Archival Tradition of Siena in the Middle Ages

KIM Jung-Ha

Introduction

Officially, the history of the public records management of Siena dates back to the early 13th century. In 1203, Bartolomeus Rinaldini who was 'Podestas Comunis Senarum', pointing out the carelessness of the public documents, ordered to provide appropriate measures to the Camerarius who was responsible for the Bicherna of Siena.1)

Incipit prologus instrumentarii comunis Senensis. Quod instrumentarium Barthalomeus Renaldini, tunc Senensis potestatis, invenit et componi mandavit[...]

Erant autem carte publice, que antiquitus Comune Senense receperat, insipienter et indiscrete in Biccherna Senarum, nulla de eis habita cura, quasi derelicte et multis ammissis, reliquas quas inveni fecit per discretos et fidos iudices et notarios cum laudabili camerario suo Raniero Bernardini, qui operam ibi exhibuit efficacem, usque ad finem operis perseverans, publice in hunc librum redigi et fideliter exemplari, et ipsis cartis separatis in firmum scrineum bene compositis eas deposuit in loco congruo firmiter custodiri, exemplatis prius per ordinem deligenter, sicut per inferiora.

In this citation, Rinaldini, concerning the administrative inefficiency and the erosion of regime authority, instructed to rediscover the lost public documents and put them into the document boxes('et ipsis cartis separatis in scrinium'), which were made of wood and leather. And then Rinaldini instructed to copy them to the book called Caleffus('in hunc librum redigi et fideliter exemplari'). The Camerarius who was responsible for Financial

1) ASS., Capitoli 1(CaleffusVetus), c. 1, 1203, ed. By G. Cecchini, "La legislazione archivistica del comune di Siena" in Archivio Storico Italiano, Siena 1956, II-III, p. 236.

Institution of Siena, was charged with it. Like today, it is exceptional that Financial Institution performed the task of the public records management, but it harmonized with the medieval tradition which regarded the public records as the symbol of power.

In fact, these public records, which were "carte publice que antiquitus Comune Senense receperat", rapresented the administrative one of current values and the evidence of the legal rights.

The administrative measure of 1203 reflected the intention that, in the case of necessity, rediscovered documents quickly ("expeditious rediscovery of the documents"). In other words, it aimed to improve the effectiveness of public administration. For this matter, the diverse public records arrangement system, duplication of documents as well as the classification of documents according to its administrative value and to the diverse technical elements, were introduced the colors and Latin alphabets (i. e. minuscule and maiuscule).

It is no exaggeration to say that the Middle Ages was the period in which the public records management was established. For the political power, the public records could be considered as the legal rights, symbols of evidential effect and political cause. Exceptionally, last Middle Ages was the period in which interest in historical and cultural value of public records was appeared. In addition to the case of Lorenzo Valla, chronologies written by the retired notaries were the proofs of its historical and cultural values.

The administration action in 1203 is equivalent to the important subjects in the Records and Archives Management of the Middle Ages. In my paper I would like to analyze the case of public records management 'comunis Senarum' in the context of its administrative value and its political sense, and its technical arrangement.

Public Documents, Political Power and the Administrative Efficiency

It is clear that the administration measure of 1203 was not respected. Because, in the 1205 the disorder of public records and the administrative inconvenience were repeated continuously.

Et quia contractus publicos quos antiquitus Comune Senense contrahendo receperat inveni principio mei regiminis male custoditos et indiscrete detenos...2)

In the citations above, 'carte publice' (1203) and the 'contractos publicos' (1205) could be interpreted in 'omnia et singular instrumenta publica et carte publice comunis Senarum', which substantially symbolized City-State's policy. And these public records were systematically managed by 'podestas', 'Camerarius', responsible for Biccherna, and its 'notarii et giudici'. Prof. Giovanni Cecchini said that these can be considered as the evidence that Biccherna was the responsible institution for the governmental records management. Actually the important public records of Comunis Senarum were preserved in main office of Biccherna, which was the sacristy in the Church of S. Cristoforo.3)

According to the 'Breve degli Ufficiali del Comune di Siena' enacted in 1250, the mission to preserve the public records and municipal 'sigillum' was transferred to Cancellarius form Camerarius. It was the result of institutional and political changes of 'comunis Senarum'. But the tradition that political power of this City-State has monopolized the public records was maintained as it was.

(public documents) debeant stare et reduce ad manus meas [of Cancellarius] omnia et singular instrumenta et carte publice comunis Senarum, cartularium eiusdem et sigillum comunis Senarum. Iuro diligenter et sine fraude custodire et salvare omnia predicta instrumenta, cartularium et sigillum Comunis que fuerint penes me⁴⁾

This was a kind of the collection of many legal provisions enacted in different times. It is not sure when exactly Cancellarius took charge of the public records management. Nonetheless, it is presumed that he was responsible for it in around 1236 according to the account book of Biccherna(the Book of incomings and out-goings).5)

²⁾ ASS., Capitoli 1, c. 2, 1205, ed. by G. Cecchini, "La legislazione archivistiva del Comune di Siena", in Archivio Storico Italiano, 1956, II-III, p. 236-237.

³⁾ G.I., Introduction, p. 4

⁴⁾ Cfr. Il Breve, p. 54

⁵⁾ ASS., Biccherna 12, c. 21V

Item X soldos Buonfilio notario, pro remuneratione pro sex dierum quibus stetit Cancellario ad inveniendas et rimandas cartas Comunis Senarum (Dic./1236);

Item X soldos Iohanni notario pro remuneratione novem dierum stetit cum Cancellario Comunis ad inveniendas cartas Comunis Senarum

Besides, the Cancellarius ordered to make the copy of the public documents 'de societate' that the podestas received. And also the Cancellarius ordered to leave the copy of all public letters in 'un libro apposite del Cancelleria' and Camerarius. Subsequently, paid the related charge according to the request of Podestas.⁶⁾

Actually, the public records of Cancellarium were concerned with the administrative and political activities of Comunis Senarum. For example contratti pubblici, lettere e registi of Podestas. And the public records managed by Camerarius of Biccherna were comprised of the documents of incomings and outgoings, public debits, criminal penalities. The Cancellarius was in care of the Sigillum, but its use was not permitted "nisi de mandato Potestatis vel Camerarii aut Iudicis comunis Senarum".7)

In the middle of 13th, Cancellarius was responsible for the public records management.⁸⁾ And the public records were situated in the 'Sagrestia noviter facta' of the church of Predicatori of S. Domenico in Camporegio. The 'Breve degli Ufficiali del Comune di Siena' provided that giudici, notaries of all offices and every government officials must transfer the public records produced during their term of office in the Cancellarium immediately following the end of his term.⁹⁾

Et ad manus eius [del Cancellarius] reduce omnia et singular instrumenta et carte publice comunis Senarum et cartularium eiusdem et sigillum comunis Senarum¹⁰)

⁶⁾ ASS., Statuti di Siena 2, ed by L. Zdekauer, Il Constituto del Comune di Siena del 1262, Milano 1897, p. 124.

⁷⁾ ASS., Statuti di Siena 2, p. 55(Dist. I, rubr. 23)

⁸⁾ ASS., Il Constituto, Dist. I, rubr. 316

⁹⁾ ASS., *Il Constituto*, Dist. I, rubr. 317: De libros et scripturis et actis comunis reassignandis in minibus can- cellarii: "[···] redder et reassignare in fine sui termini que habuerint vel facta fuerint tempore sui officii cancellario comunis Senarum"

Unlike previous cases, the article above mentioned regulated to force to transfer public records. It could be interpreted as the proof of the existence of 'Archivum Publicus Comunis Senarum'. According to the provision 321 of the Statute of 1262(Constitutum Comunis Senarum), Cancellarius accomplished a mission to retrieve continuously the lost public documents with the assistance of three 'sapientes viri'. And then the retrieved documents were classified under the criterion of importance, and some of those retrieved documents, which were considered as high administrative value were created its copy.11)

By the late 13^{th} century, the appearance of Government of Nine(1285-1355) was accompanied by many changes in the field of public records management. The most representative change was that the responsibility of the public record management was restored to the Biccherna.¹²⁾ The principle to force transferring public documents("de compellendis officialibus reassignare acta et libros Comunis") had remained intact, and the object of application of this principle was expanded to the notaries of all public offices.¹³⁾

The City Hall of Siena went under construction in the period between 1297 and 1310. In the City Hall situated in front of Piazza del Campo, was established 'Archivium Comunis Senarum' This Public Archive was the will of the rulers to monopolize current values of the public documents and maximized efficiency of an act of the State(administrative activity). The Expectation of Government of Nine for the administrative efficiency could be found also in the new provision that the public documents necessary for successor's task were excluded temporarily from the transfer targets¹⁴).

Salvo quod successors eorum possint tempore sui offitii tenere illas scripturas que necessarie fuerint pro eorum offitio exercendo

¹⁰⁾ ASS., Il Constituto, Dist. I, rubr. 316

¹¹⁾ ASS., Il Constituto, Dist. I, rubr. 323, p. 123

¹²⁾ Cfr. ASS., Statuti di Siena 4, c. 40v, 1293

³⁾ ASS., Statuti di Siena 5, Dist. I, cc. 6or-6ov; Statuti di Siena 7, c. 54v; ASS., Statuti di Siena 11, Dist. I, cc. 57v-58r; ASS., Biccherna 1, c. 51v; "Statutum et ordinatum est quod resignati omnes librorum actorum et scrioturarum fiende Comuni Senarum per quoscumque forenses officials deinceps fiant et fiery debeant in Bicchena comunis Snearum domino Camerario et saltem duobus ex quatour Provvisoribus dicti comunis solenniter cum inventariis debitatis" (ASS., Statuti 11, c. 374v).

¹⁴⁾ ASS., Statuti 7, c. 54v.

With the foundation of 'Archivium Comunis Senarum', the right to access to the documents was available to citizens. In the case of necessity they could have a copy of these documents. In the latter case, the effort to granted the 'Public confidence(Fides publica)' of public documents means that governmental authority play an important role in the social life of the city and its citizen.

Nevertheless, with the starting of this service, in case of public records, especially "in libros clavium condempnationum et bannorum comunis Senarum kept in Financial Institution(Biccherna)", frequently were committed 'multa mala'. Government of Nine permitted the access to the public documents only in the presence of one of two 'legales hominess' (custodians of Biccherna).

Prof. Giovanni Cecchini interpreted it as the results of the changes of the political background and social identity of Government. And these institutional charges coincide with political intention that Government of Nine try to exclude the influence of Podestas' from the public records management and to strengthen the institutional position of Concistoro, new political authority. And during the reign of Merchant Government, at least until just before the coming of the Black Death(1348), the name of Cancellarius was not publicly mentioned.¹⁵⁾

The public records produced before the Government of Nine was remained <u>on the religious institutions.</u> In 1335, part of the public records was transferred in Sacristy of the Church of San Francesco and was used for the administrative and political activity by the members of Concistoro.

Archival Arrangement 'Comunis Senarum'

In the Middle Ages, like today, the public records was defined as the instruments to reinforce the political power. For this reason, the City-State Authority tried it keep in organized state. Despite these efforts, also in Siena, disorder of public records and its counter-plan were repeated. And in this process, the technical solutions for the purpose of finding the public documents necessary easily and quickly for administrative activities were improved.

¹⁵⁾ Cfr. ASS., Statuti di Siena 31, c. 96; G. Cecchini, La legislazione archvistica, p. 248

The general technique for arranging the public documents experimented in 13-14th century was consist of classify simply the public documents in accordance with the concrete criteria and then put it to the interior spaces of the document boxes.

ipsis cartis separatis in firmum scrineum bene compositis eas deposuit in loco congruo firmiter custodiri¹⁶)

But this arrangement method was faced to the limit with the increased production of public documents. In case of Siena, between the end of the 13th and early 14th century, the more systematic arrangement method was introduced after that the public records(may be, of semi-current values) were transferred in sacristy of the 'San Domenico in Campreggio'.

As we see from the citation below, the interior of the document box was subdivided in several small spaces, sometimes there were nails stuck in the inside of the document box. This is confirmed through the traces of the small holes left behind in the documents preserved today in 'Archivio dello Stato di Siena'.

Le dette carte (che) sono apiccicate al primo agutello del soppedano¹⁷⁾ Sonno le dette carte et scritture apoccicate ala sponda dietro del ditto soppedano18)

And unlike the past, three colors(rubeus, albus, viridis) were applied to the leather or wooden document box.

Quesdam tasca rubea in qua est liber dicitur Caleffus de quo libro et eius foliis facta est mentio in principio huius libri et est dicta tasca signata del XIII119)

Quesdam bursa de corio albo signata del XXVIIII continebat et in ea reperta sunt instrumenta et iura comunis Senarum infrascripta videlicet²⁰⁾

¹⁶⁾ ASS., Capitoli 1(Caleffus vetus), c. 1r

¹⁷⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2546, c. 22r, 12, Mar. 1311

¹⁸⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2546, c. 25v, 31, agosto. 1311

¹⁹⁾ ASS., Capitoli 7, c. 95r

Decima <u>capsa viridis</u> signata del X continebat et in ea reperta sunt instrumenta et iura comunis Senarum infrascripta videlicet²¹⁾

The public documents situated in the Church of 'San Domenico' were classified by materials before put it in the document box of three colors. This arrangement method could be defined as the classification according to its subjects, contents mentioned and provenance.

In 1332(Feb. 14), 'Consilium Generalis' noting that the serious condition in which the public records were situated, took the decision to find the lost public documents and then to rearrange it. As a result, two criterions for its arrangement technique were introduced. The first is to classify the public documents, the second is the new criterion of 'utilitas comunis senensis'. The second is to subdivide it second the dates and the subjects. According to the repertory prepared at the time, were fabricated document boxes painted in colors that symbolize the importance levels of the public documents.

Que instrumenta registrata sunt et insinuate in novo Cartulario et Caleffo dicti comunis, et posita et collocate in novis saccis rubeis in archivio dicti comunis per numerous et crucem designates²²⁾

Est in tasca signata XVIIII cum cruce²³⁾

Extrasserunt de scrineo e unam tascham borgogno rubeo segnata de XVIIII cum cruce[...]²⁴⁾

Et alia instrumenta et iura minus utilia collocate sunt in alii saccis albis signatis per lictera alphabetii, conrespondentibus numeris et materiis supradictis²⁵⁾

Est in tasca signata O²⁶⁾

Et quamdam tascham albam signatam de R27)

²⁰⁾ ASS., *Capitoli* 7, c. 157r

²¹⁾ ASS., *Capitoli* 7, c. 66r

²²⁾ ASS., Capitoli 8, c. 1r

²³⁾ ASS., Capitoli 7, c. 133r

²⁴⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2562, c. 3r

²⁵⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2562, c. 1r

²⁶⁾ ASS., Capitoli 7, c. 150r

De quibus minus utilibus instrumentiis distinct apparet in alio libro de cartis bonbicinis in predicto archivio existenti, reliqua vero tam quam inutilia posita sunt in alio saccho giallo in eodem archivio collocate²⁸⁾

Est in tasca gialla²⁹⁾

The colors introduced were red, white and yellow, instead of green. And also alphabet capital letters for the documents box of each color and, to the documents in these boxes were utilized. In the reference to the archives existed in the Church of the San Francesco and in the 'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala' until to the 15-16th century, this arrangement method would have been used for a long time.

Est in tasca signata VII cum cruce signatum lictera BB30)

Besides, according to the Repertory(Inventarium sive Repertorium quorumdam instrumentorum repertorum in Cassaro civitatis Clusine) prepared in 141531), capital letters and minuscule and also Latin abbreviations documents, cross, 'orum' or 'arum' were introduced. Despite the new arrangements work, the organied state of the public documents did not persist. Access regulation of time does not limit the access to the documents in the public archive. The officials used to take the documents to their offices and after reference to the work, they did not recede it to the public archive. 32)

Molti scripture di nostro commune di grandissima importantia come e ne carte, previlegii et capitol et altre scripture, sieno in piu' et diversi luoghi et senza ordine et in luoghi pericolosi et da perdarsi, della qual cosa puo resultare danno et vergogna non pichola al commune nostro33)

²⁷⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2562, c. 4r(23, Lug. 1349)

²⁸⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2562, c. 1r

²⁹⁾ ASS., Capitoli 7, c. 150r

³⁰⁾ ASS., Capitoli 7, c. 50r

³¹⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2315.

³²⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2111, c. 197v: "si senta che molti notary sono stati rogati per li tempi passati di piu cose pertinent a l'utilita di nostro comuno et de dicti roghi non se ne truovi alcuna scriptura publica nel commune di Siena, perche per li decti notary non sono state scripte"

³³⁾ ASS., Consiglio generale 225, c. 299r; ASS., Concistoro 2567, c. 6r; ASS., Concistoro 513, c. 68v.

esso è descritto il contenuto di sole cinque tasche (A,B,M,O,S,)(33), mentre è intuibile l'esistenza di quelle segnate con le rimanenti lettere alfabetiche(34).

33. Il sistema ipotetica dell'ordinamento che viene costruito in base del inventario del Comune di Chiusi del 1415:

MATERIE. ARGOMENTI.

```
scrigni ----- A --- a,aa,aaa,aaaa,...
(tasche, o, sacchi) B b,bb,bbb,bbb,...
           C c,cc,ccc,cccc,...
           D d,dd, . . .
           E ....
           F ....
           G
           H -----a,aa,aaa,...
           I b,bb,bbb,...
           K
             c,cc,ccc,...
          L d,dd,ddd,...
          M
          N
          0
          P ----- a,aa,aaa,...
          Q
                 b,bb,bbb,...
          R
                 c,cc,ccc,...
          S
                 . . .
          T
                 Х, . .
          V
                 y
          X
          Y
              (et): segno in forma di
          Z
                (con,o,cum): abbreviature.
        ("et")
                     (orum,o,arum):
        ("cum")
        ("orum")
```

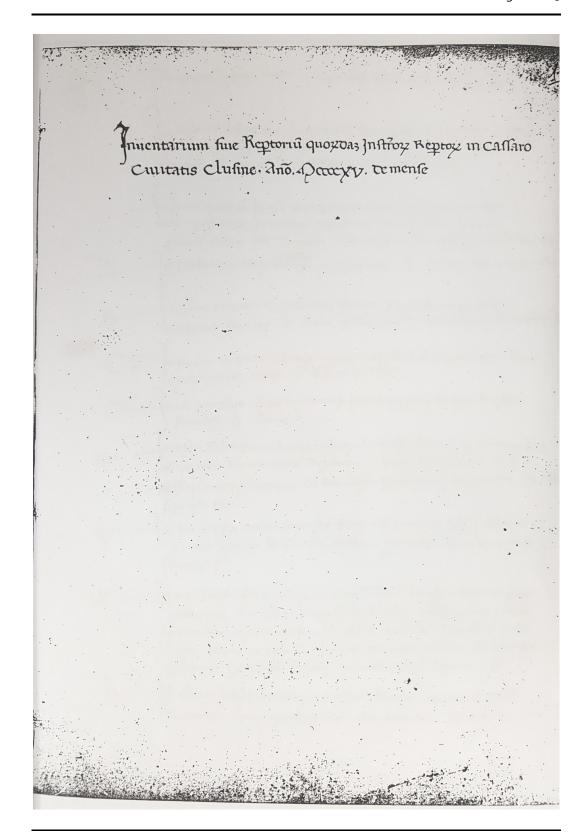
34. ASS, Concistoro 2315, c. 2r. Per esempio:

I) In quadam tasca signata .A.

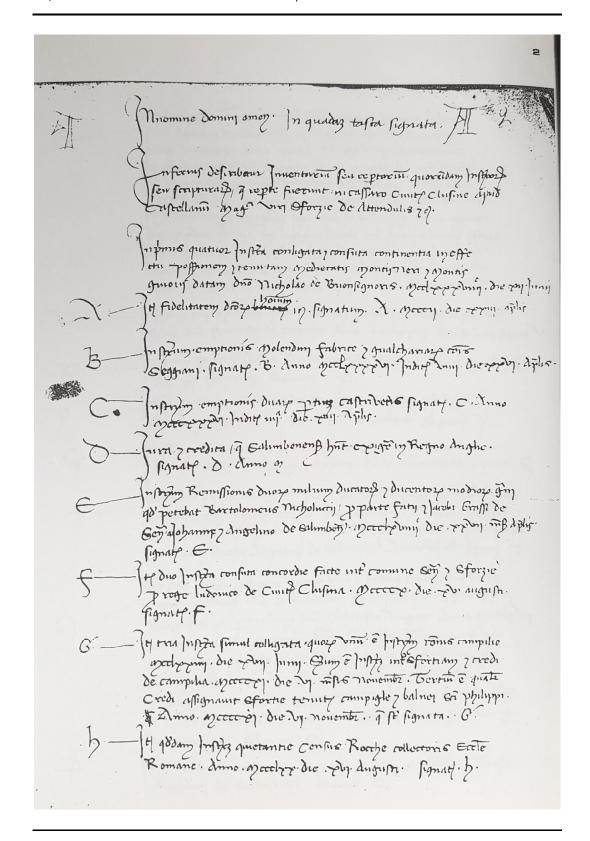
Inferius describetur inventarium seu repertoriumquorumdam infrascriptorum seu scripturarum que reperte fuerunt in Cassaro Covitatis Clusine apud Castellanum Magnifici viri Sforzie de attendulis et eius

2) In quadam tasca signata .S.

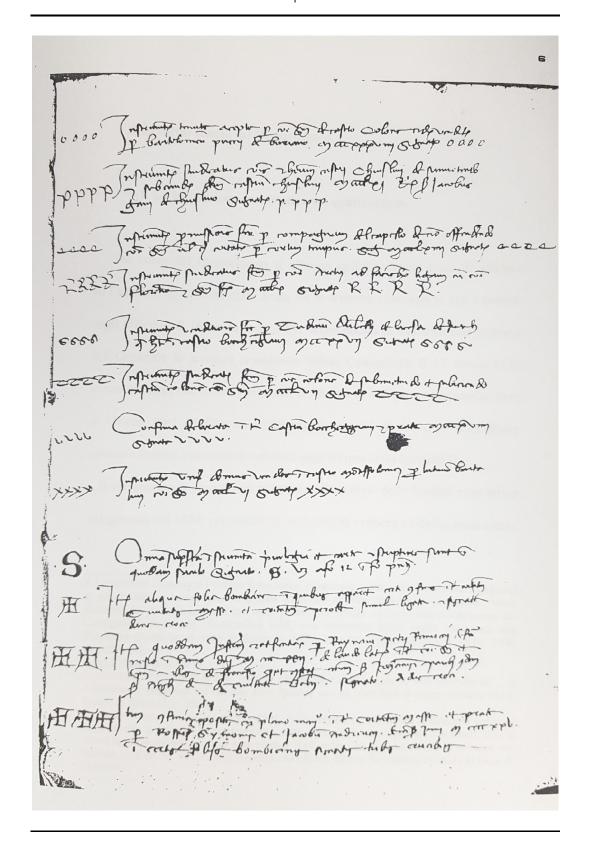
Omnia suprascripta instrumenta privilegia et carteet scripture sunt est in quodam saculo signato .S. videlicet a folio 12 in folio presente



The 9th Korean-Japanese Symposium on Medieval History of Europe



	4
; 22,	Jenn min prifram inque continentur due lauda Jone mandatum ; Patrificatio de laudam met Nicolaum de Buen signoris de Genes y Comune Beggiany. Anno nacroton die Gebruary Gignatif: D.D.
· ∈∈ ·	Jeon Adding comprission ent drain Brancinany y Cione d'Galimberg Limo. Mecchogo. Se mempe derembre. Signatif. EE.
55	tem politim proposition debiti a Johannes of new de montepoliste teneture transfelmo de Calimber J. de Gor Imo merchanyony. de mire february. Signatt. of.
.66:	Trong Impresente quertenonis frete po dring Jacobis d'aponte politimo de Argelino de Salmiber de politico franj. Armo apartedos. de arento August. 66.
プ あー	H 18 dans Infram bendist facte p comune Seggian; Baron, Stefan; de Seggiano de shquibus reduse Armo. nechopy fon. de monte mais Bignast. Db.
3.3-	To godam landum lating int dram Bunting & Cionen Smidy
.kk-	It Infram peur frete p dingehnun de Balmber cunta
ff	Jet adam Inform mouo contractive quate comme Ripe nichil Debot policie comuni Scrazz. Inno aschosom. de monte Jamarij. Signatif. LL.
· 9 · 27	It go Intrium peur Tofi de Enhanbert in mariano Bons. de petroso. Imo. Machanyan. de morany. Sugnat. 19.10.
nn:	Jet Addam Interdum inque deferte fint Affectuary zonstary hominum de Roccha. Anno. Mocchob. De Monse May. Bignati. NT.
,00	H q8dam Infreumt f quetantie frite cui de lignone de quadam prist den j grang p dnam gargaretam filam don Benury De Salimber. Anno naccoppoun de mis nouele. Signad. 00.



Even in 1475, new criterion for arrangement method was introduced. First, for the arrangement work were limited to the documents of Concistoro, especially documents produced not more than 60 years ago.34) The criterion of 60 years could be estimated as the limit of administrative value(current value and semi-current value). Secondly, Balzana(Emblem of Capitanus populi), Leone(Emblem of Populus) and Lupa(Emblem of Siena Commune) were newly introduced to identify the documents box.35) Thirdly, the compilation of the repertory, called 'Thesauretto'. The index of this repertory was organized into the three parts: 'Repertorio dela tascha della Balzana' for 'Bolle ed i Privilegi'; 'Repertorio dela tascha del Leone' for 'Filze e le scripture di compra e vendita'; 'Repertorio dela tascha dela Lupa' for 'Brevi, lettere ed altre simili scritture importanti'.

It is not sure that when exactly this arrangement method was introduced in Siena. But this was already utilized in the 15th century, in the metropolitan cities of Italian peninsula, especially for the public records stored in Castel S. Angelo of Vatican(Sistus IV, 1471-1484).36)

Item ridurre li libri et scripture del Vostro Comune ordinate a modo di archivio honorevole come in Roma et altre magnifiche citta, distribuendole di tempo in tempo con le mostre et segnacoli di fuore con le lettere maiuscole

Conclusion

It is possible to say that the public records management was institutionalized in the Middle Ages. In Italy the archival policy for maintaining or improving the administrative efficiency was implemented widely during the medieval times.

³⁴⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2567, c. 7r: "le decte scripture maxime da anni sessanta in qua o piu' come parra' expediente dicte sieno vedute et examinate"

³⁵⁾ ASS., Concistoro 2567, c. 7r: "dal canto di fuore sia dipenta la Balzana, nel altra el Leone et nel altra la Lupa o altre insigne come paresse". And ASS., Consiglio generale 236, c. 1921.

³⁶⁾ ASS., Consiglio generale 242, c. 56r; Simeone Duca, Archivistiva Ecclesiastica, Citta' di Vaticano, 1967, p. 152; Gino Badini, Archivi e Chiesa, Lineamenti di archivistica ecclesiastica e religiosa, Patrono Editore, Bologna 1984, p. 44

Despite the Middle Age, as today, the administrative efficiency was one of the powerful political tools. Sometimes this could be more effective than the military powers or diplomatic alliances with outside forces. During the Regime of the Nine Governors and Defenders of the Commune and People of Siena, this City-State enjoyed a period of peace. The Nine Governors was remarkably well informed that the effectiveness of public administration could be realized by the archival policy to keep the public records in organized state. And also they knew that this provided (granted) to their government the political stability of the city. It had nothing to do with the feudal social structure and feudal governance of the Middle Ages.

The principal criterion for classifying the public documents was 'Utilitas comunis Senarum'. In fact, this means the administrative values. The colors[for example Rubeus (Red color), Albus(White color), Viridis(Green color) 그리고 Giallo(Yellow color)] were used to indicate the degree of Utility for the administration: Red, class of prime importance, White of more importance and Green of less importance and the Yellow, not important.