

RiMe

Rivista dell'Istituto
di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea

ISBN 9788897317654

ISSN 2035-794X

numero 8/II n. s., giugno 2021

**Credit for the poor. Trust, regulation and
charity in the Roman Monte di Pietà**

Tanja Skambraks

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7410/1462>

Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea
Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
<http://rime.cnr.it>

Direttore responsabile | Editor-in-Chief

Luciano GALLINARI

Segreteria di redazione | Editorial Office Secretary

Idamaria FUSCO - Sebastiana NOCCO

Comitato scientifico | Editorial Advisory Board

Luis ADÃO DA FONSECA, Filomena BARROS, Sergio BELARDINELLI, Nora BEREND, Michele BRONDINO, Paolo CALCAGNO, Lucio CARACCILO, Dino COFRANCESCO, Daniela COLI, Miguel Ángel DE BUNES IBARRA, Antonio DONNO, Antonella EMINA, Vittoria FIORELLI, Blanca GARÌ, Isabella IANNUZZI, David IGUAL LUIS, Jose Javier RUIZ IBÁÑEZ, Giorgio ISRAEL, Juan Francisco JIMÉNEZ ALCÁZAR, Ada LONNI, Massimo MIGLIO, Anna Paola MOSSETTO, Michela NACCI, Germán NAVARRO ESPINACH, Francesco PANARELLI, Emilia PERASSI, Cosmin POPA-GORJANU, Adeline RUCQUOI, Flocel SABATÉ i CURULL, Eleni SAKELLARIU, Gianni VATTIMO, Cristina VERA DE FLACHS, Przemysław WISZEWSKI.

Comitato di redazione | Editorial Board

Anna BADINO, Grazia BIORCI, Maria Eugenia CADEDDU, Angelo CATTANEO, Isabella CECCHINI, Monica CINI, Alessandra CIOPPI, Riccardo CONDRÒ, Alberto GUASCO, Domenica LABANCA, Maurizio LUPO, Geltrude MACRÌ, Alberto MARTINENGO, Maria Grazia Rosaria MELE, Maria Giuseppina MELONI, Rosalba MENGONI, Michele M. RABÀ, Riccardo REGIS, Giovanni SERRELI, Giovanni SINI, Luisa SPAGNOLI, Patrizia SPINATO BRUSCHI, Giulio VACCARO, Massimo VIGLIONE, Isabella Maria ZOPPI.

Responsabile del sito | Website Manager

Claudia FIRINO

© Copyright 2021: Author(s)

Gli autori che pubblicano con *RiMe* conservano i diritti d'autore e concedono alla rivista il diritto di prima pubblicazione con i lavori contemporaneamente autorizzati ai sensi della

Authors who publish with *RiMe* retain copyright and grant the Journal right of first publication with the works simultaneously licensed under the terms of the

“Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial 4.0 International License”.



RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea (<http://rime.cnr.it>)

Direzione e Segreteria | Management and Editorial Offices: via G.B. Tuveri, 128- 09129 Cagliari (I).

Telefono | Telephone: +39 070403635 / 070403670.

Invio contributi | Submissions: rime@isem.cnr.it

Special Issue

Il credito. Fiducia, solidarietà, cittadinanza
(secc. XIV-XIX)

The credit. Trust, solidarity and citizenship
(14th-19th centuries)

A cura di / Edited by

Paola Avallone - Raffaella Salvemini

RiMe 8/II n.s. (June 2021)

Special Issue

Il credito. Fiducia, solidarietà, cittadinanza
(secc. XIV-XIX)

The credit. Trust, solidarity and citizenship
(14th-19th centuries)

A cura di / Edited by
Paola Avallone - Raffaella Salvemini

Table of Contents / Indice

Paola Avallone e Raffaella Salvemini	9-17
<i>Il credito. Fiducia, solidarietà, cittadinanza (secc. XIV-XIX). Introduzione /</i> The credit. Trust, solidarity and citizenship (14 th -19 th centuries). Introduction	
Mercanti, fiducia e credito	
Paolo Evangelisti	19-44
<i>Architetture della credibilità. Lessico e strutture concettuali per la moneta ed il</i> <i>credito (XII-XVII s.) / Architecture of credibility. Lexicon and conceptual</i> <i>frameworks for money and credit (12th-17th centuries.)</i>	
Miriam Davide	45-69
<i>Gli operatori del credito e le pratiche in uso nel Nord d'Italia tra XIV e XV</i> <i>secolo / Credit operators and practices in use in Northern Italy between</i>	

14th and 15th centuries

Giulio Biondi 71-88
Giovanni Gaspare da Sala: analisi di un credito informale (1463-1486) / Giovanni Gaspare da Sala: an analysis of an informal credit practice (1463-1486)

Daniele Ognibene 89-110
La fiducia dei mercanti: alcune riflessioni attraverso degli esempi bolognesi fra XIV e XV secolo / The trust of the merchants: some reflections through bolognese examples between 14th and 15th centuries

Antonio Macchione 111-135
La rete del micro-credito nella Calabria angioina-aragonese (secoli XIV-XV): fiducia e solidarietà sociale / The micro-credit network in Angevin-Aragonese Calabria (14th-15th centuries): trust and social solidarity

Tanja Skambraks 137- 58
Credit for the poor. Trust, regulation and charity in the Roman Monte di Pietà

Istituzioni, finanze e credito

Martina Del Popolo 159-180
Credito e debito pubblico nel municipio di Tàrrega nel XV secolo / Credit and public debt in the city of Tàrrega in the 15th century

Laura Miquel Milian 181-199
Vender censales, asistir a los necesitados: la emisión de deuda municipal en Barcelona en el siglo XV / Selling annuities, attending the needy: the issue of municipal debt in Barcelona during the 15th century

Federica Marti 201-234
Il Magistrato di Misericordia e il Banco di San Giorgio: riflessi archivistici dell'economia assistenziale genovese in età moderna / Magistrato di Misericordia and Banco di San Giorgio: archival reflections on Genoese welfare economy in the early Modern Age

Gabriel Ramon i Molins 235-247
La problemática de la deuda en los municipios catalanes de la Edad Moderna. El ejemplo de la ciudad de Lleida a finales del siglo XVII / The problem of debt in the Catalan municipalities in the early Modern Age. The example of the city of Lleida at the end of the 17th century

Andrea Zappia 249-262
Tra burocrazia e fiducia: la gestione dei capitali del Magistrato del riscatto degli schiavi di Genova (secoli XVII-XVIII) / Between bureaucracy and trust: the management of the capital of the Magistrato del riscatto degli schiavi of Genoa (17th-18th centuries)

Francesco Chiapparino 263-279
Tra credito e solidarietà. La parabola delle banche cattoliche in Italia nella prima metà del Novecento / Between credit and solidarity. The parable of Catholic banks in Italy in the first half of the 20th century

Andrea Gatto 281-294
Rimesse dagli emigrati italiani negli USA, sviluppo e cicli economici: dalle fonti archivistiche del Banco di Napoli ai dati della Banca Mondiale (1861-2017) / Remittances from the Italian emigrants in the USA, development and business cycles: from the Bank of Naples archival sources to the World Bank data (1861-2017)

Usura e credito

Ángel Rozas Español 295-319
El crédito rural en Toledo. Conflictos en torno a la venta del “pan fiado” a finales del siglo XV / Rural credit in Toledo. Conflicts over sales of ‘pan fiado’ at the end of the 15th century

Ornella Tommasi 321-355
Nella rete del credito di Padova dal XIV al XV secolo: tra banchi privati, prestito ebraico, ospedali, Monte di Pietà e la famiglia Lion / In the credit web at Padua from 14th to 15th centuries: between private banks, Jewish loans, hospitals, Monte di Pietà and the Lion family

Stefano Boero 357-373
“L’usura lecita nel Banco di carità sotto la protezione di S. Anna”. Istituti fiduciari e reti di solidarietà nel secondo Seicento / “L’usura lecita nel Banco di carità sotto la protezione di S. Anna”. Trust institutions and solidarity networks in the second half of the 17th century

Francesca Callegari 375-405
L’evoluzione del Monte di Pietà di Ferrara a seguito dei dissesti del 1598 e del 1646 / The evolution of the Ferrara Monte di Pietà after the bankruptcy

events of 1598 and 1646

Book Reviews

Maria Cristina Rossi

409-417

Maria Rosaria Marchionibus (2019) '*Campania picta*'. *Temi colti e schemi desueti negli affreschi tra i secoli VIII e XII*. Bari: Quorum Edizioni.

Credit for the Poor. Trust, Regulation and Charity in the Roman Monte di Pietà

Tanja Skambraks
(Universität Mannheim)

Date of receipt: 16/04/2018
Date of acceptance: 04/05/2021

Riassunto

Questo articolo discute la categoria euristica di “fiducia” e la applica al Monte di Pietà di Roma in quanto istituzione affidabile e degna di fiducia. Rifacendosi a metodologie di Ogilvie, Luhmann, etc. l’articolo presenta la fondazione del Monte come progetto di elite urbane che facevano uso di personale professionale e di un severo sistema di rendicontazione. Questo processo di istituzionalizzazione procedeva in parallelo ad un dibattito, portato avanti da autori Francescani, che mirava a sviluppare un’etica economica cristiana e a marginalizzare i prestasoldi ebrei. Dunque, la fiducia goduta da questa istituzione era connessa a motivi religiosi non meno che alla sua amministrazione efficiente.

Parole chiave

Piccolo credito; fiducia; Monti di Pietà; Roma.

Abstract

The scope of this article is twofold: firstly, it explores the application of “trust” as a heuristic category. Secondly, it examines how the Roman Monte di Pietà was established as a reliable and trustworthy Christian institution. Applying different approaches due to Ogilvie, Luhmann, etc. the paper shows the Monte as a trustworthy institution of urban elites using professional personnel as well as a strict accounting system. This institutionalisation process was accompanied by a discourse led by Franciscan authors, thematizing a Christian economic ethics, and marginalising Jewish moneylenders. Thus, trust in the institution was not only based on its successful administration but also on religious aspects.

Keywords

Small-scale Credit; Trust; Monti di Pietà; Rome.

Introduction. - 1. *What’s in a name? The concept of trust.* - 2. *Case study: The Roman Monte.* - 2.1. *Personal trust vs. institutional trust.* - 2.1.1 *Trustworthy staff – trustworthy organisation.* - 2.1.2 *Tackling abuse and enhancing control.* - 2.1.3 *Emblems evoking trust.* - 2.2 *Trust and religious identity.* - 3. *Conclusion - Solidarity, Credit and Trust.* - 4. *References.* - 5. *Curriculum vitae.*

Introduction

According to the French historian and sociologist, Laurence Fontaine, the Middle Ages were a time of ‘under-institutionalisation’, meaning that society, and especially economy was characterized by a lack of institutions in the modern sense, offering stable and reliable information, norms and regulations. According to this view, people striving for credit relied much more on informal structures like family members, neighbours or other private persons, providing money in times of hardship or need. According to this narrative, trust must have been a crucial element to compensate this lack of institutional security. This paper will examine the sociological category of trust as a tool to study pre-modern credit relationships. Although this question is neither new for historians nor economists¹, it seems worth to put further historical cases to the test and scrutinize the role of trust regarding credit institutions of the past. This paper will tackle ‘trust and credit’ starting with three definitions or approaches: first, Niklas Luhmann’s definition of trust as a ‘means to reduce social complexity’ (Luhmann, 2014), as a ‘risky prior concession’; secondly, I will look at semantic dimensions of trust from a historical point of view using the work of Dorothea Weltecke (Weltecke, 2003, pp. 67-89), who asked if there was anything like trust in the Middle Ages at all and thirdly, Sheilagh Ogilvie’s categorization of four different types of trust in institutions (Ogilvie, 2004) will be put to the test regarding one late medieval credit institution: the Monti di Pietà.

¹ See for instance two programmatic works by Fontaine, 2008 and Muldrew, 1998.



Figure 1: Distribution of Monti di Pietà in Italy

Since the middle of the 15th century, poverty came into the focus of urban oligarchs who invented new solidarity mechanisms in cooperation with the order of St. Francis. This cooperation led to the development of pawn broking houses offering financial services in the form of small loans against pawns as well as deposits and money transfer. Poverty was regarded as a threat to social coherence and the *bonum commune* – thus the establishment of new welfare institutions – supplementing and enhancing the spectrum of social means to fight poverty became one of the main goals of civic politics in Italian cities.

The organisation and functioning of those institutions has been dealt with by numerous historians (Muzzarelli, 1994 e 2001; Avallone, 2001; Montanari, 1999)². The central questions of civic identity, exclusion and inclusion as well as the role of Christian faith and the lexicon and practices of small loans and microcredit will be tackled in this paper focusing on the Monte di Pietà of Rome as a case study. This article will present research results based on archival material from

² The only German study on this topic so far stems from Holzappel, 1903. The author of this article has just finished a monograph (Habilitation) on “Charitable Credit. Franciscan Economic Ethics, the Monti di Pietà and Social Politics in Italy (15th and 16th century)”. Most relevant work concerning the ideology/theology behind this development has been done Todeschini, 2009; for administrative practices Carboni - Muzzarelli, 2008. Literature in English is rare as well. See Terpstra - Carboni, 2012; Menning, 1993; Pullan, 1971.

the Roman Archivio di Stato (ASR) and the Vatican Archives (ASV). These sources (“libri mastri” pointing to the clientele and their financial interactions; documents of papal jurisdiction concerning the relationship between Jews and the Monti and the organisation of the institute) allow further insights into the working processes of an innovative financial institution – often referred to as an early public bank.

The elementary anthropological feature of trust will be focused on in depth in my paper. Hence, this article tries to link the topic of trust to the following aspects and will answer the following questions: Can we trace a long-term usage of the Monti as a proof of trust by its clients? And how, if ever, does social inclusion become visible in the sources? Secondly, dealing with Niklas Luhmann’s concept of “personal trust” vs. “trust in systems” (“Systemvertrauen”) (Luhmann, 2014, *passim*), we may ask whether any of these two types of trust was in the foreground in the medieval society or if both coexisted. According to the work of historians like Gabriela Signori who raised this question in her study on credit-related disputes in Basel visible in urban court books (Signori, 2015), a slow but steady shift from “interpersonal trust” to “institutional trust” becomes visible in the sources, more concretely in the emergence of a system of voluntary jurisdiction. Analogously, it seems worthwhile to ask if the Monti as an urban financial institution possibly did substitute interpersonal credit relations and what the emergence of a more formalised (or professionalised) credit system much less based on interpersonal trust meant for the existence of informal credit networks, supposedly based on trust and reputation of individuals.

Closely related to this is the question how trust was connected to religious identity, especially regarding the hotly debated subjects of usury and interest. Were Christian financial institutions lending money regarded as more trustworthy than their Jewish competitors? Here, I will refer to Giacomo Todeschini’s research on the development of a specific “Christian” economical lexicon comparing Christians and Jews as competing economic actors in the financial sector³.

Conclusively, this paper tries to answer the question, if an institution like the Monti di Pietà did really foster a new sense of solidarity and even a new definition of *bonum commune* (as concept of good and useful citizenship) among the inhabitants of late medieval and early modern towns.

³ Todeschini, 2008, in Toch, pp. 1-16; Todeschini, 2004, in McMichael - Myers, pp. 99-117.

1. What's in a name? The concept of trust

According to Niklas Luhmann, one of the most influential sociologists on medieval studies in Germany, trust is defined as a mean to “reduce complexity”, especially in a society dealing with a much higher level of contingency and insecurity, due to the lack of institutions of control and risk management (Luhmann, 2014). In his wide definition, the building of trust is closely connected to the (unknown, insecure and therefore overly complex) future. People try to deal with this uncertainty by establishing security (Luhmann, 2014, p. 13) with the help of trust. Although no security in the future can be formed, trust established in the respective present time, however, enables people to plan and create expectations. Hence, they gain a certain orientation-knowledge (Luhmann, 2014, p. 9 and 24). Beside the basic, everyday trust in people, Luhmann introduces the concepts of “trust in systems” or “institutional trust” (Luhmann, 2014, pp. 60-79, linking it to the evolution of more complex and differentiated societies. Thus, formalisation and coordination processes in institutions that emerged in the 15th -century Monti could be interpreted as ways to establish and enhance the trust of its clients. Trust, in short, means to better deal with contingency, complexity and insecurity. Of course, credit relations were always risky, hence, they were especially relying on reciprocal trust and confidence of the debtor as well as the creditor.

Other researchers, like Dorothea Weltecke reject (Weltecke, 2003, p. 76) the existence of ‘trust’ as a concept in the Middle Ages. However, she examines a number of similar concepts stemming from Roman law and thus is able to present the following semantic dimensions of trust:

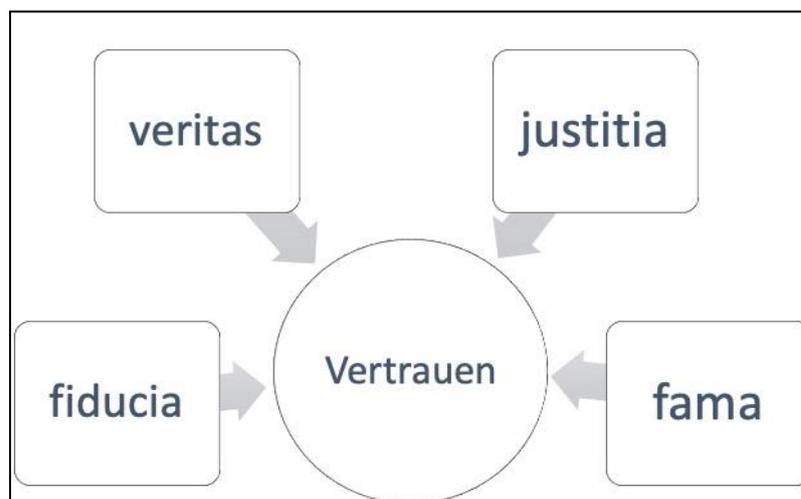


Fig. 2. Semantic dimensions of trust

In spite of the lack of a genuine medieval concept of trust, Roman law provided some terms related to the concept. *Fama* in the sense of a good reputation and reliability and moral integrity, was an important feature and maybe describes best what could be understood as trust in medieval times. The term *fides*, meaning credibility, steadfastness und respectability was a well-established ethical and political concept in the Roman and Medieval law. Being a concept of behaviour and political ideology, regulating social relationships of humans in asymmetric positions of power / in a status based society, it was at the core of ancient Roman legal thought. Further dimensions of *fiducia* (confidence or courage) become visible for instance in works of art relating trust to values like truthfulness or justice⁴. Connecting these ideas to the late medieval urban society, one could state that those in power would have to act according these well-known legal norms and consequently, would have tried to achieve both, a good *fama* (reputation, respectability) and *fides* (truthfulness, reliability) among its manifold groups of inhabitants, and especially those in need.

A third perspective on the role of trust in late medieval and early modern economy is provided by economic historians like Sheilagh Ogilvie. Generally speaking and from an economic point of view, the function of trust in economy was to help reducing transaction costs (Ogilvie 2004). Economic institutions like the Monti, of course, depended on the trust by their clients. Trust and social networks were closely intertwined in their creation of social capital, leading to a stabilisation of the society or common good by shared norms, improving the flow of information, sanctioning deviation and improving political action in pre-modern societies. Ogilvie introduced four categories of trust in her study on early modern guilds, that might be useful for the analysis of Monti di Pietà. She defines these four categories dealing with the level of “trust in people” and “trust in institutions”, while acknowledging that both are interlinked and overlapping. Concerning “trust in people” she differentiates between particularised trust and generalised trust:

Particularized trust depends on specific personal attributes or group affiliations of your transaction partner: you are willing to enter into a transaction because you either know your transaction partner personally or she is a member of a group whose other members you trust as a result of knowing their personal attributes. Generalized trust, by contrast, is a propensity to enter into transactions with all persons on an equal footing, even with strangers – people of whose

⁴ See Frevert, 2003, p. 15. Here the example of a tapestry Charles V. got as a wedding present in 1526.

personal characteristics or group affiliations you are ignorant (Ogilvie, 2004, p. 5).

Dealing with “trust in institutions” there are two types: “differential trust” and “uniform trust”:

Differential trust is a propensity to allow your transactions to be mediated by a particular institution because it can be trusted to enforce your particular rights and privileges. Thus, for instance, an early modern craftsman might have had a propensity to allow his transactions to be mediated by his guild because he trusted it to enforce his particular rights and entitlements as a guild member. Uniform trust, by contrast, is a propensity to allow your transactions to be mediated by an institution because it can be trusted to enforce anyone’s rights and privileges in an impartial way, regardless of personal attributes (Ibid.).

The constructive connection between the particular rights and privileges of any individual economic actor and a certain institution, like a guild, a pawn-broking house or a bank, seems crucial to the understanding of trust. By trusting the institution as well as its representatives, the individual customer, client or user creates a stable belief (“social capital”) in his own actions and the system. Having introduced the concept of trust as a propensity of late medieval economic actors in the context of credit relationships, we will now turn to the topic of the Monti di Pietà asking how trust was established between the Monti and its customers analysing the Roman Monte as one case study.

2. Case study: The Roman Monte

The Roman Monte was founded relatively late in 1539 by initiative of the Spanish Franciscan Francesco Quinones who became its protector. He was the leader of the Spanish Franciscans and confessor of Charles V., emperor of the Holy Roman German Empire and as Charles I, Spanish King – thus a rather prominent figure. During its first years of existence the Roman monte seems to have had had many problems due to the lack of capital. Although the institution was fused twice with two local hospitals (the Ospedale dei Boemi in 1546 and the fraternity of San Bernardo in 1551) in order to build up its basic capital, the Monte remained fragile throughout the first forty years of its existence. In 1584 this problem seemed finally solved by the act of pope Gregory XIII. who stated that all profits from legal and criminal cases over 5 scudi should from now belong to the Monte – thus securing its subsistence as a kind of state agency of the Vatican for the next 350 years. During the 1540s and 1550s the congregation worked on the statutes, and promulgated a first version

in the year 1565. The statutes were first printed in 1581, over 40 years after the Montes foundation⁵.

In this first part, the structure of the clientele will be analysed together with their usage of the Monte as a pawn-broking institution but also as a deposit bank in the second half of the 16th century. For considering the usage of the Monte in a long term perspective, we have to look at serial source material, which is available in the form of the main ledgers of the Monte's deposit business conducted since 1552⁶.

To answer the question of possible long-term usage of the Monte, we can consult the *libri mastri* which also include registers of customers' names. Although incomplete in the Roman case, the books show, that many clients used the Monte as deposit bank throughout the 1580s and 1590s. We can follow recurring names of family members as well. Family ties also become visible in the sources, for instance in the many cases of dowries deposited by fathers for their daughters to be withdrawn at the moment of marriage or at the age of 18. Hence, the Roman Monte also indirectly functioned as a fund for dowries (*Monte delle dote*). Husbands and wives operated together when it came to administer their money. Money was transferred between family members, for instance visible in withdrawals of savings by heirs of dead clients who appear as *eredi* in the sources. Looking at the core of the Monte's business in credit, namely the pawnbroking, we can see that between 1539 and 1584 lending transactions constantly rose from 729 in the first year to over 13.000 in the last year given by Federico Arcelli (Arcelli, 2003, p. 37). Interestingly, the average amount of small loans (1,5 scudi to 3 scudi) seems to have been stable.

Year(s)	Number of transactions	Average amount (sc.)	Total amount (sc.)
1539	729	1½	1093½
1540	2643	1½	3964½
1541-2	n/a	1½	n/a
1543	2869	1½	4303½

⁵ See the classical works by Tosi and Tamilia who also printed a range of documents: Tamilia, 1900; Tosi, 1937.

⁶ These books are readily available in the State Archive of Rome (henceforth [ASR]) under the Signature A.S.R. *Archivio del Sagro Monte di Pietà*, *Libri Mastri*, in contrast to the valuable material kept by the private archive of the Banca di Roma administered by the Fondazione Roma, whose doors remain unfortunately closed for historical research.

Year(s)	Number of transactions	Average amount (sc.)	Total amount (sc.)
1544-9	n/a	1½	n/a
1550	2943	1½	4414½
1551	3837	1½	5755½
1552-5	n/a	1½	n/a
1556	6576	1½	9864
1557-8	n/a	1½	n/a
1559	2437	1½	3655½
1560	3120	1½	4680
1561	3907	1½	5860½
1562	2478	1½	3717
1563	3614	1½	5421
1564	4450	1½	6675
1565	4782	1½	7173
1566	7266	1½	10,899
1567	7486	1½	11,229
1568	8257	1½	12,385½
1569	6842	1½	10,263
1570	6014	1½	9021
1571	6629	1½	9943½
1572	8584	1½	12,876
1573	12,705	2	25,410
1574	12,142	2	24,284
1575	12,898	2	25,796
1576	13,850	2	27,700
1577	13,176	2	26,352
1578	12,508	2	25,016
1579	14,111	2	28,222
1580	15,470	2	30,940
1581	13,749	2¾	37,809¾
1582	12,860	3	38,580
1583	14,351	3	43,053
1584	13,543	3	40,629
Total	256,826		Sc. 516,986 b. 25

Tab. 1: Estimate of the Monte's total lending activity, 1539-1584 (after Arcelli, 1999, p.37)

The Roman Monte's number of clients steadily rose since the foundation in 1539 according to the *libri mastri* and the account books for pawn-broking.

Those named in the account books on pawn-broking were of modest wealth and social background. Interestingly, most entries name the clients' profession, in this book we see for instance butchers (*macellaro*), barbers (*barbiere*), carriers of grain and wine (*portatore di grano*, *portatore di vigne*), bakers, grocers, physicans, salt measurers, millers as well as some names of Jewish clients, like Melunio Aronetto Hebreo⁷. Interestingly, other charitable institutions like hospitals, confraternities and monasteries and notably cardinals also belonged to the Monte's clients. This last aspect points to the changing structure of clientele in the 17th century, if we look at the deposit service.

A few decades after the establishment, not only the *paupers pinguores* but also rich people and institutions used the Monte as deposit bank and for pawn-broking. Although the sums emerging in the *libri* of the deposit bank were still rather small (seldom exceeding 50 scudi), the volume of money transferred sometimes was remarkably high. The 'libro de rincontro' of 1586 contains for instance an entry on a transferred sum of 1000 scudi by cardinal Aldobrandino on April 19, signed by the four provisors⁸. In May of the same year we find another entry of another 1000 scudi by the papal chamber⁹. August 13, the we see the 'Congregazione dell'oratorio della chiesa della Vallicella di Roma' depositing a sum of 5500 scudi with the Monte¹⁰.

What does this development imply for the understanding of charitable institutions? The Monti started as charitable pawn-broking houses providing short-term loans for the poorer inhabitants of the town. The struggle for survival due to the institutions' financial weakness often led to an extension of services (like dowry funds, deposit banking, direct debit services) to a wider clientele. They started as merely charitable institutes, but soon and in many cities became forerunners of public banks.

2.1. *Personal trust vs. institutional trust*

Using Niklas Luhmanns differentiation between "interpersonal trust" ("persönliches Vertrauen") and "institutional trust" ("Systemvertrauen"), the following question arises: Which type of trust can be considered dominant regarding the relationship between the Monti and its customers? Did the Monti substitute interpersonal, informal credit relations or did they coexist beside

⁷ ASR, *Archivio del Sagro Monte di Pietà*, Libro Mastro, 1584/95, fol.3.

⁸ ASR, *Archivio del Sagro Monte di Pietà*, Libro Mastro, no.51-c, fol. 39r.

⁹ ASR, *Archivio del Sagro Monte di Pietà*, Libro Mastro, no.51-c, fol. 46r.

¹⁰ ASR, *Archivio del Sagro Monte di Pietà*, Libro Mastro, no. 51-c, without number.

other institutions? Here we have to ask more generally how trust in credit relationships can be established.

Regarding this question we have to take into account three aspects: the role of bureaucracy visible in bookkeeping and the control of accounts, the expertise of its promoters forming the intellectual elite of their time and forerunners of a new political economy. Thirdly, trust in the institution was probably established by the administrators working there and running the everyday business. Those were the people who put the theory of poor relief provided by contemporary theologians and lawyers into practice. To sum up this hypotheses, the creation of trust was very likely connected to the process of professionalization and formalisation in the institution.

2.1.1 *Trustworthy staff - trustworthy organisation*

In establishing trust as social capital the Roman Monte's promoters acted in various ways and on different levels. Looking at the norms of organisation given in the Roman statutes, this becomes clear.¹¹ Nearly all of the 30 chapters show the striving for security and reliability in the administration. This includes the secret – and thus seemingly objective – election of the main officials by the drawing of lots from a *bussola*¹², the elaborate statements on double-entry bookkeeping and accounting on all functional levels¹³, as well as the characterisation of the lower officials, like the *stimatore* (who estimated the value of pawn objects), the *custode* (who took care of the pawns) or the *cassiere* (who kept the money and paid it out) as professionals. All of these men had to be highly reliable and knowledgeable experts, as the statutes claim repeatedly. The office of the *custode* who was responsible for the keeping of the pawns may be taken as an example here: The 19th chapter begins with the following statement: “Essendo di grande importanza l’ufficio del Custode delli pegni, che si porteranno al Monte, perche in esse consiste tutta la sicurezza, & custodia delli detti pegni, et nelle sue mani si ritrova tutto lo stato del Monte” (Arcelli, 1999 p. 106f).

¹¹ These are in the Vatican Archives (henceforth [ASV]), Bolle per diverse Militie di Cavalieri per diversi collegij di Roma, per il Monte di Pietà e per la Sancta Casa di Loreto, Armario IV, Tomo 22, pagg. 486-506. They were printed as facsimile by Arcelli, 1999. The first version from 1565 (Cod. Vatic. 6203, fol. 150-169) has been printed by Tamilia, 1900.

¹² See Chapter V of the statutes: Della elezione delli officiali, ed. Arcelli, fol. 3f.

¹³ See for instance chapters on the Provisori (VII), the segretario (XII), cassiere (XVI), computista (XVII), custode (XIX). Ibid.

Because the whole state of the monte (sic) relies on him, the congregation should apply utmost care who they elected for this office¹⁴. The employee should only be elected according to his obligation to his office, not out of any other external interests. He was expected to control all pawned objects regularly, i.e. if they were damaged or eaten by moths, every month during summer and every second month in the winter. He also had to carefully coordinate his bookkeeping

with the other officials, as is stated: “Tenga libro di rincontro col Computista del prestare, & libro di rincontro del riscuotere col Cassiero, & ogn’uno di loro sottoscriva il libro dell’altro”. The *custode* was also responsible for writing the yearly inventory listing all unredeemed pawns (Arcelli, 1999, p. 107).

The selling of unredeemed pawns required regulation as well, as is shown in chapter 24 of the statutes. If a pawn was still in the hands of the Montes’ *custos* after one year, it had to be sold in an auction. The selling of pawns should be publicly announced fifteen days in advance in various places within the city by a trumpeter. The estimators were held to be present at the auction to guarantee the correct evaluation of the price ((Arcelli, 1999, p. 106). To avoid any suspicion of fraud, the officials of the Monte themselves were strictly forbidden – under threat of losing their position – to buy any objects in the auction, neither for themselves nor for third persons¹⁵.

Every-day professionalism in running the Monte’s business secured the trust in the institution. Besides, the theologians promoting the foundation and establishment of a Monte were well-known and respected¹⁶, even famous preachers, and close to the city administration as councillors of the town oligarchs. Thus, trust in a personal network was working for the Monti. The administrators received “particularized” trust, i.e. trust in individuals of known attributes¹⁷.

¹⁴ Pero nella elettione di esso s’habbi ottima cura, & usisi diligenza senza respecto de favori, & intercessione di persone che sia: ma solo si attenda al servizio del Monte, provedendo parimente di personanon solo atta & da bene, ma anco c’habbia buona sicurtà di dar’ buon conto de pegni, etc. Arcelli, 1999, p. 107.

¹⁵ Et per evitare ogni sospetto di fraude, si ordnia, che gli Officiali & Ministri del Monte non possino offerire a pegni, ne comprarli, ne per se, ne per terza persona, sotto pena della privatione dell’officio, & di esser casso dalla Compagnia. Ibid., p. 113.

¹⁶ For the role of reputation and expertise in the Montes’ promoters see Skambraks, 2017, pp. 169-190.

¹⁷ Ogilvie, 2004, p. 5. She writes: “Particularized trust depends on specific personal attributes or group affiliations of your transaction partner: you are willing to enter into a transaction because you either know your transaction partner personally or she is a member of a group whose other members you trust as a result of knowing their personal attributes.”

Professionalism and trustworthiness were also created by the oath the administrators had to swear when entering their office. Other administrative mechanisms of control were installed, like for instance the audit of the accounts that took place once a month, respectively the committee that controlled everything once per year. Numerous articles of the statutes emphasise the necessity of careful bookkeeping¹⁸. Each specialised officer was obliged to keep his books accurately enabling a high degree of transparency concerning the available capital, the number and types of objects kept as well as the sums lent. The checking and double checking of the books on different hierarchical levels was essential for the creation of reliable information and thus helped to establish trust in the institution.

Beside this process of institutionalisation and professionalisation of working procedures and administration, the specific organisational structure of the Roman Monte itself shows that it was much more than just a pawn-broking institution. Being organised as a brotherhood (*confraternitas*) with strict rules of behaviour¹⁹, the members were bound within a social network based on equal trust and also “differential” trust in the institution. All members of the congregation were obliged to keep secrecy on the procedures and communication in the meetings²⁰.

Furthermore, symbolic communication and rituals, like the meal, burials and *memoria* helped to deepen and actualise common values within the organisation. Religious outlook and economic goals became intertwined. The Monti were trustworthy religious institutions, instead of maybe hard-to-trust private creditors.

The institution’s charitable character becomes obvious in chapters 22, 23 and 24 of the statutes dealing with pawn-broking, the keeping of the pawns and the selling of unredeemed pawns. Chapter 24 states that all surpluses from sold pawns should be given back to the former owner²¹. This care for the poor created by avoiding profit for the organisation itself, must be considered as another step towards the constitution of trust between the Monte and its clients.

¹⁸ See for instance chapter VIII on the *sindici*, Arcelli, 1999, p. 96f.; chapter X on the *depositarius*, p. 97f.; chapter XII on the *segretario*, p. 99f.; and of course on the *computista*, c. XVII, p. 105f.

¹⁹ Chapter 13 of the statutes regulates the order of the meetings, for instance concerning the hierarchical seating order of the members as well as the order of speaking, which prohibited interruptions and dispute. *Ibid*, p. 100f.

²⁰ “Si proibisce a ciascuno delli officiali sotto pena di esser casso dalla Compagnia, il rivelare a persona alcuna le cose che in Congregazione si trattano”. Arcelli, 1999, p. 102.

²¹ “(...) il sopravanzo oltre al Capitale d’esso sia e beneficio del padrone del pegno”, Arcelli, 1999, p. 112.

Even the taking of interest, officially allowed by Leo X. in the 5th Lateranum in 1515 remained a subject to debate in the Roman Monte. The overall impression is that most Monti still tried to avoid the taking of interest. If ever, then the sum should be used for the payment of the rent for the Monte's building and the wages of its officials.

2.1.2 Tackling abuse and enhancing control

The aforementioned statutes not only provide valuable information concerning the striving for trustworthiness by professional and reliable staff. The text also indirectly – and unsurprisingly – proves the frequent misuse of money by the administrators, who lent money to their peers, spent money for gambling and brothels and sold or kept the pawns secretly²². In the case of Rome, chapters added to the statutes in 1581 confirm the need to further clarify and enhance the rules of business. These regulations concern the following topics: the secret election of the members is regulated in more detail. All names of candidates not elected should be kept in the Monte's newly established archive in order to quickly find suitable substitutes in case one member should drop out. A more detailed regulation is also visible regarding the duties of the two *sindici*, who worked as judges. The most striking reform concerns the use of the "surplus" of Jewish moneylenders that the Monte claimed for itself²³. The Montes' *computista* should have an extra book in which all names and gains of Jewish moneylenders should be written²⁴.

On the one hand, this regulation proves the coexistence of Jewish and urban pawn-broking in Rome at the end of the 16th century. On the other hand, it clearly shows the Monte's anticipated leading role in the city's credit landscape as well as its intervention in one of its essential fields of economy.

Notably, the Monti did not take a leading role in micro-credit business in all Italian cities. In Venice the Council of the Ten even rejected the installation of a Monte in 1524 due to the lack of trust as one of its members wrote in his chronicle²⁵. Remarkably enough, the Venetians instead relied on the money from

²² For further examples see the article by Pinelli, 2012.

²³ Chapter XXVI: "Del modo di fare, et tenere conto delli sopravvanzi delli Hebrei, & della restitutione d'essi". Arcelli, 1999, pp. 115-117.

²⁴ Arcelli, 1999, p. 116: "(...) che il computista tenghi un libro grande intitolato Sopravanzi delli Hebrei, nel quale scriva per ordine, il tempo, nome, & cognome dell'Hebreo, & di chi hà impegnato, il danaro prestato, la valuta della vendita, & il sopravanzo in partite separate, & in modo distinte, che quando venira la parte per haver il sopravanzo, come si dira di sotto, possi fare in detto libro sotto la sua partita la quietanza."

²⁵ See (together with references) Pullan, 1971, p. 501f. Pullan speculates about the reason for the refusal: "There were still many doubts about the viability of Monti di Pietà, and about

Jewish moneylenders who obviously were considered trustworthy enough to provide credit to the community. This leads to the question of religious identity and trust, or the relationship between Christians and Jews in late the medieval society in general, which will be tackled in chapter 2.2.

2.1.3 *Emblems evoking trust*

Beside the aforementioned regulative aspects, the Franciscans established an elaborate visual programme that accompanied the installation of this new institution and might also have fostered trust. As Catherine Puglisi and William Barcham have shown in 2010 (Puglisi and Barcham, 2008, pp. 35-63), Franciscans and subsequently also the Monti used the distinctive motive of Jesus as the “Man of Sorrow” as an emblem of sufferance and pity to evoke identification with the poor, with the goal of fostering solidarity and charitable acts by the members of the urban community. The motive itself stems from the Byzantine tradition and was “imported” to Europe around 1260, where it was quickly received and flourished, especially among the Minorites in Venice (Puglisi and Barcham, 2008, p. 39). The “Man of Sorrow” did not only reach huge popularity among the members of the order of St. Francis, it consequently became a well-known funerary symbol of the urban elites, who became also responsible for the civic welfare ((Puglisi and Barcham, 2008, p. 44).

Consequently, this widespread motive became a part of many buildings of the Monti, for instance in Rome in the Via della carità, where it is still visible on the façade of the palace of the Monte (see figure 3). Besides, the emblem appears on covers of the Monti’s ledgers and in pictures like ‘Il pignoramento’ by Giovanni Battista Bertucci (1539-1614). The creation of new welfare institutions like the Monti di Pietà brought about the enhancement and embellishment of the ideology of caritas through trust-evoking images thematising the rise of the poor by empathy and compassion. A symbol of (Franciscan) piety thus became a leading symbol in the architecture of Italy’s cities and helped to foster trust by a clear depiction of the goals of the new institution.

their tendency to corruption and maladministration.” p. 502.



Fig. 3: 'Man of Sorrow' on the facade of the Roman Monte di Pietà

2.2 *Trust and religious identity*

In this last part of this paper the relationship between trust and religious identity will be analysed. How is trust connected to the question of religious identity? Were Christians regarded as more trustful than Jews? According to the polemic sermons of the Franciscans trying to establish the Monti in Italian cities, this was clearly the case. But looking at other sources like for instance papal tracts on freedoms for Jewish moneylenders in several cities, it becomes obvious that Jews were also considered trustworthy. The religious identity of a town community was crucial according to polemical works of Franciscan preachers who accentuated the Monti as pious works of good Christians in contrast to the usurious Jewish moneylenders who were in their eyes destroying the common good of the Christian community. The foundation charter of the Roman Monte, like those of many other cities, typically blames the Jewish moneylenders in this way, as can be seen in the charter by pope Paul III. from 9 September 1539.

(...) ut in eorum necessitatibus ad hebreos foeneratores, in eadem Urbe degentes, persaepe cogerentur habere recursum, ut ab eis, Pignoribus traditis, sub non lenibus usuris, pecunias mutuo reciperent, quias quidem pecunia postea, statuto termine reddere non volentes, Pignora perdebant, sicque paulatim ipsi Foeneratores eorum facultates extrauriebant, ac eos ad extreman inopiam, per usurariam pravitatem pertrahebant, aliquod remedium adiuvenire intentebant (...) (Tosi, 1937, p. 347).

This is one side of a sharp anti-Jewish discourse of the Franciscan order in the 15th century. However, sources from town officials and even some popes show that Jewish moneylenders were also regarded as valuable and helpful members of the towns. In theological tracts like *De foenore Iudaeorum* written by the Venetian Dominican Sisto de Medici in 1555, this vital economic role was underpinned by a crucial role in salvation history. Jews were saving Christians from usury, thus rescuing them from sin. Sisto writes:

Concluendum est igitur Principes Christianos, non solum posse permittere Iudaeis usuras: verum etiam statuta usurarum permissiva condere, & hoc propter vitandum maius malum, puta furta, &c. atque in populi sui commodum, atq; adeo totius civitatis utilitatem ac bonum²⁶.

While favouring the foundation of Monti di Pietà to fight poverty on the one hand, he describes Jewish presence as “necessary evil” to prevent poor Christians to fall into ruin by prostitution or robbery.²⁷ The role of Jewish moneylenders is – he argues – to limit social and moral damage to the Christians. Beside this preventive role, Sisto does not forget to postulate necessity to keep the Jews as moneylenders, since the Monti di Pietà were too weak to provide enough loans to people in need. He also emphasises that they would provide credits quicker and more discreetly. A letter from Sieneese inhabitants to the pope from the year 1489²⁸ confirms this finding. The supplicants wrote to pope Innocent VIII. pleading for the re-institution of the Jewish moneylenders, since the new established Monte di Pietà (founded in 1472) alone could not satisfy the city’s need for small loans²⁹.

²⁶ Sisto de’ Medici, *De foenore Iudaeorum libri tres*, Venetia 1555 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 978799 4 Jud. 20, Beibd. 1, fol. 50v. <<http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10163654-7>> [19.06.2017],

²⁷ *Ibi*, fol. 35r: “Quum igitur pauperibus opem ferre, nobiliores praeservare, quieti populorum consulere; de genere praecipuorum bonorum sint in civitate: In bonis autem, semper maius est expetendum (...).”

²⁸ Simonsohn, 1989, no. 1025 and 1110, p. 1295f. and p. 1392f.

²⁹ *Ibi*, p. 1392: “Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte officialium baillie civitatis Senensis petitio continebat quod, cum olim, ob imminentes necessitates, pauperibus in dicta civitate existentibus, aliqua ex parte, ex ordinatione Montis Pietatis facta, provisum fuisset, ac dictis officialibus, rei publice eiusdem civitatis curam habentibus, pro minori iactura civium, et aliorum, [maxime] pauperum, dicte civitatis, necesse fuisset ultra dictum Montem aliter providere, cum quibusdam Iudeis feneratoribus, ut in dicta civitate et Ilius comitatu fenus exercerent, pecunias sub moderatis usuris solitis mutuando, cum quibusdam pactis convenerunt, et inter cetera voluerunt et ordinaverunt quod, pro exactione tam sortis quam

The paradoxical view of Jewish moneylenders between usefulness and marginalisation marks the final point of a development mirrored in Christian polemical writings since the 12th century, as Giacomo Todeschini has analysed masterfully (Todeschini, in: Toch, 2008, pp. 1-16). The topic of the right faith became connected to the topic of righteous economic activity. The Jews as “infidels” were blamed as usurers only taking care of their growing wealth by taking high rates of interest. Three main points stand out in these arguments: Jews were regarded as enemies of Franciscan poverty. Secondly, they were debunked as inventors of the idea of legitimate lending against interest to foreigners according to Deuteronomium 23. And thirdly, usury as Jewish attribute and “form of live” was installed and narrated as counterpart of Christian credit, which served the common well-being. In the course of the 15th and 16th century Jewish moneylenders became more and more marginalised in the economic discourse.

Regarding economic practices, most towns still heavily relied on the money provided by Jewish creditors, who were granted several rights in return. One more example from the archives is a document with the title *Tolerancia* by pope Paul IV. from 5 June 1544³⁰ allowing several Jewish moneylenders from Rome to run banks. Furthermore, in November 1544 they were granted certain privileges and freedoms, for instance the right to work freely and without intervention by urban or church authorities. Nobody was allowed to claim forced loans from them, they did not have to wear the typical signs on their clothes and were allowed “free” bookkeeping (in Hebrew.)

Returning to the level of economic discourse, research by Giacomo Todeschini has shown that Christian authors created a specific lexicon also dealing with trust that emerged from the right faith. If the Franciscans were forerunners of a discourse on trust, is a question remaining to be analysed in future studies. The changing perception between the connection of “trust and religion” as well as “trust and business” seems a crucial element in late medieval theology since the 13th century.

Beside the discrimination of Jewish moneylenders, Christian economic activity in general itself became more valued throughout the later Middle Ages. Authors like Petrus Iohannis Olivi or Bernardino da Siena changed the perception of money, financial gain and business activities by Christian merchants. The investment and flow of money in the market became regarded as

usurarum, iudicem Christianum haberent, et quod ad illam restitutionem faciendam, dicti Iudei ab aliquo iudice, etiam ecclesiastico, compelli non possent, et ab omni molestia, que eis in preiudicium dictorum capitulorum inferretur, defendi deberent.”

³⁰ ASV, Cam. Apost., Arm. XXIX, vol. 135, fol. 19v-20v.

valuable for the common good. The Christian merchant as expert of prices and goods became a role model for the creation of common welfare. Todeschini even compared his role as lay counterpart of the religious missionary, fostering the *fidelium communitatis* in his own ways.

As theological tracts show, the image of merchants and businessmen changed from greedy and false individuals hoarding money to accumulate wealth, to valued and respected productive members of the late medieval urban community.

3. Conclusion - Solidarity, Credit and Trust

This paper tried to tackle the rather vague concept of trust and explore its usefulness as heuristic tool for the study of credit institutions like the Monti di Pietà. The starting point was the idea that in an under-institutionalized society trust naturally must be one main feature of credit relations. Thus, with the emergence of new public credit institutions new forms of trust and new ways of its enhancement must have been created. If and how this was done in the case of the Monti di Pietà, was the leading goal of this paper.

In the middle of the 15th century in Italy, a process of institutionalisation and formalisation of public credit and pawnbroking began, reaching its peak in the late 15th and early 16th century with the numerous foundations of the Monti di Pietà, an institution that provided small loans to the working poor (*pauperes pinguiores*) against pawn and in many cases also a small sum of interest. Urban oligarchs together with the Franciscan order were the founders and promoters of this credit institution. This institution was a huge success as the over 200 foundations until the middle of the 16th century prove.

Ruling elites defined the *bonum commune* as leading principle of late medieval economic politics. Old and new problems of the town community, like the lack of coin money, poverty, and recurring economic crisis created by diseases and war had to be solved. Money and credit were regarded as forceful elements in fostering the common good. The provision of productive and circulating money used for investments and consume was thus a main task. The Monti di Pietà as a Christian welfare organisation were established as results of this policy. They offered an organisational structure and know-how already known to the inhabitants. Theologians and Friars as well as politicians tried to create trust and confidence around this institution by detailed regulations and a distinctive visual programme. As we can learn from the elaborate statutes of the Roman Monte, the promoters tried to create their trustworthiness in very pragmatic ways, for instance by employing experts like goldsmiths or tailors as *stimatores* of

the pawns or introducing monthly audits. Most Monti were organised as confraternities, fostering social networks sharing a set of values and norms. Behind this the contemporary (Franciscan) experts of the theory on usury were backing the practice of interest-taking by an abundance of theological tracts on the righteousness of the Montes business practice. Rituals and symbolic communication were used in the process of trust-building by supporters of the Monte. Here we see a charitable institution in need of funding by the population, and its promoters creating an elaborate visual program around the motive of the 'pietà' or collecting funds during religious festivities and processions.

According to Laurence Fontaine trust kept pre-modern status based societies together. The Monti were one element of this late medieval social construct merging religious identification, caritas, economy and every-day life.

4. References

Archivio Secreto Vaticano (ASV), Cam. Apost., Arm. XXIX, vol. 135, fol. 19v–20v.

Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Archivio des Sagro Monte di Pietà, Libri Mastri, no.51-c .

Sisto de' Medici, *De foenore Iudaeorum libri tres*, Venetia 1555, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 978799 4 Jud. 20, Beibd. 1 <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10163654-7> [19.6.2017], fol. 50v.

Arcelli, Federico (2003) *Banking and Charity in XVI century Italy. The Holy Monte di Pietà of Rome (1539-84)*. Leicestershire: Upfront.

— (1999) *Gli statuti del 1581 del Sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma*. Roma: Rubbettino.

Avallone, Paola (ed.)(2001) *Il „povero“ va in Banca. I Monti di Pietà negli antichi stati Italiani (Secc. XV-XVIII)*. Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane (Storia economica del Mezzogiorno 13).

Carboni, Mauro - Muzzarelli, Maria Guiseppina (eds.) (2008) *I Conti dei Monti: Teoria e Pratica amministrativa nei Monti di Pietà fra medioevo ed Età Moderna*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Fontaine, Laurence (2008) *L'économie morale. Pauvreté, crédit et confiance dans l'Europe préindustrielle*. Paris: Gallimard.

- Holzapfel, Heribert (1903) *Die Anfänge der Montes Pietatis (1462–1515)*. München: Lentner (Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München).
- Luhmann, Niklas (2014) *Vertrauen. Ein Mechanismus der Reduktion sozialer Komplexität*. Konstanz - München: UTB.
- Menning, Carol Bresnahan (1993) *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Montanari, Daniele (a cura di) (1999) *Monti di Pietà e presenza ebraica in Italia (secoli XV-XVIII)*. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Muldrew, Craig (1998) *The Economy of Obligation. The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan (Early Modern History: Society and Culture).
- Muzzarelli, Maria Guiseppina (1994) *Banchi ebraici a Bologna nel XV secolo*. Bologna: Il Mulino (Collana di storia dell'economia e del credito, 2).
- (2001) *Il denaro e la salvezza: l'invenzione del Monte di Pietà*. Bologna: Il Mulino (Collana di storia dell'economia e del credito, 10).
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh (2004) 'The use and abuse of trust: social capital and its deployment by early modern guilds', *Cesifo working paper*, 1302, published online: <https://www.ifo.de/DocDL/cesifo1_wp1302.pdf> (1 April 2021)
- Pinelli, Paola (2012) 'Illegal' pawns for 'immoral' loans: testing the limits of the monti di pietà in late fifteenth-century Tuscany', in Terpstra - Carboni (eds.), *The Material Culture of Debt*, pp. 11-22.
- Puglisi, Catherine R. - Barcham, William L. (2008) 'Bernardino da Feltre, the Monte di Pietà and the Man of Sorrows: Activist, Microcredit and Logo', *Artibus et Historiae*, 29 (58), pp. 35-63.
- Pullan, Brian (1971) *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Signori, Gabriela (2015) *Schuldenwirtschaft. Konsumenten- und Hypothekarkredite im spätmittelalterlichen Basel*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Simonsohn, Shlomo (1989) *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents 1394-1464*. Toronto - Leiden: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (Studies and Texts 95).
- Skambraks, Tanja (2017) 'Expertise im Dienste der Caritas. Die Monti di Pietà zwischen gelehrtem Wissen und Erfahrungswissen' in Knäble, Philip - Füssel, Marian - Elsemann, Nina (eds.) *Wirtschaft und Wissen*.

Expertenkulturen und Märkte vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 169-190.

Tamilia, Donato (1900) *Il sacro monte di Pietà di Roma. Ricerche storiche e documenti inediti. Contributo alla storia della beneficenza e alla storia economica di Roma.* Roma: Forzani.

Terpstra, Nicholas - Carboni, Mauro (eds.) (2012) *The Material Culture of Debt.* Toronto: Iter Press (Renaissance and Reformation, Special Issue 35 (3)).

Todeschini, Giacomo (2009) *Franciscan Wealth: From Voluntary Poverty to Market Society.* New York: Franciscan Institute Publications.

— (2008) 'Christian Perceptions of Jewish Economic Activity in the Middle Ages', in Toch, Michael (ed.) *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden. Fragen und Einschätzungen.* München: DeGruyter Oldenbourg, pp. 1-16 (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, 71).

— (2004) 'Franciscan economics and Jews in the Middle Ages: from a theological to an economic lexicon', in McMichael, Steven J. - Myers, Susan (eds.) *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 99-117 (The Medieval Franciscans, 2).

Tosi, Mario (1937) *Il Sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma e le sue amministrazioni: il Banco die depositi, la Depositeria generale della R. Camera apostolica, al zecca, la depositatia Urbana (1539-1876).* Roma: Libreria dello Stato.

Weltecke, Dorothea (2003) 'Gab es Vertrauen im Mittelalter? Methodische Überlegungen', in Frevert, Ute (ed.), *Vertrauen. Historische Annäherungen.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 67-89.

5. Curriculum vitae

Tanja Skambraks studied Medieval History, English Literature and Communication Science in Dresden and Edinburgh. She got her PhD in 2014 with a thesis on the history of medieval ritual, theatre and liturgy. Since 2015 she is assistant professor at the chair for Medieval History at the University of Mannheim. Her second book is about "Charitable Credit: the Monti di Pietà, Franciscan Economic Ethics and Poor Relief in late medieval Italy (15th and 16th century)". Her research and publications focus on economic and social history, especially financial and banking history as well as methodology, material culture and the history of rituals.

© Copyright: Author(s).

Gli autori che pubblicano con *RiMe* conservano i diritti d'autore e concedono alla rivista il diritto di prima pubblicazione con i lavori contemporaneamente autorizzati ai sensi della

Authors who publish with *RiMe* retain copyright and grant the Journal right of first publication with the works simultaneously licensed under the terms of the

“Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial 4.0 International License”



Il presente volume è stato pubblicato online il 30 giugno 2021 in:

This volume has been published online on 30th June 2021 at:

<http://rime.cnr.it>

CNR - Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea
Via Giovanni Battista Tuveri, 128 - 09129 Cagliari (Italy).
Telefono | Telephone: +39 070403635 / 070403670.
Sito web | Website: www.isem.cnr.it

