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**BUILDING A CITY.  
SPACES AND REAL ESTATE DYNAMICS IN ROME IN THE XV  
CENTURY**

“The complexity of events in the historical development of urban spaces calls for an inquiry into the various aspects specific to the single cities, starting from a series of local analyses”.<sup>1</sup> Alberto Grohmann notes that “the socio-economic foundation is a necessary element to begin to cast light on how mercantile, financial and real estate fortunes are made. Economic analysis cannot be separated from the political and institutional one, or structural analysis from the supra-structural one, if we want to have a clear idea of how the economic system came into existence and how it evolved”.<sup>2</sup>

The commodity that fosters trade, that standardizes transactions and makes it possible for values to travel across time and space, and for accumulation to take place, is money and its substitutes. As noted by Ciro Manca “if this money is intended for productive uses, if it can be perceived as readily convertible into capital goods capable of activating a production process, then it is capital in and of itself, or in Marxian terms “potential capital””.<sup>3</sup> This leads to the consideration that certain European milieus in the late Middle Ages might have witnessed the birth of a commercial capitalism system where “while the mode of capitalist production and monetary economy are certainly not one and the same, there is no question that money plays a leading role”.<sup>4</sup>

The city and its market

whether they are a space generating international trade or an area for artisan and manufacturing production, whether they are a natural place for banks or a magnet for farm produce, are the hotbeds of wealth formation and distribution.<sup>5</sup>

As they were essentially the seat of political power, bureaucracies and landed nobility, modern-age cities, at least in the counter-reformation area, underwent profound spatial changes, removing that apparently spontaneous and multifaceted character that had marked medieval cities. New urban spaces

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<sup>1</sup> A. GROHMANN, *Spazio urbano e organizzazione economica nell'Europa medievale. Introduzione e problemi di metodo*, in *Spazio urbano e organizzazione economica nell'Europa medievale, Proceedings of Session C23 Eleventh International Economic History Congress* (Milan, 12-16 September 1994) edited by A. Grohmann, Napoli, ESI, 1994, p. 17; by the same author, *Lo spazio economico della città europea*, in *L'ideologia della città europea dall'Umanesimo al Rinascimento*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 1993, pp. 27-45.

<sup>2</sup> A. GROHMANN, *Spazio urbano*,... op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> C. MANCA, *Introduzione alla storia dei sistemi economici in Europa dal feudalesimo al capitalismo*, Padova, Cedam, 1987, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> A. GROHMANN, *Spazio urbano*, ... cit., p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem* 25. These concepts are reiterated in a recent article by P. SAVONA, *Il problema delle città: Less Aesthetics, More Ethics*, in “Economia Italiana”, 1, (2002), pp. 11-28, p. 12.

came into being after deep restructuring, adapting their pre-existing forms, types and structures to the demands of the ritual scenography of power.<sup>6</sup>

As underscored by Luciano Palermo, the urban configuration of Rome in the low Middle Ages, that is of the city that accompanied the formation and economic and political growth of the commonality, took shape in a phase of economic development that began in the twelfth century and continued throughout the following. As in many other Italian areas at the time of the commercial revolution, in Rome the conditions for the city's economic development were being created.<sup>7</sup>

According to Palermo

Development in the fifteenth century paralleled a series of further changes that occurred in the organization of urban spaces. Specifically, the property market was strengthened by the progressive increase in the number of residents, but was aided also by the differentiation in value of buildings and intramural spaces as well as the appearance of an urban rent very close to a differential rent model.<sup>8</sup>

In economic terms, one of the aspects closely related to the use of urban spaces is the relationship between such spaces and the market for land and the edifices erected thereupon.

In fact, when the focus is shifted to urban space, this clearly becomes a “valuable commodity, and a largely scarce one at that, as it happens when the analysis is centered on “land” as a factor of production”<sup>9</sup>: this commodity has a value in use and a value in exchange (i.e. the price at which it is transferred, bought, sold and rented).<sup>10</sup>

How the market for the edifice operates is a function of the reasons and objectives of the seller and the buyer. Besides, as pointed out by Vittorio Franchetti Pardo, the return of the papal seat triggered a speculative process in Rome, which was particularly evident in the Ponte and Parione areas, that is in the places closest to the Vatican.<sup>11</sup>

A substantial amount of documents shows that during the Renaissance Rome experienced an expansion that embraced many aspects of its economic life. Such

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem* p. 27. Cfr. M. BERENGO, *L'Europa*, cit., specifically pp. 3-38; S.R. EPSTEIN, *Nuevas aproximaciones a la historia urbana de Italia: el renacimiento temprano*, “Hispania”, LVIII/2 (1998), pp. 417-438.

<sup>7</sup> L. PALERMO, *Sviluppo economico e organizzazione degli spazi urbani a Roma nel primo rinascimento*, in *Spazio urbano*, ...op. cit., pp. 418-419.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem* p. 427. Marx says that: “Wherever rent exists at all, differential rent appears at all times, and is governed by the same laws as agricultural differential rent.... Adam Smith has set forth, as concerns land for building purposes, that the basis of its rent, like that of all non-agricultural land, is regulated by agricultural rent proper” (C. MARX, *Il Capitale*, Volume III, edited by Maria Luisa Boggeri, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1994, p. 883, e pp. 884-892); English version <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1894-c3/ch46.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> L. PALERMO, *Sviluppo economico e organizzazione degli spazi urbani a Roma nel primo rinascimento*, in *Spazio urbano*, ...op. cit., p. 415.

<sup>10</sup> Ciro Manca (*op. cit.*, p. 23) provides an accurate definition of exchange, which is one of the five components of the architecture of an economic system, involving the simultaneous transfer of valuable consideration for the purchase of goods, including money.

<sup>11</sup> V. FRANCHETTI PARDO, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Dal Trecento al Quattrocento*, Roma-Bari, Editori Laterza, 1994 p. 105.

important phase in the city's life, which began as early as the late XIV century,<sup>12</sup> was not without internal conflicts of different types, as indicated by the studies of Arnold Esch and Massimo Miglio.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the rising trend of performance indicators helped Rome to shake off its traditional image of an economically "inactive"<sup>14</sup> city, benefiting from the presence of a papal court, and the inflows and permanence of the pilgrims that this attracted, while consuming only goods and services produced elsewhere.

Esh states that papal Rome is "productive", assigning to this term a broader meaning:

It produces power, it produces dominion over the souls of the entire Christian world, it produces papal privileges, benefits, indulgences and all this has obvious economic implications!<sup>15</sup>

Thus, as already mentioned, starting in the last decades of the XIV century, the new papal elites that came to Rome, after the Avignonese period, began reorganizing the city's market so as to include it in an integrated system "featuring enlarged geographical boundaries and much more significant enrichment opportunities".<sup>16</sup>

Between the end of the XIV century and the beginning of the XVI, the number of residents nearly trebled and "what's more, this growth was very peculiar, in the sense that the increasing number of well-to-do immigrants and foreign papal courtiers boosted demand for fine goods".<sup>17</sup> All this reflected on imports and exports, which came to play a growing financial and economic role because of the increasingly strict controls to which they were subjected due to customs duties.<sup>18</sup>

To this end, Esch suggests that, in 1376, decadence began to set in among the Roman ruling elites, as these came to be squeezed between the institutional and political

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. L. PALERMO, *Sviluppo economico*, ... op. cit., p. 427; E. DUPRÉ-THESEIDER, *Roma dal Comune di popolo alla Signoria pontificia (1252-1377)*, "Storia di Roma", vol. XI, Bologna, Istituto di Studi Romani, 1952; A. ESCH, *Bonifaz IX. und der Kirchenstaat*, Tübingen 1969.

<sup>13</sup> A. ESCH, *Bonifaz IX*, ... cit.; ID., *La fine del libero comune di Roma nel giudizio dei mercanti fiorentini. Lettere romane degli anni 1395-1398 nell'Archivio Datini*, in "Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano", 86 (1976-77), pp. 235-277; M. MIGLIO, "Viva la libertà et popolo de Roma". *Oratoria e politica: Stefano Porcari*, in ID., *Scritture, scrittori e storia*, vol. II, *Città e corte a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Manziana 1993; ID., *Il ritorno a Roma. Varianti di una costante nella tradizione dell'Antico: le scelte pontificie*, in ID., *Scritture, scrittori e storia*, vol. II, pp. 139-148.

<sup>14</sup> A. ESCH (*Roma come centro di importazioni nella seconda metà del Quattrocento ed il peso economico del papato*, in *Roma capitale (1447-1527)*, S. Miniato (Pisa), Pacini 1994, pp. 105-143, p. 108).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> L. PALERMO, *Un modello di sviluppo per la Roma rinascimentale*, in L. Palermo, *Sviluppo economico e società preindustriali. Cicli, strutture e congiunture in Europa dal medioevo alla prima età moderna*, Roma, Viella, 1997, p. 355.

<sup>17</sup> L. PALERMO, *Sviluppo economico*, cit., p. 433; cf. also A. ESPOSITO, "...La minor parte di questo popolo sono i romani", *considerazioni sulla presenza dei "forenses" nella Roma del Rinascimento*, in "Effetto Roma", 3, *Romababilonia*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Roma, Bulzoni, 1993, p. 41 et seq. On the characteristics of the relationship between economic development and demographic expansion in Renaissance Rome, see, still by L. PALERMO, *Espansione demografica e sviluppo economico a Roma nel Rinascimento*, in *Popolazione e società a Roma dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, edited by Eugenio Sonnino, Roma, Editrice il Calamo, 1998, especially pp. 301-308).

<sup>18</sup> A. ESCH, *Le importazioni nella Roma*, ... op. cit., in *Aspetti della vita ... op. cit.*.

dominance of the pope and the economic aggressiveness of Tuscans, especially Florentines.<sup>19</sup> This process was confirmed precisely by documentary sources related, in particular, to the administration of river customs. In fact, trade was such, especially during the last two decades of the century, that the port became the tool used by merchant and banking groups from central and northern Italy to penetrate the Roman market.<sup>20</sup>

In 1399, Boniface IX put finally an end to the communal autonomy of the city by installing a papal lordship with the support of Florentine capitalists. In fact, in the decades of the Schism, the European credit market underwent a restructuring that hampered in part the city's expansion but the flow of financing provided by Tuscan merchants and bankers continued.<sup>21</sup>

While development in the XV century was linked to the movements of the Curia, it did not imply lack of initiative because this was a situation common to many Italian cities in the Renaissance, which utilized rent generated by political opportunities to bolster their ability to produce and consume.<sup>22</sup>

With the return to Rome, specifically after the return of Pope Eugene IV from Florence to Rome in 1443, the papal court ended its wanderings and the active and constant presence of pontiffs, the Roman clergy and lay courtiers encouraged a reorganization of the urban spaces and, more generally, the city's entire architecture.<sup>23</sup> But perhaps it might be more appropriate to draw a distinction "in terms of economic means or potentiality"<sup>24</sup> between local operators - cattle-raising land-owning noblemen, known as *bobacterii*, and traders (*mercatores*)<sup>25</sup> - and operators from out of town, who were brought in by the papal curia. Many bankers with connections at the papal court utilized their position to carry out larger financial and business transactions, both to raise money to meet the needs of the papal court and to gain direct control over specific markets, thus becoming full-fledged participant in trade activities. In this respect, bankers accredited with Rome's court often doubled as merchants, giving rise to a vast and varied movement of goods. Thus, also the most important of the pope's bankers took advantage of their position to engage heavily in trade, a function that Florentine

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<sup>19</sup> A. ESCH, *Dal Medioevo al Rinascimento: uomini a Roma dal 1350 al 1450*, in "Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria", 94, (1971), pp. 8-9.

<sup>20</sup> L. PALERMO, *Il porto di Roma nel XIV e XV secolo. Strutture socio-economiche e statuti*, Istituto di Studi Romani, Roma 1979, pp. 102-103.

<sup>21</sup> L. PALERMO, *Sviluppo economico, ... op. cit.*, p. 427.

<sup>22</sup> L. PALERMO, *Un modello di sviluppo, ... op. cit.*, pp. 389-390.

<sup>23</sup> I. INSOLERA, *Roma. Immagini e realtà dal X al XX secolo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza 1996, pp. 24-50; C.F. FROMMEL, *Roma*, in *Architettura del Quattrocento*, edited by P. Fiore, Milano Electa 1999, pp. 374-433.

<sup>24</sup> L. PALERMO, *Un modello di sviluppo, ... op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>25</sup> M. TAFURI, "Roma instaurata". *Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo '500*, in *Raffaello architetto*, di C.L. Frommel - S. Ray - M. Tafuri, Milano, Electa Editrice 1984, pp. 59-107, p. 59. On the characteristics of Roman *bobacterii* and traders see C. GENNARO, *Mercanti e bovattieri nella Roma della seconda metà del Trecento (Da una ricerca su registri notarili)*, in "Bullettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Murattiano", 78 (1967), pp. 155-203. Furthermore, on the changes introduced by these operators to the city's manufacturing and trade structures see L. PALERMO, *Il porto di Roma, ...cit.*, pp. 43-51; ID., *Mercati del grano a Roma tra medioevo e rinascimento*, vol. I, *Il mercato distrettuale del grano in età comunale*, Roma, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1990, especially pp. 122-133 and the substantial bibliography. See also A. MODIGLIANI, "Li nobili huomini di Roma": *comportamenti economici e scelte professionali*, in *Roma capitale, ...op. cit.*, pp. 345-372.

bankers had begun to fulfill since the latter part of the XIV century. This financial and trade pattern was not linked to Rome as a city but as seat of the papal court. In fact, when this moved from the city, the merchant bankers followed it, weaving a web of international relationships along the way. For this reason they were called *Romanam Curiam sequentes* (followers of the Roman curia).<sup>26</sup>

When they came to Rome to take advantage of the opportunities made available by the court, Tuscan merchant bankers went to live in local neighborhoods, changing the economic and symbolic hierarchies of their intramural spaces, utilized the port, paid import-export duties to officials. All this resulted in an integrated and complex system where every part was instrumental to the whole. Thus, a market model came into being which reflected the growing power of the curia over a city “that, on the other hand, became increasingly aware of its high role as center of Christianity (the pilgrims’ destination was Rome not the papal court) and its transformation into the capital of the popes’ regional state”.<sup>27</sup> However, economic phenomena and “urban strategies” are closely related and act directly on the use of the intramural spaces.<sup>28</sup> In general, all this created the conditions which eventually caused house prices and rentals to rise in real terms, as shown by Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro,<sup>29</sup> with consequences for the levels of rents.

For instance, based also on data available in the study on “gabella dei contratti” (“tax on contracts”)<sup>30</sup>, starting with Nicholas V, papal governments began to encourage Roman prelates and capitalists to make significant investments

<sup>26</sup> Among the vast bibliography, see in particular: R. DE ROOVER, *Il banco Medici. Dalle origini al declino (1397-1494)*, Firenze, “La Nuova Italia” Editrice 1970; M. CASSANDRO, *I banchieri pontifici nel XV secolo*, in *Roma capitale*, ... cit., pp. 207-234; L. PALERMO, *Banchi privati e finanze pubbliche nella Roma del primo rinascimento*, in *Banchi pubblici, banchi privati e monti di pietà nell'Europa preindustriale. Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economici*, Proceedings of the Conference - Genova, 1-6 ottobre 1990, Genova, Società Ligure di Storia Patria 1991, vol. I, p. 435; still from the same author, cf. *Capitali pubblici e investimenti privati nell'amministrazione finanziaria della città di Roma all'epoca di Martino V*, in *Alle origini della nuova Roma. Martino V (1417-1431)*, edited by – G. D'Alessandro – P. Piacentini – C. Ranieri, Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medioevo 1992, (Nuovi Studi Storici 20), pp. 501-535; *La finanza pontificia e il banchiere “depositario” nel primo Quattrocento*, in *Studi in onore di Ciro Manca*, edited by D. Strangio, Padova, Cedam 2000, pp. 349-378. On the transformation of the city of Rome in the middle ages see P. PAVAN, *I fondamenti del potere: la legislazione statutaria del comune di Roma dal XV secolo alla Restaurazione*, in “Roma moderna e contemporanea” IV, 2, (1996), pp. 317-335.

<sup>27</sup> L. PALERMO, *Un modello di sviluppo*, ... op. cit., p. 354.

<sup>28</sup> M. TAFURI, “Roma instaurata”, ...op. cit., pp. 59 e 64. To this end, cf. also the methodological remarks by V. FRANCHETTI PARDO, *Storia dell'urbanistica*, ... op. cit.

<sup>29</sup> M. VAQUERO PIÑEIRO, *Il mercato immobiliare*, in *Alle origini della nuova Roma*, ... cit., p. 555 e sgg; ID., *La renta y las casas. El patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVII*, Roma, “L'Erma” di BRETSCHNEIDER, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> This was a tax levied in proportion to the proceeds from the sale of a house, a vineyard, a building or a plot of land. The tax was due by both buyer and seller, each paying half. The amount due could be paid in a lump sum or, as often allowed, in installments. (In The State Archive of Rome - Archivio di Stato di Roma, hereinafter ASR – there are fourteen registers spanning 1447 through 1480, *Camera Urbis*, 104-117. The first two (104-105 years 1421-1458) include the total amount of the different taxes; no. 106 is the first of a series of detailed registers with the daily entries of tax collectors and notary publics: no.106 (yr 1459); no.107 (yr 1459); no.108 (yr 1460); no.109 (yr 1466); no.110 (yr 1469); no.111e 112 (yrs 1471-1472); no.113 (yr 1472); no.114 (yr 1474); no.115 (yr 1479); no.116 (yr 1480); no.117 (yr 1481). Also register no. 63 in *Camera Urbis* concerns the customs at the Grascia (D.Strangio-M.Vaquero

to embellish the city of Rome, i.e. in construction activities...With the greatness of edifices and of somehow eternal monuments, testimonies that might almost resemble the work of God, the authority of the Church can be strengthened and more firmly rooted in the minds of the people". Thus the speech attributed to Pope Nicholas V.<sup>31</sup>

This pope imported to Rome a type of governance that had long been the norm in Florence and that, gradually, took hold also in Rome after its introduction. With him the papal governments was guided by a concept of trust in the Romans. He was able to manage both communal and papal activities and, in the meantime, to drive the development of political and construction activities in the city.<sup>32</sup>

Another example was Pope Paul II, who encouraged construction and fostered the increase of urban rent flowing from areas owned by the city's wealthy classes. Pope Sixtus X wanted to encourage the establishment in the city of large merchant groups coming from other regions of Italy, mainly from Genoa, and to protect the development of their activities.<sup>33</sup> The opening of new roads, like via Sistina, facilitated the connection between areas that accommodated important marketplaces, like Campo de' Fiori, piazza Navona, piazza di Ponte, the port of Ripa Grande, and the communal city, and consequently the trade flows of those companies.<sup>34</sup>

The effort of the central government was part of a much broader process. In fact, the popes were committed to changing their dominions to a modern state.

It was precisely the stable presence of the pope in the city that increased the pressures of his predominance. It is a fact that the papal court contributed to the

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Piñeiro, *Spazio urbano e dinamiche immobiliari nel quattrocento a Roma: La Gabella dei contratti*, currently being printed).

<sup>31</sup> P. PARTNER, *Finanze e urbanistica a Roma (1420-1623)*, in "Cheiron" 2 (1983), pp. 59-71, pp. 60-61. On the new types of investment required for building the modern city, especially when it was called upon to be the capital of a national or regional state, R. FREGNA, *Città e investimenti*, in *Storia della Emilia Romagna*, vol. 2, Bologna, Santerno, 1977, pp. 273-316; also articles collected in *Investimenti e civiltà urbana, secoli XIII-XVIII*, Proceedings of ninth Week of studies of the international institute "F. Datini", Prato 22-28 April 1977, edited by Annalisa Guarducci, Florence, Le Monnier 1989.

<sup>32</sup> C. WILLIAM WESTFALL, *L'invenzione della città. La strategia urbana di Nicolò V e Alberti nella Roma del '400*, Roma, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1984, p. 168. Cf. also L. SPEZZAFERRO, *La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di via Giulia*, in *Via Giulia*, by Luigi Salerno – Luigi Spezzaferro – Manfredo Tafuri, Rome, Casa Editrice Stabilimento Aristide Staderini SPA, 1975, pp. 15-64, in particular p. 37; D. CALABI, *Storia della città. L'età moderna*, Venezia, Biblioteca Marsilio, 2001, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> C. CARVALE – A. CARACCILO, *Lo Stato pontificio da Martino V a Pio IX*, Turin, Utet 1978, p. 112. F. BENZI, *Sisto IV Renovator Urbis. Architettura a Roma 1471-1484*, Roma, Officina Edizioni, 1990, p. 8 ("ars fingendi 2"). See footnote 23.

<sup>34</sup> A. MODIGLIANI,  *Mercati, botteghe e spazi di commercio a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Roma, Roma nel Rinascimento, 1998. Sixtus IV ordered the landlords of the buildings in the areas involved in urban restructuring to refurbish their property to improve the city's décor, reiterating the old principle laid down in the Statutes of Rome by Paul II, whereby a fine would be imposed on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice (*de antiquis edificiis non diruendis*), *ne ruinis civitas deformetur & ut antiqua edificia decorem urbis*. Furthermore, in 1480 Sixtus IV empowered the *magistri viarum*, or officials in charge of public spaces, to expropriate the buildings whose landlords were not capable of improving them and, in the same year, appointed a commission responsible for determining and imposing the sale price for the areas where the urban plan had to be carried out (Archivio Storico Capitolino (hereinafter ASC), Statuted of Rome *De executione instrumentorum dotialium & donationu propter nuptias ru* LV, cc XXXVIII). C. CARVALE – A. CARACCILO, *Lo Stato pontificio*, ... cit., 112.

economic life of the city and “influenced” it. For instance, when the pope was away imports fell, as did rents, especially in central areas closer to the papal court and, for this reason, inhabited mostly by Florentine merchants and bankers.<sup>35</sup>

The popes began to enjoy greater consensus among Roman mercantile power groups or groups operating in Rome, thanks to the increasing protection that they afforded them. All this translated into the pope’s growing ability to have at his disposal the city’s tax revenues.

The bureaucratic centralization policy of the popes, starting as early as the Avignonese period and further pursued by Martin V upon his return to Rome, prompted the State of the Church to create a series of hierarchically ordered administrative tools, with such characteristics as to allow the Apostolic Chamber to exercise full control over every level of authority and responsibility. Furthermore, the system of the sale of offices that developed in the XV century created the conditions whereby public service was tantamount to a financial investment, leading to the formation of social groups that deployed their capital, enjoying the resulting returns, at the various levels of the State’s financial and administrative management. These contractors or office buyers were the main actors of a mutually-reinforcing system that, based on specific economic interests, determined a capillary control over all more or less profitable activities, from tax farming to salt-works leasing, from control over a provincial treasury office to the Church’s general depository.<sup>36</sup>

Rome’s finances were after all those of the Roman curia. In the late Middle Ages, the Roman economy was very weak outside the papal court... This economic dependence had become a political fact in 1399, when Pope Boniface IX imposed papal control over Rome’s municipal administration. Municipal finances became practically part of the papal financial system. Thus, the “Chamber” of the city of Rome became a branch of the “Apostolic Chamber” and, in the same way, the papal Treasurer took over Rome’s taxes.<sup>37</sup>

An important aspect that should be underlined in this respect is that

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<sup>35</sup> A. ESCH, *Roma come centro di importazioni*, ...op. cit., p. 111; from the same author see also *Le importazioni nella Roma del primo Rinascimento (il loro volume secondo i registri doganali romani degli anni 1452-1462)*, in *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Roma, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1981, pp. 9-79, in particular p. 75; G. CURCIO, *I processi di trasformazione edilizia*, in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, Proceedings of Conference, Rome 3-7 December 1984, edited by M. Miglio – F. Niutta- D. Quagliani – C. Ranieri, Roma, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1986 (Studi Storici 154-162), pp. 706-732, p. 711.

<sup>36</sup> L. PALERMO, *Il porto di Roma*, ... cit., p. 200. On the importance of the sale of offices, see F. PIOLA CASELLI, *Aspetti del debito pubblico nello Stato Pontificio: Gli uffici vacabili*, in *Annali della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia*, 11, (nuova serie) II, 1970-72, pp.101-170. Sulle funzioni della Camera Apostolica vedi tra gli altri A. GOTTLÖB, *Aus der Camera Apostolica*, Innsbruck, Schöner 1889; L.G. FELICI, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, Città del Vaticano, Typis Poliglottis Vaticanis 1940; P. PARTNER, *Camera Papae: Problems of Papal Finance in the Later Middle Ages*, in “*Journal of ecclesiastical history*”, IV, (1953); ID., *The Papal State under Martin V: the Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century*, London, British School at Rome 1958, pp. 131-136; A. LODOLINI, *L'Archivio di Stato di Roma: epitome di una guida degli archivi dell'amministrazione centrale dello Stato pontificio*, Roma, Istituto di Studi Romani 1960; M.G. PASTURA RUGGIERO, *La Reverenda Camera Apostolica ed i suoi archivi (secoli XV-XVIII)*, Roma, Archivio di Stato in Roma, 1984.

<sup>37</sup> P. PARTNER, *Finanze e urbanistica*,... op. cit., p. 59.

The curia and the interests that it reflected had always had as their primary objective not the destruction of the city's administrative structures but their submission. The consequence of this attitude was scrupulous formal compliance with the chapters of the statutes, their approval and confirmation by the popes, the continuous effort to link the loyalty of magistrates and officials fulfilling functions laid down by city statutes to the pope.<sup>38</sup>

The popes' urban policy depended on public and private investments and all relied on the curia's finances. Therefore, between the end of the Middle Ages and the end of the XVII century, as demonstrated by Andrea Gardi,<sup>39</sup> the papal fiscal policies were designed to strengthen the pope's predominance over his State.

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<sup>38</sup> L. PALERMO, *Il porto di Roma*,... op. cit., pp. 207-208.

<sup>39</sup> A. GARDI, *La fiscalità pontificia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, in "Società e Storia", 33, IX, luglio-settembre 1986, pp. 509-557.