already noted by some historians:<sup>8</sup> indeed, in 1371, Pope Gregory XI ordered the bishop of Cambrai to solicit the people in the churches under his rule to help in the recovery of 600 florins fraudulently taken in Brabant from Guillaume Ade, out of a sum of 4,000 entrusted to him by his patron, Henri de Vos, a merchant from Cambrai who in that time was on his way from the “*forum civitatis Gebennensis*” to the “*forum civitatis Cabilonensis*.”<sup>9</sup> The already known fairs of Chalon and Geneva are probably behind these two forums. The term preferred by the writers in the service of the pope in both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to indicate a fair is ‘*nundinae*,’ even though in Roman times this word properly designated the market days. All the database hits of this term—a total of 58, of which 40 pertain to the thirteenth century alone—refer only to fairs.

The oldest preserved letter is a confirmation from 1230, at the request of the abbot of Lagny, corroborating a prior confirmation of the Lagny fairs in Champagne by Hadrian IV in 1158.<sup>10</sup> The second is a 1279 confirmation of a privilege issued by Celestine III in 1194 to the church of Saint-Peter of York, which obviously refers to those fairs.<sup>11</sup> However, the papal confirmations of letters establishing fairs are not particularly numerous in these registers. The arbitration, concerning the said fairs of Lendit, stipulated by the King of France between the bishop of Paris and the abbot of Saint-Denis in 1213 and confirmed by him as

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7 These volumes contain either analyses of these letters, or analyses and editions of letters, since the registers themselves sometimes do not contain all the text of letters, but very brief analyses. On that database, see <https://www.brepols.net/products/IS-9782503609188-1>. The references below give the information to access the texts both on the database and in the paper volumes.

8 Anne-Marie Hayez. D’Urbain V à Grégoire XI. Un dangereux retour au passé? In *L’écrit dans la société médiévale. Divers aspects de sa pratique du XI<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Textes en hommage à Lucie Fossier*, Caroline Bourlet, Annie Dufour (eds.). Paris: CNRS, 1991, 151–164.

9 Gregory (Fr. Grégoire) XI, *Lettres communes*, 11253.

10 Gregory IX, 483.

11 Nicholas (Fr. Nicolas) III, 673.

early as 1217, are registered,<sup>12</sup> but perhaps because one of the two or both the ecclesiastical parties asked for this as part of the conclusion of a long procedure. It means as well that for the thirteenth century, there are few privileges of establishing fairs. In 1250, from Lyons, Innocent IV granted the Order of Saint-James the right to establish fairs in its Spanish lands where this order was mainly present.<sup>13</sup> In 1255, Alexander IV, responding to the plea of the inhabitants who had proved their loyalty to the Church and as well to recall the control of the Church on the kingdom of Naples while the bastard son of Frederick II was considered a usurper by the curia, granted Capua the right to organise fairs in the first fifteen days of July.<sup>14</sup> This is the entire extent of thirteenth-century privilege confirmations in the database—not exactly impressive. The absence in these registers is relevant and a bit suggestive of privileges granted to lords and communities of the provinces under the official sovereignty of the Church in central Italy: it was often other levels of the political hierarchy that were asked to grant this type of privilege, as demonstrated by the later documentation produced in Avignon.<sup>15</sup>

These registers provide better information on the use of fairs by the papacy in the activation of the Apostolic See procedures. The fairs of Champagne, for example, were considered a specific theatre where the supreme authority of the Church was to be manifested. In 1225, the Pope ordered to republish the sentence of excommunication against the provosts, jurors, and *scabins* of Cambrai, which had already been formulated by their bishop in that city.<sup>16</sup> Ten years later, the Pope ordered that the sentence of excommunication issued by the archbishop against his city of Reims be republished at the fairs.<sup>17</sup> It is clear therefore that the Church, in its policy of forcibly normalising and punishing behaviours in contradiction with its doctrine, used the most busy fairs as a means of communicating

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12 Honorius III, 655.

13 Innocent IV, 4830.

14 Alexander (Fr. Alexandre) IV, 822.

15 It can be noted that for the fourteenth century, it was the vicar general of the bishop of Avignon who, on 30 July 1335, granted the inhabitants of Châteauneuf the establishment of two three-day fairs: one beginning on the first of May and the other on Saint-Martin's Day (Archives Départementales de Vaucluse, Archives communales de Châteauneuf-du-pape, AA1). Another case is offered by the concession of fairs at Noves in Provence, but under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Avignon, then under pontifical administration, granted by Emperor Charles IV during his visit to Avignon and published by the bishop's vicar for temporal affairs on 25 June 1365 (see Armand Jamme. 'Gar-sabal.' *Voyages, carrière et fortune d'un officier pontifical*. In *Identités juives et chrétiennes. France méridionale (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, *Études offertes à René Moulinas*. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003, 7–28, esp. 13).

16 Honorius III, 5676.

17 Gregory IX, 2811.

and propagating its own sentences. Some even became a tool in the hands of the Papacy to blackmail communities that challenged its authority into submission. In 1237, for example, Gregory IX threatened Vercelli, which had enacted statutes contrary to ecclesiastical freedom, with an excommunication, so that “*nullus ad nundinas Vercellenses accedat*”!<sup>18</sup> Given the partial recording of papal correspondence in the thirteenth century, it remains difficult to measure the frequency of these forms of instrumentalisation of fairs by certain Popes, who considered them as propaganda tools and arguments for obedience.

Evidently, as places and dates to settle payments, fairs appear frequently in their correspondence. Numerous letters for Roman merchants who had to recover all or part of the sums owed to various prelates are recorded. Some were even establishing the repayment schedule according to the calendar of the fairs, especially in this area where north and south met and then structured the money market over a larger space.<sup>19</sup> The most curious letter is undoubtedly that of Gregory IX addressed to the archbishop of Trier in 1233. The Pope asked him to publish in all the fairs and other appropriate places the prohibition of granting loans to the indebted archbishop of Cologne and, at the same time, to inform the latter that if he ever came to sign one in that fair, he would be withdrawn from the government of his diocese.<sup>20</sup> As a first-rate financial center, the Champagne Fairs played a major role in the political programmes promoted by the papacy, particularly in the Crusades and the replacement of the Staufens in southern Italy by the Capetians: the conventions negotiated by Innocent IV with the French court for the conquest of Sicily in 1253 provided for the payment of 200,000 pounds *in nundinis Campanie*.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Gregory IX, 3539, 4084. These fairs, known as All Saints’ Fair and St. Eusebius’ Fair, were confirmed to the commune by Innocent IV in 1245, since Frederick II had tried to move them to Turin (Innocent IV, 1291).

<sup>19</sup> See Marco Vendittelli. Testimonianze sui rapporti tra ‘mercatores’ romani ed i vescovati di Metz e Verdun nel secolo XIII. *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 118 (1995): 69–99; Marco Vendittelli. Un inedita lettera di Gregorio IX a favore del romano Giovenale Mannetti. In *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo compleanno*, Paolo Cherubini, Giovanni Nicolaj (eds.). Citta del Vaticano: Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomaticae archivistica, 2012, 447–462; Marco Vendittelli. *Mercanti-banchieri romani tra XII e XIII secolo: una storia negata*. Rome: Viella, 2018.

<sup>20</sup> Gregory IX, 1214.

<sup>21</sup> Urban (Fr. Urbain) IV, 183; Innocent IV, 6819b. On the last question, see the work of Mathias Thumser. Kredite für den Krieg. Clemens IV., Karl von Anjou und die Finanzierung des negotium regni Sicilie. In *Die römische Kurie und das Geld. Von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, Werner Maleczek (ed.). Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2018, 373–402.

Some papal letters—but only a few—are related to religious cases. Of course, the letters, generally speaking, confirm the strong link between feasts in honour of a saint and the organisation of fairs, which they recall even if the purpose of the letter isn't religious. However, some already denounce that during the fairs, on Sundays, religious feasts, and holidays, no one was going to the churches to pray. In 1221, Honorius III intervened at the archbishop's request to separate the Magdeburg fairs from the feasts in honour of St. Mary's Day.<sup>22</sup> *Cessent in ecclesiis earumque cimeteriis negotiationes, et precipue nundinarum ac fori cujusque tumultus* specify the constitutions proclaimed at the end of the Council of Lyons by Gregory X,<sup>23</sup> which didn't seem to have any lasting effect on people's behaviour, since a century later, Gregory XI wrote to the archbishop of Lund that “ad nostrum pervenit auditum quod in regno Dacie malus inoluit abusus quod gentes dicti regni, etiam ecclesiastice [!], diebus dominicis et festivis nundinas atque fora tenent et ad ecclesias prout tenentur accedere non curant, sed per vicus et plateas discurrere pernicia et alia enormia committendo non verentur.”<sup>24</sup> The fairs were somehow devouring spirituality, even if there was sanctity at their beginning—but this is perhaps one of the paradoxes of any form of feast!

During the residence of the Papacy in Avignon, the letters related to fairs, even if the registration increased enormously at that time (as we know), are less numerous. Moreover, they reveal a clear change in scale. Of course, the Pope still intervened in favour of Italian merchants to resolve legal and economic issues.<sup>25</sup> However, the great majority of registered letters were now referring to small and little-known fairs, related to an area which was the real hinterland of the Avignon papacy for a century—namely, the countries of *langue d'oc*.<sup>26</sup> The last letters referring to the fairs of Champagne are from 1334–5, but they only concern the beneficial career of the French Chancellor of the fairs.<sup>27</sup> The pope's interventions now consisted of settling disputes about the fairs of Saint-Bertrand de Comminges in 1309, or of Saint-Sulpice, near Toulouse, in 1352, and obtaining the confirmation of those of Saint-Ambroix in the diocese of Uzès in 1363–1365.<sup>28</sup> Evidently, the

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22 Honorius III, 3289.

23 Gregory X, 576.

24 Gregory XI, *Lettres secrètes et curiales Etranger* 34448.

25 John (Fr. Jean) XXII, *Lettres secrètes et curiales France* 1182.

26 On that question, see Armand Jamme. *Avignone tra mobilità e conservatismo sociale: riconsiderazioni intorno al nepotismo di curia*. In *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo italiano. 3. Il mondo ecclesiastico (secoli XII–XV secolo)*, Sandro Carocci, Amedeo de Vincentiis (eds.). Rome: Viella, 2017, 125–155.

27 John XXII, *Lettres communes* 62497, 63116; *Benedict* (Fr. Benoît) XII, 377.

28 Clement (Fr. Clément) V, 3949; Clement VI, *Lettres secrètes et curiales France* 5305; Urban V, *Lettres secrètes et curiales* 492, 1786.

communities and lords of the Venaissin asked more often for his sanction. Even if the Pope sometimes postponed the processing of their supplication until the rector of the province had given him an informed opinion—as in the case of Mormoiron in 1336<sup>29</sup>—Urban V granted Isle-sur-Sorgues the creation of fairs on Saint-Pancras Day directly in 1366<sup>30</sup> and approved a privilege for Elzéar de Puy-loubier, lord of part of Saint-Saturnin d’Apt, that was comparable to the one granted by Queen Jeanne of Naples to the other lord of this *castrum*.<sup>31</sup> However, the number of cases dealt with in pontifical correspondence remains very small, if we compare it with what we know about the “fairs” phenomenon informed by other sources and which, at the time, had an impact on the existence of many urban and village communities.

For the fifteenth century, we can no longer interrogate such a representative corpus. Only the German area can be queried through the *Repertorium Germanicum* databases.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, this documentation shows a new and strong tendency towards social concerns, approached frequently through confessional themes, to the detriment of legal and economic aspects that previously structured the interventions of the Apostolic See. For example, the Pope intervened because some people at fairs were taking advantage of the immunity enjoyed by sacred spaces to take refuge there after committing petty theft. After a man was killed and a canon wounded during the fairs which attracted people “from all parts of the world,” John of Glymes, lord of Berghen-op-Zoom, asked Eugene IV in June 1442 for the privilege of seizing the criminals after 24 hours.<sup>33</sup> These registers—and particularly, of course,

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29 The Pope ordered the rector to inquire about a petition from Mormoiron, ready to cede half the entrance fees, requesting to hold an annual fair on Saint Lawrence’s Day. The papal sanction took place on October 14 of the following year (Benedict XII, *Lettres communes* 3810, 4963).

30 Urban V, *Suppliques* 334; *Lettres communes* 17563.

31 We have also kept the petition of the lord Elzéar, who asked to hold fairs and a market in Saint-Saturnin d’Apt, whose lordship was half under the authority of the Pope and half under the authority of the Queen of Naples, because Foulque d’Agout, who held the other half of the lordship in the name of Queen Joan, had asked her for a privilege of holding two fairs on two days—the first on the Sunday after Saint-Andrew and the following Monday, the second eight days after Saint-Andrew and the following day—in addition to the weekly market day fixed for Wednesday. Because of this, the jealousy of the men under the other rule increased, because these fairs were only held in the part of the territory under the queen’s jurisdiction, and accordingly the jurisdiction over the persons who came to the fairs was only brought to Foulque d’Agout. The supplicant concluded that all this could be detrimental to the part of the lordship held in the name of the Church. He therefore obtained a privilege comparable to that of Foulque on 18 June 1366 (Urban V, *Suppliques* 226; *Lettres communes* 17214).

32 See <http://rg-online.dhi-roma.it/denqRG/index.htm>.

33 Hermann Diener, Brigide Schwarz (eds.). Eugen IV. 1431–1447. In *Repertorium Germanicum*, 3 vols. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004, 4648.

those of the Penitentiary—are therefore full of more or less amazing anecdotes, which are not necessarily located and dated. In 1441, for example, the case of a priest who went to the fairs was penalised, but it was not said where and when in Denmark. He met another priest there, a great drinker and blasphemer, from whom he decided to keep distance in order to find peace. However, the latter, furious about his sudden indifference, rushed and hit him on the head several times with a lead pint to such an extent that he felt threatened. Having pulled out the knife he had at his side to defend himself, he mortally wounded the drunkard, and therefore asked for absolution.<sup>34</sup> These anecdotes ultimately illustrate not so much the sequence of fairs, which were sometimes not even mentioned—the texts speak about fairs in a generic way, considering them as a characteristic social phenomenon and not as a particular event linked to an institution or a festival, as in the correspondence of previous centuries, which obviously marks the extreme dispersal of the phenomenon—as the cases of conscience that these accidents created. To give another example (this one sanctioned in 1450), we can speak about a priest who bought a horse at a fair. He then sat on its back, but the animal was nervous. On the road he lost control and fell off the horse, which escaped, knocking down and killing a passer-by. Feeling responsible for this death, the priest asked the pope for indulgency.<sup>35</sup> This does not mean, of course, that the needs of the faith disappeared entirely from the horizon of apostolic letters. In June 1481, for example, the Dominicans of Cologne obtained the right to hear confessions and administer penances from Sixtus IV, because the fairs attracted large numbers of people of both sexes seeking confession and eucharist. In the same year, such a license was also granted to other convents, including Frankfurt.<sup>36</sup>

In a certain sense, the papal correspondence is a good testimony of the evolution of the fair system between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. However, it only illustrates an evolution that must be studied with other sources. The letters show various aspects of the fair system, their creation and organisation, the problems of jurisdiction, the security for merchants, the settlement of debts and loans, and even the financing of major political projects, right up to the cases of conscience raised by homicides committed during the fairs. But all these matters appear as the results of petitions which, for various reasons correlated to the development of the curia's *dicasteries* (court of justice) and the recording of administrative

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34 Hans Braun, Paolo Ostinelli, Ludwig Schmugge (eds.). Eugen IV. 1431–1447. In *Repertorium Poenitenciarie Germanicum*, vol. I. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998, 648.

35 Krystyna Bukowska, Alessandra Mosciatti, Ludwig Schmugge (eds.). Nikolaus V. 1447–1455. In *Repertorium Poenitenciarie Germanicum*, vol. II. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999, 406.

36 Michael Marsch, Alessandra Mosciatti, Ludwig Schmugge (eds.). Sixtus IV. 1471–1484. In *Repertorium Poenitenciarie Germanicum*, vol. VI. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005, 3177–3179.

data, could reach the level of an official papal sanction. These letters then cannot reveal one specific policy of the Apostolic See regarding fairs.

## Fairs in transfers

The circulation of money issued from ecclesiastical taxation and perceived outside the Roman curia developed strongly in Europe between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, then retracted without subsequently dying out. Italian merchant-bankers potentially played a major role in the transfer and exchange of these funds<sup>37</sup> from the very beginning of this expansion, even if this role was repeatedly redefined by economic issues (for instance, the bankruptcy of companies), political matters (such as a family or a commune falling into Ghibellinism or opposition to the See<sup>38</sup>), social affinities (such as the Popes' tendencies to promote people who had previously been in their service), not to mention moral decisions of the Apostolic See itself (since the first Avignon Popes considered the inclusion of bankers in the organisation of the Apostolic Chamber anomalous and denounced the contracts signed with several companies to develop their own management system<sup>39</sup>). Despite these factors, the predominance of Italian merchants in the Church's finances spanned the centuries.

However, it may be worth clarifying their real function. Even before the ecclesiastical taxation in the periphery began to develop, the Pope or rather his *camerarius* (papal attendant) sent commissioners with a specific mission to various territories to collect taxes.<sup>40</sup> With the development of pontifical taxation in the thirteenth century, the documentation highlights now well-known figures of specialised officers who travelled throughout Europe, such as Alberto da Parma

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37 About the question of the geographical coincidence between Christianity and the Italian business network in the end of the thirteenth century, see Armand Jamme. *De Rome à Florence: les banquiers et la curie (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. In Maleczek (ed.), *Die römische Kurie*, 167–205.

38 Giuliano Milani. *Uno Snodo nella storia dell'esclusione. Urbano IV, la crociata contro Manfredi e l'avvio di nuove diseguaglianze nell'Italia bassomedievale*. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 125:2 (2013). <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/1278> (14 October 2024).

39 Yves Renouard, *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378*. Paris: De Boccard, 1941, 94–97.

40 For Spain, see the activities of the hospitaller Gonzalo Garcia in Peter Linehan. *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, 18–19, 190f.

and Jacobo di Sinizzo.<sup>41</sup> These commissioners demanded payments or promises to pay the sums owed from the beneficiaries and deposited what they had collected in the hands of various bankers. The account of the sexennial tithe of 1274 collected in northern Italy, written in the name of Ventura, archpriest of Chiusi, who succeeded a certain Ardizzone as collector of Lombardy, is very suggestive. The register lists a total number of over 60 deposits made by the collectors, more than 15 being ecclesiastical institutions (bishopsrics and convents) and 45 merchants or bankers, some from well-known companies (Bonsignori, Ammanati, Chiarenti), but for the most part, they were small moneylenders, often coming from Lucca, whose presence appears very dense in the western part of Lombardy.<sup>42</sup>

This register therefore sheds light on the necessary distinction between accountancy and the movement of money. This case, of course, is not unique, as this sort of organisation prevailed in the kingdom of Sicily after the Angevin conquest as well.<sup>43</sup> The dispersal of officially collected money implied a series of transfers for concentrating cash, so that the fruits of taxation became available to be spent by the Papacy through one of the three or four “Merchants of the Camera” that, one week after the other, had the task in the curia to do the payments decided by the Apostolic See.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the banking network used by the collectors of Lombardy is in total contrast to the list of companies activated in the curia at the time, specifically the Pulci, Rimbertyni, Spiliati, Spini, and Bonsignori. In such an organisation, it was clear that the papal collector—often a cleric entitled to use the ecclesiastical sentences—was only a verifier of the payments. In other words, the real collectors of the money were the banking companies under contract with the Camera.

Some then presided over huge sums on the current account of the Church administered by them, which perhaps led them to cover immodestly the loans of some kings—especially if we consider, for example, the cases of the Frescobaldi

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41 See the suggestive study of Stefan Reinke. *Kurie—Kammer—Kollektoren. Die Magister Albertus de Parma und Sinitius als päpstliche Kuriale und Nuntien im 13. Jahrhundert*. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2012.

42 Jamme, *De Rome à Florence*, 195–197.

43 Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 68, 149–54. Also see the more recent works of Antonio Antonetti. ‘Cupientes subiectos feliciter gubernari.’ Diocesan administration in southern Italy under the Angevin rule: structural limits and reforming initiatives. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 118 (2023): 65–116.

44 See the description of the system in Tilmann Schmidt. *Libri rationum Camerae Bonifatii papae VIII (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Collect. 446 necnon Intr. et Ex. 5)*. Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1984, XLI–XLVIII.

and Ricciardi bankruptcies in England.<sup>45</sup> To show the importance of the Church deposits on various accounts handled by these companies, there is nothing better than to consider the backgrounds of the first dispute between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair.<sup>46</sup> Of course, the sums kept by Italian bankers in England and France did not all come from ecclesiastical taxation, as these bankers developed other businesses in parallel, but it is clear that it was the importance of the sums they managed for the Pope that led the kings of England and France to get their hands on them.

By deduction, it is therefore clear that ecclesiastical taxation, with its specific organisation, contributed to the general functioning of the thirteenth-century European economy and to the success of the Champagne Fairs, where products from the north and south were sold, but which also acted as a banking centre where currencies of all kinds were exchanged and debts settled. The repeated interventions of the Apostolic See to settle the excessive debts of some prelates at these fairs in the thirteenth century reveal their importance. It is known—but to what extent remains difficult to say—that the product of ecclesiastical taxation in England was able to help Italian merchants buy wool there, to then be sold at fairs or elsewhere in Flanders, as well as to buy various products—including sheets, of course—finally sold in southern markets. The money transfer system set up by the major Tuscan companies enabled them to multiply their revenues—on the resale of wool, on the resale of sheets, and other goods, and ultimately on change and money transfers. However, if we are able to understand the economic mechanisms, the problem is that papal documents preserved for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not allow us to go beyond these deductions.

By the fourteenth century, the diversification of the ecclesiastical tax system increased the gross income of taxation, implying both the growth and the stabilisation of the collectors, but also modifying the methodologies deployed by the Apostolic Chamber. On the one hand, the collectors could henceforth act as dele-

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45 Armando Saporì. *La compagnia dei Frescobaldi in Inghilterra*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1947; Richard W. Kaeuper. The Frescobaldi of Florence and the English Crown. *Studies in Medieval Renaissance history* 10 (1973): 41–95; Christopher Guyol (ed.). *Kings, Knights and Bankers: The Collected Articles of Richard W. Kaeuper*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015, 43–93; Ignazio Del Punta. Il fallimento della compagnia Ricciardi del secolo XIII: un caso esemplare? *Archivio storico italiano* 160 (2002): 221–268; Sergio Tognetti. Nuovi documenti sull fallimento della compagnia Frescobaldi in Inghilterra. In *Città e campagne del basso Medioevo: studi sulla società italiana offerti dagli allievi a Giuliano Pinto*. Florence: Olschki, 2014, 135–158.

46 Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. *Boniface VIII. Un pape hérétique?* Paris: Payot, 2003, 140f.; Armand Jamme. Le pape et les princes. Deux cas d'espèces: Clericis laicos—Guines. In *Gouverner par les lettres, de l'Antiquité à l'époque contemporaine*, Agnès Bérenger, Olivier Dard (eds.). Metz: Centre de Recherche Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire, 2015, 117–145, esp. 126–128.

gated treasurers. Indeed, not all the fruits of ecclesiastical taxation reached the Roman curia, as they made various payments in the name of the Pope far in the periphery—for example, in Paris for the construction of the church of Saint-Bernard, in Italy to finance the wars of the Papacy, in Spain for Crusades, etc. On the other hand, most of these collectors could take the remaining money directly to Avignon which, thanks to its geographical location, was easy to reach. And they could do this more or less regularly, especially for the delivery and revision of their accounts.<sup>47</sup> It was then above all the sums collected far away from the curia that went through the intermediation of banking and mercantile companies.

Nonetheless, in Avignon, the Tuscan companies remained preponderant, and this for three main reasons: first of all, because they were already rooted in Languedoc and Provence—and thus in Avignon—long before the installation of the papacy;<sup>48</sup> secondly, because they could take advantage of the economic growth of the city (with a demographic multiplication by three or four in a few decades); thirdly, because of their unique expertise in providing all kinds of services and goods both to private individuals and to curial powers. But it's clear that their opportunities in the management of ecclesiastical funds were no longer the same as a century before, even if their knowledge on transferring funds from regions far from the curia remained quite unchallenged.

In England, for instance, they maintained their prerogatives throughout the fourteenth century. Even a thrifty Pope like John XXII ordered successive collectors to give half of their money to the Bardi and Peruzzi! Unfortunately, the sources we have do not all cover the interval between the deposit of the funds in England and their delivery to Avignon. We have two documents suggesting that the transfer was not always very quick: a payment order, written in Avignon on 13 May 1332 to the Bonaccorsi in England, and the receipt for the amount required, written in Avignon as well on 26 August of the same year—that is, a little more than three months later. However, the interest rates were so important that several companies competed. The Bonaccorsi went so far as to propose so advantageous an exchange rate from the English mark to the florin that the Bardi and

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<sup>47</sup> Charles Samaran, Guillaume Mollat. *La fiscalité pontificale en France au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, période d'Avignon et du Grand Schisme d'Occident*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905, 142–158; Jean Favier. *Les Finances pontificales à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident (1378-1409)*. Paris: De Boccard, 1966, 399–523.

<sup>48</sup> See the relations in 1282 between the Chiarenti of Avignon and Cardinal Gudiel in Francisco J. Hernández, Peter Linehan. *The Mozarabic Cardinal: The life and times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel*. Florence: Sismel, 2004, 215f.

Peruzzi reduced their profit margins in order to keep their position.<sup>49</sup> These societies must have had real capital in the most important financial centres of Christendom to successfully tackle the problems of transfer, as it seems difficult to make money by working as described above in three months. However, it is true that documents of this type make it impossible to know whether the Bonaccorsi used a bill of exchange or actually transported cash in 1332.

In order to transfer the funds collected in Poland, where Italians were very rare at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the apostolic collector used the services of merchants from Krakow and Wroclaw who travelled to Bruges to sell timber, hides, and other products. Transferring money in this case was very slow as Polish merchants required a minimum of one year between the date of delivery of the funds and the deposit of cash in Bruges. This tends to show that the sums entrusted to them by the collector were used to buy goods in Poland to be sold in Bruges. In this perspective, the taxation of Polish beneficiaries really served the economic dynamism of the kingdom. However, this obvious slowness was evidently a problem, and in his correspondence with the Pope, the collector gave the advice to encourage the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciaiuoli to establish themselves in Krakow and Wroclaw.<sup>50</sup> The non-integration of some of Christianity's margins in the credit market driven by the most important Italian companies also concerned Scandinavia at that time. However, here the papal collector chose a different solution. Rather than going through local merchants, he forced the bishops to directly deposit the sums they owed in Bruges, including what might have been walrus teeth sent by the bishop of Greenland where the monetisation of the economy was reduced!<sup>51</sup>

It seems from this perspective that the development of ecclesiastical taxation played a certain role in the decline of the Champagne Fairs and the development of Bruges as financial centre, as this city became *the* meeting point between north and south precisely in the time of John XXII. Draining the resources of the pontifical tax system from the fringes of Christianity required the settling in Bruges of Tuscan companies, at least if they wanted to maintain their good relations with the curia. Given the large sums of money coming to Bruges—sums which moreover increased in the second half of the century by the union of the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary under Louis of Anjou,<sup>52</sup> which drew a large part of Hun-

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<sup>49</sup> Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 136.

<sup>50</sup> This, however, did not happen, and the transfer of Polish money remained particularly slow throughout the century. See Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 143–144.

<sup>51</sup> Janus Møller Jensen. *Denmark and the crusades (1400–1650)*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, 162–163.

<sup>52</sup> For Hungary, see Fedeles Tamás. Petrus Stephani collector apostolicus. In *Magyarország és a római szentszék II. Vatikáni magyar kutatások a 21. Században*, Kornel Svozak, Fedeles Tamás,

gary's resources towards Bruges—these companies clearly must have at least had representatives here. And after the collapse of the Bardi and the Peruzzi companies, the Spifami, Malabayla, Salucci, and Alberti Antichi families were conveniently installed in the city.<sup>53</sup>

If, during the first half of the century, two types of money transfer had been developed—one by the collectors themselves and the other by merchant companies, especially although not exclusively by Italian ones—the reversal of the political situation by mid-century pushed the collectors, now facing increasing risks, to use mercantile companies more and more often. The disorganisation of the ancient system is evident in the case of the *Hispania*: money seems to have been systematically assigned to merchants who frequented the main ports. In the Crown of Aragon, the collectors used the skills of merchants settled in Barcelona, Valencia, and Montpellier, and in the case of Sardinia, of merchants from Marseilles. In Castile, after the collapse and closing of the Bardi's agency in Seville, the injunctions of Innocent VI to his collector to use *mercatores fide ac facultatibus ydoneos per modum secreti et tuti cambii* found a full echo. For the collector of Portugal, the problem was even more complicated. He turned to merchants from Genoa, Barcelona, and Narbonne, who delivered the sums he gave to them, not in Avignon, but in Valencia or La Rochelle. Afterwards, the money entered the Italian or the French system of concentrating ecclesiastical revenues, using the intermediation of merchants such as Raymond Garrigue.<sup>54</sup> The case of [the] *Hispania* is interesting because the adopted solutions did not involve real banking transfers: the collectors tried to avoid land routes, sending money on galleys instead, perhaps considering piracy at that time a lesser threat than brigandage.<sup>55</sup>

The massive return of bankers in money transfers in the second half of the fourteenth century due to the insecurity of both the roads and the economy in general also resulted in the atomisation of transfers and subsequently the disappearance of the Tuscan monopoly built in the last century. After the bankruptcy

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Peter Tuser (eds.). Budapest: Gondolat, 2017, 31–88; Fedeles Tamás, Ecclesiastical Career of the Apostolic Collector Petrus de Monasterio. In *Incorrupta monumenta Ecclesiam defendunt. Studi offerti a mons. S. Pagano, prefetto dell'ASV*, vol. 1, Andreas Gottsmann, Pierantonio Piatti, Andreas Rehberg (eds.). Rome: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2018, 575–588.

53 See Andrew Brown, Jan Dumolyn (eds.). *Medieval Bruges (c. 850–1550)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; Bart Lambert. Making size matter less: Italian firms and merchant guilds in late medieval Bruges. In *The company in law and practice: did size matter?*, Albrecht Cordes, Serge Dauchy, Dave De Ruyscher, Heikki Pihlajamäki (eds.). Leiden: Brill, 2017, 34–48.

54 Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 234–243.

55 However, this was not true. See Daniel Williman, Karen Corsano (eds.). *The Spoils of the Pope and the pirates, 1357: the complete legal dossier from the Vatican Archives*. Cambridge, MA: Ames Foundation, 2014.

of the Malabayla of Asti in 1362, the Apostolic Chamber had to change its policy and use merchants from Languedoc, who nonetheless had relations or associates in Bruges, Paris, and elsewhere. The reasons for this are unclear, but the skills of these merchants from Languedoc were undoubted. In 1362, for example, some of them coming from Montpellier took 5,168 florins in Bergen, now Norway, which they turned back two-and-a-half months later in Avignon. At the same time, the Alberti Antichi couldn't do better on precisely the same route.<sup>56</sup> The war initiated by Florence against the Papacy in 1376 further nullified all contracts with Florentine merchants.<sup>57</sup> However, this new opportunity was not a lasting one, as the See returned to Italy in the same time, and all merchants from Languedoc, Marseilles, and elsewhere were then eliminated from the circle of merchants working with the curia. In Rome, the Apostolic Chamber used the Interminelli of Lucca and some Pistoiese merchants such as Andrea di Tici. In any case, ecclesiastical taxation cannot be considered a driving force anymore by the second half of the fourteenth century, even less a contributor to economic development, as the Papacy became increasingly indebted for various reasons.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, no trace of the huge deposits of money that slept on the current accounts managed by various bankers a century earlier remains in the extant documentation.

The documentation available for the fifteenth century, as shown by Kurt Weissen's recent work, is scarce. In almost every chapter, his investigations lead him to turn to the fourteenth century, and even to describe phenomena such as the performativity of Bruges, which was already slowing down by the middle of the fifteenth.<sup>59</sup> The sources he really can call upon are a few bankers' account books and the 500 *lettere di cambio* and receipts from the years 1463 to 1469 referring to *Lionardo Spinelli e compagni di corte*, which reveal the business networks of these companies operating between *Germania* and Italy, rather than the transfer of ecclesiastical money from the Germanic area to the curia. Anyway, this theme is not very visible in Scandinavian, Scottish, and Polish documentation either.<sup>60</sup> Even Pietro

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56 Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 146, 309.

57 Richard Trexler. *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict*. Leiden: Brill, 1974.

58 On the cost of political power in Italy, see Armand Jamme. *Lo Stato della Chiesa del secondo Trecento: un ignoto 'Fiscal-Military State'? Le lezioni degli archivi*. In *Documenta. Rivista internazionale di studi storiografologici sulle fonti* 5 (2022): 17–33.

59 Kurt Weissen. *Marktstrategien der Kurienbanken. Die Geschäfte der Alberti, Medici und Spinelli in Deutschland (1400–1475)*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2021, 93f.

60 Ludvig Magnus Baath. *Diplomatarium Suecanum. Appendix. Acta pontificum Suecica. I. Acta Cameralia*, vol. 1. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & filii, 1936–42; see the accounts of the collector Pierre Gervais in *Dacia, Suetia, Gotia and Norvegia* in 1330–34 published under no. 311, p. 305–348. For Scotland, see Andrew Barrell. William de Grenlaw, papal collector in Scotland. *The Innes Review* 42 (1991): 3–18; for Poland, see Marek Daniel Kowalski. *Proventus Camerae Apostolicae debiti*:

Griffi's *De officio collectoris Angliae*, written around 1510,<sup>61</sup> makes no mention of what this collector did with the funds collected.

The techniques for transferring money from the Germanic area, reputed to be the least secure in Europe (as Y. Renouard put it), to Italy were no different from those of the previous centuries.<sup>62</sup> In other words, it was still transported to the curia by merchants—a solution documented by A. Esch through the analysis of the Roman customs registers, though he found very few, infrequent cases of payments to the Apostolic Chamber<sup>63</sup>—or transported to Bruges, Ghent, Venice, and then Lyon, where the money was deposited to Italian bankers. In fact, the documentation of the fifteenth century above all sheds light on the new geography of financial centres and on the transformation of the financial hubs of the European economy. Bruges gradually lost its function as a payment junction between north and south for the benefit of Geneva and Lyon; moreover, more and more merchants shifted their activities from Bruges to the fairs of Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp, which increasingly took over the leading role after Maximilian of Habsburg, in his fight against the rebellious Flanders, ordered all foreign merchants to move from Bruges to Antwerp.<sup>64</sup>

A set of Chamber papers in the Vatican Archives entitled *Carte varie di banchieri di Camera*, covering the years 1484–91 and related to seven banking compa-

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*opłaty duchowieństwa polskiego na rzecz papieżstwa w latach (1417–1484)*. Krakow: Miejsce, 2010 (with English summary). Once the costs were deducted, there was, in fact, little profit for the Pope. See also Marek Daniel Kowalski. *Rationes Iacobini de Rubeis, collectoris in regno Poloniae*. *Rachunki Giacomina Rossiego, papieskiego kolektora generalnego w Polsee z lat (1426–34)*. *Studia zrodloznawcze* 49 (2011): 61–96; Marek Daniel Kowalski. The Papal Collectorate in the 15th century Poland. *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 19 (2014): 447–460; Andrzej de Palatio, papieski kolektor generalny w Polsee w latach (1442–45). In *Ecclesia, Regnum, Fontes. Studia z dziejow sredniowiczcza. Prace ofiarowane prof. Marii Koczerkiej*, Bartosz Dzialoszynski (ed.). Warsaw: Wydany przez, 2014, 119–127.

<sup>61</sup> Michele Monaco. *Il De officio collectoris in regno Angliae di Pietro Griffi da Pisa (1469–1516)*. Roma: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1973.

<sup>62</sup> Weissen summarises them in *Marktstrategien der Kurienbanken*, 67.

<sup>63</sup> Arnold Esch. Mercanti tedeschi a Roma nella seconda metà del Quattrocento. In *Archivi e cultura. Rassegna dell'Associazione nazionale archivistica italiana* 37(2004): 47–56.

<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, the Bruges banker Konrad Pangortiner still played the role that some Italian companies had played in the previous century under Pius II under the title of *depositarius*. See Benjamin Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs: les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2013, 336; Arnold Esch. Bruges come piazza di cambio nei pagamenti dal Nord'Europa alla curia romana nel Quattrocento e l'importazione di merci a Roma dal Nord. In *Economia, cultura materiale ed arte nella Roma del Rinascimento: studi sui registri doganali romani (1445–1485)*. Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2007, 369–412.

nies,<sup>65</sup> bears witness to what could be considered an involution in the organisation of papal finances in the fifteenth century, which became merely a copy of thirteenth-century practices. In these papers, the *computo partiti magni*—an expression used a century later in Lyon as well to designate a group of bankers lending large sums to the king of France<sup>66</sup>—shows how papal finances worked at the end of the fifteenth century. A grouping of bankers, fictitiously created by the Chamber or really existing before the contract they signed with it, termed *appaltatori*, made a loan of 30,000 ducats to the Pope. This sum was pledged against ecclesiastical revenues widely dispersed across Europe. This means that the resources of the collectories of Ireland, England, Spain, and Italy were granted to them, just as in the times of Boniface VIII. This re- or neo-inclusion of private banks into the papal financial system, correlating with the proliferation of cash registers and treasurers (even in the church lands in central Italy) and with the fractioning of fund transfers,<sup>67</sup> helps to explain the abandonment of the production of real general accounts by the Apostolic Chamber, which evidently would have been useful to understand the financial circuits and their evolution.

It is clear, then, that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the collection of ecclesiastical taxes contributed to the functioning of a certain number of fairs related to the channels of large-scale trade. For the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on the other hand, the documentation we have does not provide any indicative evidence.

## Supplying at fairs

To test the real impact of fairs on the volume of business developed around the Pope, we shall examine the surviving accounts of the Apostolic Chamber and of the merchants and bankers employed by the papacy, even if perceiving the effective role of fairs, in the light of what has just been said, is a somewhat problematic perspective. The various accounts drawn up by the clerks under the command of the apostolic treasurer rarely make it possible to know where the enormous quantities of goods consumed by the papal household were purchased—perhaps at

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<sup>65</sup> Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Instrumenta Miscellanea 7310.

<sup>66</sup> Angela Orlandi. *Le Grand Parti. Fiorentini a Lione e il debito pubblico francese nel XVI secolo*. Firenze: Olschki, 2002.

<sup>67</sup> In 1463, for example, Antonio de Veneriis sent 17,000 *livres* from Spain to Rome, using the services of nine different companies, all of them Florentine. See Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs*, 335.

fairs, but surely from merchants who had various sources of supply. In the general accounts, the particulars obviously indicate the type of goods, their cost, and the dates of the official purchase, but they do not always give the name of the seller, the origin of the product, and the place where they had been bought. Obtaining precise and reliable information on the boosting of fairs, because of the supplying of the Pope or his donation policy or the needs of the court, is therefore not (so) easy.

In the Avignonese accountancy, where very few accounting records have been preserved for the thirteenth century,<sup>68</sup> the first mention of a purchase expressly made at fairs dates from 1326. On 6 July, Bertrand Faraud/Féraud, a merchant from Avignon, was paid for the sheets he had bought on the orders of the Chamber at the fairs of Villemagne, not far from Béziers. He had purchased large quantities of *burel*, *bruneta*, and *blanquet* for a sum which, including the transport to Avignon, was close to a hundred pounds of *deniers tournois*.<sup>69</sup> Two years later, the same merchant went there again to make the same purchases, also for the Mendicants of Avignon. However, before 24 December of that year, he had also gone to the fairs of Pézenas and to Clermont-l'Hérault,<sup>70</sup> once more to give alms of clothing to the friars, but this time in Montpellier, Toulouse, and Cahors. Faraud was accompanied by a cleric from the Almonry, Arnal Jordan, who no doubt chose the sheets according to the number of brothers to be clothed, while the merchant negotiated the prices and took care of the transportation and the distribution for a sum of more than 300 pounds. In June 1329, he was sent to the Villemagne fairs, again for the same reasons, at a cost of 251 pounds.<sup>71</sup> Later, another Avignon merchant, Raimbaud Clément, replaced him at the Pézenas fairs in September, still in the company of Arnal Jordan, to buy the same types of cloth for the Mendicants of Montpellier, Toulouse, and Cahors, which *eundo, morando in nundinis, eundo et distribuendo religiosis dictorum locorum*, now exceeded 375 pounds. And so on. On 8 July 1330, Raimbaud returned from the Villemagne fairs and presented an invoice for the same sheets, the *serpelheriis, cordis, carratagio*,

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68 On that point, see Schmidt, *Libri rationum*. The following references all refer to the expenditures of Popes John XXII and Benedict XII, published in their entirety on the website: <http://ressourcescomptables.huma-num.fr/corpus/index.php?q=Avignon>. The development of the editing programme will later enable more precise lexical researches for the pontificates following these two. Karl Heinrich Schäfer's analytical editions are generally very good, but lexically incomplete and sometimes erroneous.

69 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 73, fol. 92v.

70 The text doesn't specify whether or not it was at fairs that were also held there at the time. For a list, see Jean Combes. Les foires en Languedoc au Moyen Âge. *Annales E.S.C.* 13 (1958): 231–259.

71 Respectively, Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 92, fols. 92 and 94v.

*loquerio hospitii in dictis nundinis, expensis factis et portatura* to Avignon.<sup>72</sup> In the autumn, he returned to the Pézenas fairs to buy the same sheets for the convents of Montpellier, Toulouse, and Cahors. The details of the account reveal that the renting of a *hospicium* at fairs was used to store the sheets purchased—which in counterpart indicates the presence of large stocks under the sellers' 'tents' during the fairs—before their moving to Montpellier and Béziers,<sup>73</sup> where the friars from Toulouse and Cahors would no doubt have come to collect them.

With the election of Benedict XII in 1334, a few changes were made to the supply system put in place to run the Almonry, but they seem minor. The institution sometimes had one of the clerics in its service buying the sheets at fairs directly, and evidently, with the development of the Pignotta,<sup>74</sup> the horizon of the purchased goods expanded. However, the annual rhythm of purchases based on the Villemagne and Pézenas fairs remained unchanged.<sup>75</sup> All these sheets, apparently made in Languedoc, could have been bought directly from the manufacturers in Carcassonne, Béziers, Narbonne, and elsewhere.<sup>76</sup> We must therefore conclude that the large quantities required the possibility for the Apostolic Chamber to concentrate the supplies, and the low prices negotiated at fairs justified sending commissioners—especially for reputedly thrifty popes like John XXII and Benedict XII—for their almsgiving and the running of the Pignotta. Incidentally, other types of acquisitions appear in the accounts. In September 1335, for example, Raimbaud Clément bought a mule in Pézenas for the papal stables. The following year, in November, the Pope sent his marshal to the Pamiers fairs—Benedict XII was from Saverdun—to buy two other mules, evidently from his country!<sup>77</sup>

However, most of the time, the account particulars did not mention where the purchases were made. We can also suspect that the writing underrepresents a phenomenon much more important than what it appears in the supplying of the papal household and the procedures of the Apostolic Chamber. The following case will demonstrate this. In February 1341, Jean Courtois, canon of Amiens, was paid for his purchases of sheets from Lagny (worth 510 pounds), Aumale and Hesdin (560 pounds), and Saint-Denis (228 pounds), made *in partibus Flandrie*, in

72 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 29, fols. 87 and 91.

73 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 108, fol. 96v.

74 As stated from the number of tunics and loaves distributed by Daniel Le Blévec. *La part du pauvre. L'assistance dans les pays du Bas-Rhône du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. Rome: École française de Rome, 2000, 514–543.

75 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 146, fols. 110–112; 150, fol. 116.

76 See Dominique Cardon. *La draperie au Moyen Age. Essor d'une grande industrie européenne*. Paris: CNRS, 1999.

77 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 146, fol. 72; 150, fol. 66v.

order to clothe the Pope's officers and to give alms to poor young girls wishing to marry, as well as *burel*, black *brunet* from Pontoise, and *blanquet* from Béziers, to be distributed to the Mendicants of Avignon. Including travel and transport to the curia, all this represented more than 1,500 florins, of which two-thirds were previously given to Jean Courtois in Bruges by the Acciaiuoli's factor.<sup>78</sup> These account details clearly prove that the proceeds of the ecclesiastical taxation concentrated in Bruges were used to buy supplies needed for the functioning of the curia. Even if the text does not mention them, must we conjecture that all these were bought at fairs—in Malines, Ypres, or another place—because of the diversity of origins of the sheets selected?

This specific case claims a revision of the interpretation created by the writing of the general accounts. Regarding the fairs, the drafting of the accounts under John XXII and Benedict XII seem to state a true 'Languedoc tropism.' However, in reality, pieces of cloth already bought in Flanders under John XXII were not uncommon.<sup>79</sup> Further, if we consider the supply procedures, the parallel is obvious: it was another Avignon merchant, Ricaud de Gordes, who was regularly sent to Flanders and Brabant almost every year from 1321 to 1336 to buy sheets to clothe the Pope's family and officers.<sup>80</sup> Even if the accounts do not mention the fairs, how can we fail to see in his missions an undertaking similar to those entrusted to Bertrand Faraud and Raimbaud Clément? If the Chamber knew where to get supplies in Flanders, why would it employ the services of a merchant, whose profession was to properly compare qualities and prices, especially at fairs?

In any case, it seems clear that attendance at Languedoc fairs became uncertain after 1340, even if the accounts do mention purchases such as black *brunetta* in 1359.<sup>81</sup>

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78 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 190, fol. 139v.

79 On that point, see Robert Delort. Notes sur les achats de draps et d'étoffes effectués par la Chambre apostolique des papes d'Avignon (1316–1417). *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 74:1 (1962): 215–288. However, Delort is often confused about the places in which purchases were effectively made.

80 Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 41, fol. 146; 54, fol. 55; 73, fols. 49–50; 81, fol. 44v, 45, and 47; 86, fols. 62 and 64; 29, fols. 53v and 55v; 108, fols. 59v and 60v; 146, fol. 79.

81 Karl Heinrich Schäfer. *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII., Klemens VI. und Innocenz VI.* Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1914, 738. However, the sergeant provider, Dominique de Lucarel, went as far as Bordeaux and Auch to find enough to give to young girls to be married off to orphans and widows!

While Pézenas is still mentioned,<sup>82</sup> Villemagne disappears completely,<sup>83</sup> apparently in favour of Montanhac. In August 1363, 1,146 florins were paid for sheets still purchased at these fairs for the Almonry to the merchants Guilhem Quot from Darbain, Pere Ragas from Narbonne, Ramun Rocanat from Narbonne, Ramun Formic from Roses, and Pere Galiserie from Béziers<sup>84</sup>—all coming from the Mediterranean Languedoc region, which doesn't seem to make the case for the attractiveness of these fairs in that time.

After 1340, the main fair purchases commissioned by the Apostolic Chamber concerned events in Burgundy and beyond.<sup>85</sup> The sudden importance of the Chalon fairs for the papal household must be related to the ease with which heavy goods could be transported to Avignon (sailing on the Saone and then the Rhône), to the connections of the Chalon fairs with the economic areas of northern Europe, as well as to the wide variety of products that could be traded there—sometimes in very large quantities—in exchange for cloth, wheat, wine, fish,<sup>86</sup> and so on. In a few years, the organisation of purchases in Chalon seems to have moved in a real Cameral way, indicating the curia's attachment to the facilities offered by this business centre. In autumn 1352, the Avignon draper, Jean de Saint-Basile and the clerk, Jean Rosset once again attended the Chalon fairs. This time, the account is given in its entirety, which makes it possible to understand the extent of the reductions in terms of information made by the Chamber's notaries when they prepared the general accounts, so as the fragmentation of purchases carried out with a large number of sellers coming from Normandy above all, Picardy, and the current Paris region.<sup>87</sup> Although the two men regularly attended these fairs,<sup>88</sup> this didn't mean that all the cloth needed by the papal court

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82 Karl Heinrich Schäfer. *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter den Päpsten Urban V. und Gregor XI.* Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1937, 426. A factor from Alberti Antichi had already been sent to Pézenas before May 1373 to buy sheets for the Almonry.

83 Jean Combes asserts that the Villemagne fairs “disappear from the texts after 1346.” See Combes, *Les foires en Languedoc*, 243.

84 Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter den Päpsten Urban V. und Gregor XI.*, 44–45.

85 Before 13 October 1340, Raimbaud Clément bought cloth of Reims at the Chalon fairs. See Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 128.

86 Henri Dubois. *Les foires de Chalon et le commerce dans la vallée de la Saône à la fin du Moyen Âge (1280–1430)*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1976. For the wine and fish, see Stefan Weiss. *Die Versorgung des päpstlichen Hofes in Avignon mit Lebensmitteln (1316–1378)*. *Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines mittelalterlichen Hofes*. Berlin: Akademie, 2002, 373–374, 379, 397–398, 400.

87 See the document in the appendix (Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 265, fols. 125v–126v). On the diversity of merchants' attendance at fairs, see Dubois, *Les foires de Chalon*, 160f.

88 Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 552, 580, 624.

was now purchased there, as the same Jean de Saint-Basile also regularly visited Anduze to supply the Pignotta<sup>89</sup> and probably other fairs, as large quantities were still purchased in Flanders.<sup>90</sup> However, Chalon did become a major supply centre for the curia, as shown by the career of the man who appears to have been a key provider during these years—Jean Rosset. Born in Martigny (some 60 kilometres southwest of Chalon), he first appeared as a familiar of the apostolic collector of Lyon, and then opportunely became a canon of Chalon around 1356.<sup>91</sup> The purchases he was then able to make for the Chamber went far beyond the fairs, as he also procured large quantities of cloth *in foro communi*<sup>92</sup> and was commissioned to send beans and oats to the Pignotta, and fish and wine to the curia. And since all these goods had to be transported to Avignon, why not take advantage of this opportunity to entrust him with the balance of the revenues of the apostolic collector of Lyon?<sup>93</sup> As we can see, the system set up by the Apostolic Chamber in Chalon was very efficiently thought out. From the fairs, a veritable supply system was built up by the court.

We can't discard the hypothesis as well that the Chalon fairs acted as relays, bringing together the needs of the Roman curia and the sellers from the north of the kingdom of France, as in 1352, sheets purchased by the Chamber directly in Paris were properly passing through Chalon before reaching Avignon.<sup>94</sup> The merchants settled in Avignon were also in the habit of frequenting these fairs for their own business, as revealed by some papal letters when they were robbed by men-at-arms. In 1361, when insecurity was at its height, merchants from Avignon, probably wanting to make purchases at the Chalon fairs, signed a contract with the Chamber which stipulated that the collector in Lyon would give 2,000 florins to their agent in charge of making their purchases in Chalon in exchange for the prior payment they made in the curia.<sup>95</sup> There is no doubt, therefore, that at the

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89 However, the word 'fair' is never mentioned. See Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 438, 497, 533, 552, 561, 588, 623, 668, 738.

90 In 1360, for example, without saying where precisely. See Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 771–773.

91 Gregory XI, *Lettres communes* 32552; Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 588, 616. The 50's correspond to the boom period for the Chalon fairs, according to Dubois.

92 Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 624.

93 Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 761. Jean Rosset subsequently became fully involved in the service of the Chamber, following the court to Italy twice; he died as the notary of the Chamber before April 1389, according to the *Liber Officiariorum* of Clement VII, which he had helped to keep.

94 Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII.*, 445–446.

95 Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 205.

end of Benedict XII's pontificate, the papal supply and the Avignon business community shifted their focus.

Other fairs are nonetheless mentioned in the accounts, but only incidentally. At the Montferrand fairs of mid-Lent in 1352, the apostolic sub-collector also bought cloth for the Pignotta.<sup>96</sup> At the Barjols fairs, in the diocese of Fréjus, pigs were purchased before December 1354.<sup>97</sup> Either way, references remain rare. In the selection of fairs, the role played by the merchants themselves should not be underestimated. Precisely because their expertise was sought, they probably advised or decided to carry out the order they had been given in a place they knew or had already frequented. In this perspective, with the exception of the Chalon fairs (as we have seen), the accountancy of the Apostolic Chamber somehow illustrates the evolution of the economic structure much more than an economic policy of the Camera, inclined to consider only the costs and the quality of products. It is suggestive that none of the recorded letters of the papal camerary between 1361 and 1378 analysed by D. Williman mentioned a fair.<sup>98</sup>

These references to fairs, which were already random, seem (since the edition of the general account by K.H. Schäfer is incomplete) to become rarer from the 1360s onwards, although this phenomenon cannot be linked to a drop in the attendance of papal agents due to the insecurity in the kingdom of France,<sup>99</sup> for example, or to a structural reduction in the use of fairs, the Apostolic Chamber being able to draw on a large address book of suppliers since the curia was installed in Avignon for so many decades. Moreover, the relative silence about fairs as an economic phenomenon is not only a feature of the general accounts. This can also be found in the lower levels of the accounting pyramid. For example, on 23 April 1365, the account of the collector in Lyon, stated that the administrator of the Pignotta bought “XXXII pecias tele magnas, XVI mapas, III longerias, IIII saumatas pisorum et I saumatam fabarum in Cabilone” that he had to pay.<sup>100</sup> It is quite obvious that this officer coming from Avignon went to the renowned fairs of Chalon-sur-Saône, but it is not explicitly written in the account. In turn, this makes it difficult to measure the impact of the fairs on the volume of goods paid

<sup>96</sup> Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII*, 497

<sup>97</sup> And probably also in December 1341. See Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben . . . unter Benedikt XII*, 142, 561.

<sup>98</sup> Daniel Williman (ed.). *Calendar of the letters of Arnaud Aubert, camerarius apostolicus (1361–1371)*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972; Daniel Williman. *The letters of Pierre de Cros, chamberlain to pope Gregory XI (1371–1378)*. Tempe: ACMRS, 2009.

<sup>99</sup> The collapse of these fairs between 1361 and 1365 has been noted by H. Dubois.

<sup>100</sup> “[. . .] que omnia decostaverunt in Cabilone, tam in prima emptione quam in portu per aquam et fardellis et pedagiis et aliis expensis usque ad Avinionem, 339 flor. 10 gros.” *Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Collectoriae* 67, fol. 78.

by the Apostolic Chamber, while on the other hand, the said impact clearly must have been much higher than mentioned in the written record.

The worst is that, if we consider the few accounts preserved for Italian companies providing their services to the Papacy and the population of the city, they curiously seem to be the same. A statement of a current account opened for Clement VI by Antonio Malabayla, which ran from 25 December 1347 (perhaps a surprising date to open an account for a Pope) to 6 December 1352 (the Pope's death), certainly didn't emphasise the phenomenon. Clement VI sometimes ordered precious tableware and other goods from him, though Antonio was to receive the proceeds of various taxes from the collectors of Tuscany, Scotland, or Poland. In December 1352, he was still to receive 41,000 florins—a clue that the transfers were not as automatic as administrative sources suggest. Nevertheless, among the orders of the pope were also woollen sheets for the Pignotta, for which the camerary paid him 2,000 florins. Antonio bought them *in nundinis Cabilonensis* and undertook the transport to the curia, proving that the total cost was higher than this sum.<sup>101</sup> A single indication of a fair in five years of accounts does not amount to much!

If we look at the accounts of the Italian companies, the impact of fairs on their activities was not great. In the *Libro vermiglio di chorte di Roma e di Vignione* of the Corbizzi, which covers the years 1332–37, many loans of money to clerics and nobles, not always from the surrounding area, are mentioned as well as expenditures for various cardinals, notably Colonna and La Motte, and transfers of funds carried out for by private individuals—for example, in favour of a son of a lord of Nîmes, who was in Bologna probably in the service of Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget. The three associates established in Avignon, Nîmes, and Montélimar could obviously circulate the available sums among themselves and were in contact with other moneylenders and companies.<sup>102</sup> In short, the Corbizzi developed a certain turnover. However, this book does not contain the slightest mention of a fair, in Languedoc or elsewhere, for the years 1332 to 1337.

The two *libri mastri* of the Alberti—one of the major Italian companies established in Avignon, especially in the years 1348–1358 covered by these books—are full of details of their numerous activities around the curia. However, they do not mention the interventions of their factors at fairs. The writing refers only—though frequently—to goods, like clothes from Provins and Bar, from Malines

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<sup>101</sup> Account edited by Renouard, *Les relations des papes*, 649.

<sup>102</sup> Mario Chiaudano. *Il libro vermiglio di corte di Roma e di Avignone del segnale del C. della compagnia fiorentina di Iacopo Girolami, Filippo e Tommaso Corbizzi (1332–37)*. Turin: Vincenzo Bona Tipografo, 1963, 16, 29, 171 for the details mentioned above.

and Bruges,<sup>103</sup> at the time necessarily negotiated in the fairs of Champagne and Flanders, but the specific costs of their factors at fairs and even their mission there remain under wraps. It is clear that keeping track of diversified purchases in accounts mainly requires the designation, the origin, and the price of the goods acquired and sold by the company, rather than the place and circumstances of their purchase.

The same lack of interest in fairs as an economic opportunity can be seen in the letters written by merchants at the court of Rome at the turn of the century.<sup>104</sup> In the fifteenth century, the accounts of the Apostolic Chamber were much more laconic than in the previous century. There is therefore no need to dwell on Roman *Introitus* and *Exitus* of that time. However, if we look at the administrative sources relating to the city's economic activity—that is, the customs registers of Ripa and Ripetta—it's the same story. The official tariffs mention the entry into Rome of cloth from Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc, without ever mentioning a fair of any kind.<sup>105</sup>

Some accounts and statements of account with companies based in Rome have also been preserved, particularly for the second half of the century, marked by a greater stability of the curia in the Eternal City. These attest, of course, to changes in the European economic map, and in particular to the development of Lyon as a financial centre, following the founding of the fairs. However, it's still quite difficult to go beyond. For example, the receipts delivered by the Apostolic Chamber on the 14 and 16 February 1469 to the Pazzi and to the Medicis installed in Rome for the 14,000 and 16,000 florins deposited by the papal *nuncius* in France in the agencies of the Pazzi and Medicis in Lyon, say nothing about the fairs.<sup>106</sup> It was clearly in Lyon that the resources of ecclesiastical taxation in France were concentrated—Lyon having supplanted Avignon at this time—but it is difficult to link this financial power of the city to the fairs, because no account books of the collectors of Lyon have been preserved for that time and for the sixteenth century in the cameral collection of the Archivio di Stato in Rome.

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**103** Richard Goldthwaite, Enzo Settesoldi, Marco Spallanzani (eds.). *Due Libri Mastri degli Alberti, una grande compagnia di Calimala*. Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1995.

**104** Luciano Palermo. *Il mercato romano nel carteggio di Francesco Datini (1377–1409). Appendice documentaria: lettere da Roma a Barcellona, Valenza e Maiorca (1397–1407)*. Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2020.

**105** See the regulations of 1416 in Maria Luisa Lombardo. *La dogana di Ripa e Ripetta nel sistema dell'ordinamento tributario a Roma dal Medioevo al secolo XV*. Rome: Centro di Ricerca, 1978; Maria Luisa Lombardo. *Camera urbis. Dohana Ripe et Ripecte. Liber introitus 1428*. Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1978; Maria Luisa Lombardo. *Dohana minuta Urbis: liber introitus 1422*. Rome: Centro di Ricerca Medievali e Protocolli Notarili, 1983.

**106** Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, *Diversa Cameralia* 34, fols. 213v-4.

The *Liber obligationum* of the Spinelli bank covering the years 1472–77 contains various commitments to repay sums borrowed in Rome, in Milan, Naples, Ferrara, Viterbo, Venice, Bruges, Montpellier, Geneva, and Lyon, but without any mention of fairs. A ledger kept by Francesco di Pescia, still for the Spinelli company, proves that in 1478, some merchants from Lyon came as far as Rome to buy some goods, but the mention of the Lyon fairs appears only as one of the possible places of repayment, and only as a payment term (*in proximis nundinis omnium Sanctorum*). And in that transaction, the receiver had to be not a passing merchant who frequented the Lyon fairs, but the stable agency of Lorenzo de Medicis.<sup>107</sup>

## Conclusion

The silence surrounding fairs in the processes of writing and memorising financial data, both of the Apostolic Chamber and of the leading banking and commercial companies, obviously raises questions. In the last two well-documented centuries of the Middle Ages, the phenomenon of fairs was potentially so widespread as part of everyday economic life that it rarely needed to be specified in writing, except when dates and places were essential for administrative purposes.

The papal documentation as a whole (epistolary and accountancy) highlights certain phenomena impossible to perceive for the medieval times elsewhere. While the founding of fairs was clearly abandoned to the lower echelons of the political hierarchy, the impact they had on economic activity in the thirteenth century above all was clearly displayed when the Apostolic See took a decision to be obeyed by people who challenged its primacy. This is no longer the case thereafter, perhaps due to the extreme spread of the fair phenomenon and therefore the lesser extent of economic impact of each one. In the fifteenth century, the epistolary documentation seems to emphasise other aspects of fair time, which was conducive to all forms of expansiveness and excess—and subsequently, of course, called for penance! However, we have seen that the social use of the economic fair—in other words, its funfair side—was already denounced by the Council of Lyon in 1274.

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<sup>107</sup> On 15 October 1482, Jean Balestier, dean of Sion, in the name of Jodon de Siluon, *primicier* of the bishop of Grenoble and Sion, Antoine de Saint-Priest, lord of *Vallibus*, and Pierre Carron, secretary of the *Dauphin*, were taking 5,294 ducats which were to be deposited either in Milan at the company of Ambrosio de Rosinis and nephews, or that of Francesco Dominici of Florence and sons, or in Lyon *in proximis nundinis omnium Sanctorum* with Lorenzo de Medicis and Francesco de *Suxcitis*. See Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale I, Appendice 22, fol. 4.

On the other hand, the development of ecclesiastical taxation in the fourteenth century and, above all, the stabilisation of collectors throughout Europe in that time, placed part of the Church's finances close to areas where fairs were concentrated. As each collector was, in fact, at the head of a particular fund, he was able to make payments on the spot by order of the Chamber or to organise money transfers to the curia. The Avignon documentation reveals the plasticity with which the Apostolic Chamber dealt with the question of the use of its resources, sometimes putting the so-called Tuscan hegemony on financial transfers to the test, often preferring the actual transport of cash, which tends to show that the use of the fairs in financial ecclesiastical transfers in the fourteenth century probably had a marginal role, or at any rate was left to the discretion of the banking and trading companies.

When it comes to supplying goods of all kinds in great quantities—both for the poor, for beggars, for officers, and for the Pope himself and those close to him—the role of fairs on the contrary seems unmistakable, particularly in the fourteenth century, even if the recording of expenditures does not always reflect this. The contrast with the Papacy of the previous century is striking. The Popes of the thirteenth century, who did not always reside in the Eternal City, found enough to meet all their needs in Rome itself, among the Roman and Tuscan merchants who had settled there,<sup>108</sup> whereas the Popes of Avignon—admittedly much more generous in terms of almsgiving—never ceased to send their emissaries to take care of their supplies of low and high quality products from afar. Despite the installation of numerous Italian companies in Avignon and despite the economic impetus necessarily created by the city's demographic and political development, the historian can only observe the lasting contraction of Avignon's skills—in complete contradiction to the legendary leitmotif of Anglo-Saxon historiography on the abundance and luxury of the Avignon court—as local merchants were unable to supply all the products required by the curia. However, no comparable phenomenon can be seen, much less easily accessible, in Roman documentation from the fifteenth century, which once again seems to show a great detachment from fairs and to privilege local expenditures. With regards to differences in administrative supplying systems or differences in the economic structures on either side of the Alps, the historian is sometimes condemned to glimpse rather than see.

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**108** See Schmidt, *Libri rationum Camerae Bonifatii papae VIII*; Armand Jamme. Festività, mercanti e contabilità. Il resoconto delle celebrazioni matrimoniali e del cavalierato di un pronipote di Bonifacio VIII. *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 125 (2003): 185–222.

## Appendix

### Report of Jean de Saint-Basile and Jean Rosset about their mission for supplying the papal almonry at the Chalon fairs, prior to 17 December 1352

(Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum, Introitus et Exitus 265, fols. 125v–126v).

Die XVII mensis decembris Sede vacante. Sequitur computum Johannis de Sancto Basilio, draperio Avinion., et Johannis Rosseti, clerici, de pannis per ipsos emptos in nundinis Cabilonen. a personis infrascriptis pro provisione elemosine facienda prout sequitur:

Et primo dixerunt se emisse a Johannis de Montorvet XXIII pecias panni, qualibet pretio X flor., II<sup>c</sup>XXX flor.; item, a dicto Bossinel de Sancto Lupo XIII pecias, qualibet pretio X flor. VI gross., CXLVII flor.; item a Guillelmo lo Viel de Bernay VII pecias nigras minoris forme, videlicet III peciis computatis pro duobus, qualibet pretio X flor., LXX flor.; item a Rotberto Cont de Sancto Lupo III pecias brunete maioris forme, qualibet pretio XIII flor. cum dimidio, LVIII flor.; item a Nicolao de Mentil I pecia brunete, XI flor.; item a Nicolao Petit Dauboton XIX pecias maioris forme, qualibet pretio XII flor. I quart., II<sup>c</sup>XXXII flor., IX gross.; item a Bauduno de Beumont I pecia, X flor. VI gross.; item a Balduino Vassellin de Saint Omer II pecias, qualibet pretio XXI flor., XLII flor.; item a Johanne de Fornollo Rothomagen.,<sup>109</sup> qualibet pretio IX flor. cum dimidio, XIX flor.; item a Giraud de Dignant VIII pecias, qualibet pretio XI flor., LXXXVIII flor.; item a Guillelmo de Vauh de Sancto Jacobo,<sup>110</sup> qualibet pretio V flor., XXV flor.; item a Johanne Chalon. de Branmont II pecias, qualibet pretio XI flor., XXII flor.; item a Nicolao Lo Viel de Bernay I pecia maioris forme pretio IX flor.; item a Balduino de Belmont I pecia X flor.; item a Johanne et Wellmi de Grantmont XXVIII pecias maioris forme, qualibet pretio XV flor., III<sup>c</sup>XX flor.; item a Rotgerio Lupi de Nanteau V pecias de verguat, qualibet pretio VII flor., XXXV flor.; item a Thoma de Meres de Sancto Lupo VII pecias maioris forme, qualibet XVI flor., CXII flor.; item a dicto Rae de Belme de Sancto Lupo XIII pecias, qualibet pretio XII flor. cum dimidio, XXV flor.; item a Guillaudo Mallart de Sancto Lupo VIII pecias burels et eschaquat, qualibet pretio IX flor. cum dimidio, LXXVI flor.; item a Guillelmo de Bernay XXI pecias maioris forme, qualibet pretio IX flor., CLXXXIX flor.; item ab Odone Picart, lo Boleguer de Bernay, VI pecias minoris forme, pretio qualibet IX flor., LIII flor.; item a Guillelmo de Pistol de Malaval VI pecias minoris forme, qualibet pretio VI flor., XXXVI flor.; item a Johanne Daviers Deurens (sic) XXXIII

<sup>109</sup> The copyist has obviously omitted a few words here, so it's not clear whether Rouen indicates the origin of the merchant or the product.

<sup>110</sup> Same remark.

pecias minoris forme, qualibet precio IX flor., III<sup>c</sup>VI flor.; item a Petro de Chalon de Sancto Lupo dimidiam peciam V flor VI gross.

[126] Summa totalis pannorum II<sup>c</sup>XX pecias cum dimidio, tam maioris forme quam minoris, videlicet CXLV maioris forme et LXXVI (sic) minoris forme, tam de Bernay quam Deurens (sic).

Summa totius pecunie emptionis: II<sup>m</sup>III<sup>c</sup>XLIII flor. III gross.

Sequntur expense facte per dictos J. de Sancto Basilio et J. Rosseti in emendo dictos pannos:

Et primo pro expensis ipsius J. de Sancto Basilio in veniendo de Avinion. usque Cabilon. et pro dicto J. Rosseti in eundo de Lugdun. Cabilon. et stando in Cabilon. et in reveniendo Lugdun. pro se equis suis famulis et fuerunt per spatium XXXVIII dierum pro omnibus, XL flor.; item pro II<sup>c</sup> ulnis tele ad mensuram Cabilon., qualibet alna pretio II s. VI d. tur., val. XXV lbr. tur., flor. boni ponderis pro XXII s. tur. computato, val. XXII flor. XVI s.; item pro conductu cuiusdam botique in qua fuerunt reponiti dicti panni, XL s. tur., flor. ut supra; item pro quodam penoncello et pro signando gibas seu fardellos, IX s. tur.; item pro aromcando (lecture incertaine) et broissando dictos pannos, II flor.; item in fardelando seu faciendo IIII flor.; item pro cordis necessariis pro dictis gibis, II flor. VI gross.; item pro quodam nuncio qui portavit pannos de botiqua ad locum ubi fiebant gibe, VI s.; item pro portando gibas seu fardellos de dicto loco usque ad Sagonam, XXII s. VIII d.; item pro vino dato et potato in faciendo gibas et pluribus aliis, X s. tur.; item pro telo unus spelerie que deficiebant II flor. II s. tur.; item pro faciendo tendutas, IX s. tur.; item pro vino dato castellano Cabilon. qui promisit dictos pannos extrahi a Burgundia, I flor.; item pro portando dictos pannos de aulis seul loco ubi emebantur, I flor.; item pro denariis datis in faciendo forum, V s. tur; item pro conductu camere nostre et stabuli in Cabilon., III flor.; item pro II peciis tele albe pro usu domini nostri, qualibet pecia continente XIX aln. ad mensuram Cabilon., qualibet pretio VIII s. VI d. tur., flor. pro XXII s. tur. valent. VIII lbr. V s. tur. que val. VII flor. unus [s.] XII d.; item pro expensis duorum nuntiorum qui continue fuerunt in navigio cum dictis pannis de Cabilon. usque Lugdunum, et fuerunt pro octo dies in veniendo propter tenuitatem aquarum et destin[ationis], pro omnibus, IIII flor.; item pro vino dato pedagiariis de Cabilon. usque Lugdunum et de Lugdun. usque Avinion. VII flor.; item pro expensis J. Rosseti et nuncii quas fecit in ducendo dictos pannos et in reveniendo de curia usque Lugd. et pro quodam alio nuncio qui custodiebat pannos, et fuerunt per [126v] XXI dies et ultra super aquam propter tenuitatem aquarum XI flor. et M po. et III gross.; item pro portu dictorum pannorum de Cabilon. usque Avinion. et dictos pannos dux[it] dictus Ramos Prelli nauta, pro omnibus, XLV flor.; item pro portando dictos pannos de portu Avinion. usque ad palacium et pro expensis dicti Johannis qui ivit obvium pannis predictis II flor.

Summa universalis omnium expensarum predictarum pecunie reducte ad flor., scilicet flor. pro XXII s. computato ut superius continetur, CLXIII flor. XI gross. VIII d.

Summa universalis omnium summarum, tam emptionis pannorum omnium quam expensis eorumdem, et fuit eisdem solutum in II<sup>m</sup>V<sup>c</sup>VIII flor. II gross. VIII d.

De quibus confitentur se habuisse a domino thesaurario II<sup>m</sup>V<sup>c</sup> flor. de Florencia et reducuntur pro maiori valore dictorum flor. pro quolibet II d., que ascendant VII flor. VIII s. VIII d.

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