URBAN CASTLES IN MEDIEVAL SIENA
THE SOURCES AND IMAGES OF POWER

EDWARD D. ENGLISH

The legal, economic, archaeological, political, social, architectural, demographic, institutional, and topographical aspects of the diverse phenomena called castelli have formed one of the staples of the study and writing of Italian medieval and Renaissance history. The objective of this paper is to explain the political roles of the urban fortified properties held by magnate families or lineages within the domain of the commune of Siena during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Similar to rural castelli but without sovereign powers to tax or administer justice, these private environments in the city with their control of urban space served as centers of political, social, and economic power.

In an effort to establish, maintain, and extend its power, the commune of Siena had to deal with both the urban and rural properties of its richest and most powerful families. At the core of the enclaves were fortresses. Two examples of rural castles and their buildings are preserved in frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena (figs. 1, 2). Being obvious symbols of power and wealth, such castles, buildings, and surrounding neighborhoods offered alternative sources of protection and security to the citizens and subjects of the city. Magnate lineages defined and organized themselves through these urban and rural enclaves, comprised of fortresses or refuges and standing at the center of neighborhoods that included housing or commercial and agricultural space to let as a means of attracting clients. As centers of associative life, these urban and rural castles with their adjacent properties, subjects, and inhabitants formed a major nexus in the struggle for power and prestige between the commune of Siena and magnate families. Their histories during this period show the weaknesses of urban public order and the struggle for security and sovereignty between the commune and its richest citizens, on whose consent the survival and policies of the government often rested. The existence of strongholds or castles within a medieval city well illustrates the difficulties of medieval governments in preserving order and controlling the more powerful, aggressive, and, at times, predatory elements of society.

In the area around Siena, the castles held by magnate families often exercised sovereign functions such as the administration of justice, the exaction
of fiscal obligations, and the organization of defense. The rural seigniorial castles were jointly held by the families and dominated both the immediate area of the town or village and the encircling countryside. As such, their control or ownership was sought by the commune in its expansion of sovereignty into the surrounding countryside. Naturally, the lords of these castles were anxious to maintain their dominion and rights. The commune sought control through conquest or purchase, while its citizens gained ownership by economic penetration through credit or purchase. The ownership of these castles and their jurisdictional rights were prized as keys to rural power and prestige in southern Tuscany.

Transferred to an urban environment, owned in the same joint manner, and supposedly deprived of sovereignty, similar architectural forms and enclaves took on more domestic functions and living spaces and formed centers of magnate power and prestige within the space of the city. Often maintaining dual residence, magnates dwelt in both parts of the world of communal Siena. The Malavolti, Salimbeni, and Tolomei families held extensive rural lordships and properties throughout the contado of Siena, but, unlike nobles such as the Aldobrandeschi, with almost exclusively rural bases, they lived primarily in the city, participated and served frequently in the communal government, and carried on commercial and banking activities locally and elsewhere in the Italian peninsula and northern Europe. Besides often warring with one another, these families had a stormy relationship with the various regimes in power in Siena in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Rural and urban conflicts grew into one another, as the wealthiest and most powerful citizens of Siena confronted their communal government throughout its domain. Their role within this urban area has been much less studied than their more traditionally appreciated position in the countryside.

This paper concentrates on the urban castles and compounds owned by magnate families within the city of Siena. It begins by demonstrating the intended position of castles according to communal ideology as portrayed in official architecture and art. Next, there will be descriptions of the actual enclaves, usually called castellari, and their role within the patrimonies of the families. The paper concludes by showing efforts of the commune either to destroy or to regulate and integrate these properties into its commonwealth.

In communal architecture and art, the rulers of the commune of Siena showed themselves to be conscious of the problems presented by fortified compounds within the city. Displaying a realistic acceptance of these solid images of magnate power, the various regimes controlling Siena between 1260 and 1355, especially that of the Nine (1287-1355), sought to outshine their most powerful citizens but at the same time to integrate the magnates and their castles into the polity.

Until the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, when Pope Gregory X forbade
1 Ambrogio Lorenzetti? *A City by the Sea: Talamone with Its Castle and Towers*. Siena, La Pinacoteca Nazionale (photo: Soprintendenza B.A.S., Siena)

2 *A Town and Castle Near Siena Make Their Submission to the Commune*, 1310-30. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico (photo: Grassi, Siena)
the use of churches for secular public meetings, the citizen assemblies of the city usually met in the family church of the Tolomei, San Cristoforo. From then until the completion of adequate facilities in the new town hall during the 1290s, the government held its meetings in the Castellare Ugurgieri or other magnate palaces. The familial church of the Tolomei, San Cristoforo, was on the same piazza as the family palace and was closely identified with the powerful family. In the thirteenth century, the magnate Ugurgieri ranked with the Tolomei in wealth and potential political power. Although the political participation and power of these two families fluctuated according to the fortunes of Guelf and Ghibelline factions during the thirteenth century, for the commune to meet literally in the shadow of their castles cannot have encouraged other magnates or lesser citizens to expect consistent or objective policies towards themselves or the fortune of such magnates. Soon after the new regime of the Nine took control of the government of Siena in 1287, it began the costly construction of the Palazzo Pubblico. Alessandro Lisini and William M. Bowsky have suggested that the construction of the famous and impressive town hall or Palazzo Pubblico of Siena was in part a response to the presence of magnate strongholds within the city. Although dominated by rich merchants and colleagues of the magnates, the regime sought at least the appearance of fair and ultimately sovereign government.

During the 1320s several inter-clan battles between the Salimbeni and the Tolomei families threatened the very existence of the regime itself because of the intensity of the fighting and the strength of the allegiances evoked from many of the citizens of the town. Soon after a temporary resolution of these conflicts and the suppression of several urban and rural plots and rebellions fomented and led by members of the Tolomei clan, the commune began construction of the tower attached to the town hall. Although barely maintaining its hold on power, the regime of the Nine decided to invest further in outward signs of its proclaimed dominance. As a sixteenth-century engraving (fig. 3) shows, Siena was still crowded with towers despite the destruction and collapse of many since 1300. The distinctive tower of the Palazzo Pubblico in the center barely rises above its rivals. Designed to be the most splendid building with the highest tower in the city, the Palazzo Pubblico (fig. 4) was intended to give psychological reassurance to both the rulers and the ruled of Siena that they could look to the commune for protection from the worst abuses of magnate violence. Magnates were encouraged to respect a strong commune capable of acting as an arbitrator among them and exemplified by a tower higher than their own.

In 1337, after another decade of warfare and the imposition of a truce on the Salimbeni and Tolomei, the Nine commissioned Ambrogio Lorenzetti to execute frescoes in their meeting room in the town hall, the Sala della Pace. The political ideals of the Nine are embodied in the complex philosophical
urban Castles in medieval Siena

3 Tommaso Grueter. Sixteenth-century engraving showing Siena and its towers (from Orlando Malavolti, *Historia del Sig. Orlando Malavolti, de' fatti, e guerre de' Sanesi, coi esterne, come civili*, Venice, Per S. Marchetti, 1599, reprinted in *Miscellanea storica senese*, 2:2, Feb. 1894, 17)

4 Siena, Palazzo Pubblico and Campo (photo: Grassi, Siena)
allegory presented in these paintings on three walls in the Palazzo Pubblico. Several historians have made iconographical studies of the famous depictions of the Allegory of Good Government or Peace and accompanying demonstrations of the Effects of Good and Bad Government or Peace and War on a city and its contado. Despite disagreeing on certain details and on the degrees of secular and Christian content, they are in accord that the allegories represent "a unique pictorial manifestation of communal political thought." The primary duty of the commune was to administer justice fairly, without preference for any group or individual, that is, for the common good. The individual was to subordinate his private interest and that of any group to which he belonged to that same common good. The results of fulfillment of its duty by the commune and of cooperation by groups or the individual citizens or subjects were portrayed in the fresco called the Effects of Good Government or Peace (fig. 5). On the opposite wall, the failure of the commune and its citizens was graphically displayed and presided over by Tyranny in the Effects of Bad Government or War. Instead of Securitas reigning over city and countryside, Timor or fear ruled over a desolate town and countryside.

Control over magnate families and their castles was one of the primary objectives of government in this idealized program. Fortified properties of prominent citizens appear in Lorenzetti’s frescoes, and particular buildings can be identified. In the Allegory of Good Government, armored noblemen present their castle or tower to the personification of the Common Good (fig. 6). When the commune carried out its duty, it expected the holders of such strongholds to recognize the sovereignty of the commune and sometimes to offer their castles to its just and reasonable administration. In the upper righthand corner of the portrayal of the Effects of Good Government on the City (fig. 7), the façade of San Cristoforo, the family church of the Tolomei, and the upper part of the urban castle, or the Rocca of the Salimbeni, are discernable. Spiritual and military strongholds of magnate families could be accommodated within a well-managed and just urban environment. Their urban castles did not have to be abolished; they had only to be subordinated to the good of the whole community.

The city itself was considered the proper source of civilization and justice. In the Effects of Good Government or Peace on the Countryside (fig. 5), the light of wisdom and justice is much stronger near the city. As one moves away from the commune, the light fades, the landscape becomes darker, and the buildings become progressively more fortified. The open villas close to the city become the enclosed villages or seigniorial castles distant from the walls. Although proximity to the commune in reality might not have permitted structures so open to the world, the ideals and policies of the regime that commissioned this work encouraged belief in the value of its justice and control of its domain. Unfortunately, the well-fortified villages and seigniorial castles probably came much closer to the reality of the contado.
 Urban Castles in Medieval Siena

5 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Effects of Good Government or Peace on the Countryside. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico (photo: Grassi, Siena)

6 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Allegory of Good Government, detail showing presentation of towers (photo: Grassi, Siena)

7 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Effects of Good Government or Peace on the City, detail showing the Rocca Salimbeni and the Church of San Donato (photo: Grassi, Siena)
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These frescoes offer graphic illustration of the attitudes of ruling regimes in Siena to magnates and their castles. In return for acceptance of its fair administration of justice, recognition of the ultimate authority of the commune, and subordination of the interests of individuals and groups to the Common Good, the commune promised accommodation and secure tenure for properties and privileges so important to the identity of magnate families and security for peace and profits in the city and countryside.

While the regime called the Nine seems to have had intentions, and ideas on how, to deal with the urban castles and compounds of magnate families, the clans themselves held specific buildings and neighborhoods within the city that were sources of potential power within the city. They held particular areas where their properties were concentrated and where many of their members maintained their urban residence. In Siena this compound was often called a castellare. Generally, that word meant a ruined castle or a place once fortified, but in Siena it could describe a whole complex of buildings and open spaces clustered around a main residence, palace, tower, rocca, or castle. Perhaps what once had been a castello similar to those in the contado had evolved from a simple military stronghold into an enclave more domestic and suited to urban life. Serving as architectural symbols of prestige and familial sentiment and centers of urban associative life, these private urban environments included places of spiritual and military refuge, housing for family members or clients, and shops or spaces for business activity.11 For example, the small Castellare Ugurgierli still preserves its medieval atmosphere with an interior piazza entered by tunnels (fig. 8).

Detailed descriptions of the composition of these magnate castellari are possible and do provide insight into the use of space within cities and the roles of castles or strongholds in these spaces. Besides a core castle or tower, the enclaves encompassed a piazza dominated by family-owned buildings, a church under the patronage of the family, a fondaco for business activity, apartment blocks, and shops or spaces held by family members or rented out to tenants for living space or artisans’ activity. Tax evaluations and internal agreements indicate joint ownership of some of the properties, especially the castle or tower. The valued and carefully maintained castellari or compounds offered opportunities for the family to withdraw into its own world or to be active in the commune with the considerable resources of the enclaves near at hand.

From the period 1250 to 1350, the urban properties of the Malavolti, Salimbeni, and Tolomei can be reconstructed with some detail. A map of mid-nineteenth-century Siena (fig. 9), before much of the enclave of the Malavolti was cleared for a post office, preserves the basic outlines of the city around 1300. The present physical appearance of the palaces cannot be taken as a completely accurate representation of their state around 1300, but,
combined with surviving documents, the existing palaces give us an idea of the medieval buildings and environs and their role in the power, patrimonies, and sentiments of the three clans. These were the kinds of compounds with which the regimes governing Siena in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had to interact and to integrate into what they hoped would be a peaceful polity.

The castellare of the Malavolti was on a hill in the section of tripartite Siena called the terzo of the Camollia. Although the Malavolti were supposed to have had a tower there since the twelfth century, the first document indicating ownership of property by that family around and including the present Piazza Matteotti was dated 24 March 1226. At that time they donated the land for the new Dominican church to be built nearby. A few years later, in 1230, reference to a "castrum filiorum Malavolte" implied the existence of a fortified village, jointly owned by the sons of Malavolta. Documents from 1247, 1262, and 1309 confirm the existence of a tower on the north edge of a castellare. In 1253 and 1254, the commune considered the tower (or palace) and the allegiance of the Malavolti secure and reliable enough to use their stronghold as a prison for rebels from the contado. By 1262 public passage had been arranged to go through or between the properties of the Malavolti and a neighboring family as far as the "castellum filiorum Malavolte." By 1309 that street extended all the way to San Domenico. For the late thirteenth century, Ubaldo Morandi has placed the Malavolti castellare within several modern streets with an elegant gate into their compound.

On a more securely documented level, the urban and rural possessions of the Malavolti clan were evaluated in the Sienese estimo of real property taken between 1316 and 1320. The evaluations give an idea of what formed the castellare and its role in the patrimony of the family. According to the estimo, there was, among the properties of the Malavolti in the terzo of the Camollia, a main palace with a net evaluation of 4500 Sienese pounds. Family members were joint proprietors of this building, which also might have served as a hostel and an almshouse for pilgrims. In addition to this structure, there were three alberghi or shelters either run by the Malavolti or leased out to others by the family. Besides a tower and a fondaco (a warehouse or shop), the family also had a casamentum or apartment block that also might have been fortified. The casero or donjon of the castellare included jointly owned domestic space from at least 1262. Such space served as a source both of unity and disagreement for the lineage, since arrangements for living there had to be worked out frequently within the family.

Of potential significance for patronage ties with other citizens within the city was their ownership of about sixty shops or properties within the castellare itself and in the surrounding neighborhood. Besides towers, hostels for pilgrims, and the church of Sant' Egidio, the enclave included numerous shops or places in an eiffel d' Orlando compound, houses, the of one two family, the Malavolti family, but

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idea of the monies, and with which centuries had their property, the Malavolta, a tower on the Via Francigena, followed through the city. Although the area has been much altered to serve as the headquarters of one of the largest banks in Italy, the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, careful restorations have preserved vestiges of the old buildings, giving an idea of what these thirteenth-century centers were like. In the 1316-1320 estimo, the assessment of this fortress and adjoining apartment block was reckoned at about 18,000 Sienese pounds. It was divided into thirty-six shares, but the ownership of adjoining towers was concentrated in only four parts to ensure more adequate maintenance.

An eighteenth-century drawing (fig. 10) shows how the entrance to the castellare once appeared. Around 1300 two properties of the Salimbeni flanked the passageway leading up to a fortified gate opening onto an interior piazza. As the drawing shows, the palace on the left had been replaced by a sixteenth-century one, while the medieval buildings on the right near the present Palazzo Spannochisi (marked "C" in fig. 10) were cleared in the late nineteenth century. They were replaced by a small square in front of the refurbished headquarters of the Monte dei Paschi, and the Gothic façade of the entryway (fig. 11) was extended to the Palazzo Spannochisi, whose sixteenth-century façade was continued around the corner, back level with the old entrance. Inside the gate, a loggia has been rebuilt to look like a medieval or merchandising space for the Salimbeni. Whether its present appearance reflects a loggia from the thirteenth century cannot be answered with assurance.

Opposite the loggia and adjacent to the piazza beyond the gate stands the Rocca Salimbeni. Figure 12 shows a view of its restored appearance (1901). Around the adjacent square (Piazza dell’Abbadia) clustered other houses of the Salimbeni and their family church, San Donato. According to a 1297 description of a street corner, the house of Giovanni di Ranieri Salimbeni was on the entrance to this piazza; however, renovations have obscured it. As far as we can tell, the Salimbeni then also possessed a partially enclosed castellare similar to that of the Malavolti centered on a castle or rocca.

The Tolomei family also possessed an urban castle or palace in Siena. Located about one hundred meters down the street and closer to the present
center of the city (the Campo), the fortress has been recently restored to what was thought to be its appearance around 130027 (fig. 13). An earlier building from the first decade of the thirteenth century had occupied the same spot but was deliberately destroyed by the government during the 1260s.28 Little remains of the earlier fortress except the foundations of the tower, now part of the present building.

Both the former and present palace were jointly owned by members of the family. Built around 1208 by Jacobo and Tolomeo Tolomei, it was divided by 1254 into two halves, which were in turn broken into shares. One part was split into four shares for Jacobo's four sons, while the other section was segmented into five shares for Tolomeo's five sons. On 19 March 1254, the twenty-three grandsons of the two founders reached an agreement to live in sections of the palace and later exchange them.29 Arrangements were temporary to strengthen and maintain the concept of joint ownership of the whole. The situation agreed upon in 1254 was to last for two years, and then, every ten years, an exchange of living space was to be made. Unfortunately, the two halves or shares to be passed back and forth were not clearly described or defined. This joint ownership, however, survived the exile and destruction of the 1260s and the rebuilding during the 1270s, and it continued into the fourteenth century. By the time of the 1316-1320 estimo, ownership of the palace had been divided into shares ranging from 1/6 to 1/192.30 Residences of family members were concentrated around the palace, but several were in adjacent fiscal districts no more than 150 meters away. Most of the evaluated Tolomei held a piece of the fortress, the principal residence of the family, and regarded it as the appropriate meeting place of the lineage. In 1310, on the eve of the failure of a banking company controlled by some of the Tolomei, fifty-seven members of the Tolomei met in the palace, where they appointed procurators to represent them in any legal cause, court, or inquisition.31 Preparations for a joint legal defense were made within the confines of the obvious symbol of the family.

Just like the Salimbenti rocca, the Tolomei palace bordered on the same piazza as the family church, in this case, San Cristoforo (see fig. 14). Likewise, there were shops and a casamento or fortified apartment building on and near the piazza of San Cristoforo.32 Although a sixteenth-century plan of the city (fig. 14) indicates that the Tolomei piazza was cut through by a wide street, which is one of the main thoroughfares of contemporary Siena, it is not clear that that was true around 1300. The family probably possessed a more enclosed and defensible compound than the plan suggests and one similar to those of the Salimbendi, Malavolti, and Ugurgieri.

None of these compounds, however, was inviolable, either by the commune or by enemies from other families. In 1322, during the long warfare and vendetta between the two clans, a group of men, led by Giovanni di Salimbene
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10 Eighteenth-century view of entrance to the Castellare Salimbeni (from Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi e le sue aziende*, Siena, Lazzeri, 1913)

11 Entrance to the Castellare Salimbeni, Siena, before 1871-1901 clearances and restorations (from Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi e le sue aziende*, Siena, Lazzeri, 1913)

12 Siena, Rocca Salimbeni, after restoration (from Mengozzi, *Il Monte dei Paschi e le sue aziende*, Siena, Lazzeri, 1913)
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Salimbeni, surrounded the palace, entered a window by a ladder, and murdered three Tolomei boys. The domestication of the Tolomei urban fortress evidently had progressed so far that security was questionable, and the persons of family members had become vulnerable. While murderers from a rival family could penetrate the Tolomei complex, the commune had already attacked magnate strongholds in the city on other occasions. The symbols of the power and the future of the clans, as represented by the castles or palaces and the offspring, were targets for their rivals for prestige and power, the commune and other magnate families.

During the troubled 1260s, whenever control over the government of Siena passed from one implacable faction to another, the towers and palaces of the other side were promptly attacked and razed as the recognized symbols of the prestige of partisans of the other side. In December of 1262, after their owners, prompted by Ghibelline factionalism and a papal excommunication, had left the city because of its political policies and their own damaged economic interests, the palaces and towers of the Tolomei, Salimbeni, and Piccolomini were destroyed. As part of abortive peace talks between the regime and the exiled families in 1267 and 1268, the commune promised compensation for damages so that these families would return peacefully to the city. On the collapse of these agreements, the remnants of their holdings were razed again. In 1268, when rumors circulated of possible peace with the magnates, who were in control of the exiled Guelf party, rioting partisans of the Ghibelline faction burned a tower in which the committee negotiating the peace had met and taken refuge. When the Guelfs finally returned and took control of the city in 1270, the Tolomei rebuilt their palace with stones taken from the palaces of their arch-enemies, the Ghibelline Salvani family. Years later, in 1318 and 1325, when some members of the Tolomei were in open rebellion against the regime of the Nine, the commune had the urban properties of prominent members of the clan destroyed for the sins of their relatives. The commune and citizenry held the whole family responsible for the crimes and attitudes of some of its members and attacked the visible and accessible symbols of that family.

As the officially sponsored frescoes of Ambrogio Lorenzetti show, however, the destruction of the magnates' property was not the only manner in which the commune envisaged coexisting with such strongholds within its boundaries. It tried other less drastic ways to limit the influence of fortifications. After taking action against rural castles by destroying them or obtaining ownership by purchase or surrender, the commune tried to ensure continued control of the property. In 1303 a law was passed that made alienation or sale of any "castella, rocche, borghi, ville et giurisdizioni" owned by the commune impossible without the permission of the General Council. Three years later, a statute was put into effect that forbade anyone to buy a castle or
jurisdiction that belonged to the commune. Another rubric from the 1310 constitution asserted that any fortresses destroyed by the commune were never to be rebuilt. Whether these prohibitions were enforced on the urban castles of magnates is not readily ascertainable from the sources. Several members of the Tolomei family had their urban properties confiscated or razed in the 1320s. Most of them later reached a settlement with the commune to return to the city, but compensation or permission to rebuild is not mentioned. Not until the end of the fourteenth century with the open rebellions of the Salimbemi, Malavolti, and Tolomei did the commune move in a systematic manner against both their urban and rural castles. The thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century regulations and seizures were aimed primarily against nobles without large property holdings in the city, such as the Aldobrandeschi. If the rural castelli of the Salimbemi, for example, came into communal control, it was through purchase. Their participation in the government and the vulnerability of their holdings in the city probably ensured less explicit conflict between them and the regimes controlling Siena.

Concerned about magnate families’ strongholds and their links with the populace, the regimes running the government of Siena tried to limit their possible usefulness against the power of the commune. Yet, recognizing reality, they guaranteed the property and rights of magnates in an effort to bind the clans more closely to the regime. In 1277 certain magnate families had been specifically excluded from serving at least on the principal governing committee of the city (called the Nine from 1287). In the 1310 collection of laws, members of these same houses were not permitted to represent any non-relative or institution (which could be a town, commune, or castle with its surrounding people or jurisdiction) in any communal court. The government was not about to permit magnates to exercise unimpaired influence as patrons of rural strongholds or populations. In May 1297, however, the regime had guaranteed explicitly existing lordships and promised help in enforcing rights.

Around 1310, in an intensification of the conflict between the commune of Siena and some of its magnate families, additional statutes sought to reduce the potential political importance of urban and rural castles. Among several laws aimed at limiting the possibilities for carrying out an armed attack on the government from within the city, one forbade assembly at magnate palaces during riots or disorders in the city. About the same time, the Captain of the People was given authority to stop such assemblies and prevent the partisans of clans from coming into the city to join their leaders at their urban seats. The regime recognized that a fusion of the rural adherents of the rebelling magnates with their urban strongholds could bring down the regime.

These laws cannot have been easy to enforce in the face of a simultaneous breakdown of the Palazzo Tolomei on the outskirts of the town. The battle, it is said, lasted for several days. The battle was fought on the outskirts of the city. The breakdown of the Palazzo Tolomei on the outskirts of the town.

These events do not represent isolated conflicts in the long era of magnate rule and their control of symbols of power and their domination of communities and the many medi:...
breakdown of communal control in the city. During an unsuccessful rebellion against the Nine in 1318, the Tolomei and their adherents waited inside the Palazzo Tolomei for the outcome of a pitched battle on the Campo.\textsuperscript{48} The clash had supposedly been fomented by the Tolomei, who were to be rewarded with the office of podestà, perhaps a starting point for a Tolomei lordship of the town. The rebels were defeated. Although they had not participated in the battle, their role as instigators was discovered, and several Tolomei had to flee to the contado, where Deo di Guccio Tolomei led a gang of adherents in attacks on several rural towns and communal castles.\textsuperscript{49}

These efforts at containment and accommodation by the commune suffice to show the strength of the concern felt by regimes in power for the dangers represented by magnate castellari in Siena. Consistent factors in political conflicts in Siena during the unstable period from 1260 to 1287 and in the long era of the regime of the Nine from 1287 to 1355, these urban castles and their environs were visible threats to the government's sovereignty and symbols of the power of its richest citizens. The enclaves of the Malavolti, Salimbeni, and Tolomei included a fortress, a family church, a piazza, housing complexes, and commercial space for use by family members or clients. Resembling rural fortified villages or castelli and jointly owned by family members, they gave these magnate clans a private environment and refuge within the city, an architectural and topographical symbol of their prestige, and a network of shops to rent to clients, in other words, tangible assets to promote the maintenance of family solidarity and the effectiveness of their power within the city of Siena. Their functions and value were recognized by the magnates, and the castellari remained important common properties at the core of the patrimonies of the families. Such urban castles were present in many medieval cities. In Siena, from 1260 to 1355, they led a troubled coexistence with regimes sophisticated enough to survive and govern without falling under the control of one family.

NOTES


2. I intend to describe in detail the rural holdings of some of Siena's magnate families in a later publication. Daniel Waley has recently observed that the proper subjects of study to understand the relationship between Siena and its contado are the ownership of rural properties by the commune's citizens and the possession of legal jurisdiction: "A Commune and Its Subject-Territory in the Thirteenth Century: Law and Power in the Sienese Contado," in Diritto e potere nella storia europea: atti in onore di Bruno Paradisi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1982), I, 303-11. For other important studies of the Sienese contado, see Paolo Cammarosano, "Le campagne senesi dalla fine del secolo XII agli inizi del Trecento: dinamica interna e forme del dominio cittadino," in Contadini e proprietari nella Toscana moderna, 1: Dal medioevo all'età moderna (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1979), 153-222; and Odile Redon, Uomini e comunità del contado senese nel Duecento (Siena: Accademia senese degli Intronati, 1982); for rural Tuscany: Giuliano Pinto, La Toscana nel tardo medioevo: ambiente, economia rurale, società (Florence: Sansoni, 1982).

3. For examples of joint ownership of rural properties and castles by magnate families, see Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico Archivio Generale, 30 October 1283; Capitoli 34 (29 September 1303); Diplomatico Giustini, 31 August 1345; they have been transcribed in Edward D. English, "Five Magnate Families of Siena, 1240-1350," Diss. Toronto 1981, pp. 257-60, 325-30, 396-403.


10. Rubinstein, “Political Ideas,” p. 189. John Larner has observed that what
lay behind the intentions and thought of the frescoes might be "a narrow class philosophy which had succeeded in equating the collective interests of the ruling classes with the common good" (Culture and Society in Italy, 1290-1420 (London: Batsford, 1971), p. 85).


15. *Libri dell'entrata e dell'uscita*, XIV, 83, 101; XV, 104-5; the prisoners required a detachment of troops to guard them, Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna 21, fol. 34v, 43v; 22, fol. 37v; Morandi, "Il castellare dei Malavolti," p. 83.


17. Morandi, "Il castellare dei Malavolti," p. 82; De Vecchi, "L'architettura gotica civile," p. 23; Lusini, "Note storiche sulla topografia," p. 334. Ubaldo Morandi believes the area was bounded by the nineteenth-century Piazza Matteotti and the streets now called Montanini, Cavallerizzo, Malavoliti, Arco Malavoli, and Rustichetto. See figure 9 for a map of the area in 1862. The gate was demolished in 1763 and was near the present church of the Madonna delle Nevi. The first extant document calling the complex a "castellare" is Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico Giustini, 11 July 1345, an appointment of procurators by five Malavoli, which took place "in castellaro Malavolitorum."

18. Balestracci and Piccinini, *Siena*, p. 124; they combined the values assigned to individual holders from Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 126, fols. 61v, 91v, 111v, 125v, 134, 143, 247v, 433v. The family also possessed a "palazzotto" evaluated at 850 Siennese pounds (Estimo 99, fol. 159v). For an idea of their rural holdings, see Pietro Biagini, "I proprietari delle *libre* di Sant'Egidio a lato dei Malavoli, Sant'Egidio a lato dei Rustichetti, Sant'Andrea a lato della Piazza," *Ricerche storiche*, NS 5: 2 (1975), 459, 461. They were said to own 51.1% of all the property held by citizens from this district.

19. For the "ospitium": Cecilia Mandriani, "I proprietari delle *libre* di San Donato a lato dei Montanini, San Donato a lato della Chiesa, San Donato di sopra e San Donato di sotto," *Ricerche storiche*, NS 5: 2 (1975), 453; Balestracci and Piccinini, *Siena*, p. 151, n. 31; all based on Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 136, fols. 111-111v, 234, 296; Estimo 143, fol. 434. For the *alberghi*, which were named San Marco, La Corona, Il Sole, see Morandi, "Il castellare dei Malavoli," pp. 93-94.

20. For the *fondaco* (the earliest reference to the "fundacus filiorum Malavolitae" is from 1231, Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna 11, fol. 55) and tower, see Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 136, fols. 110 and 136. Balestracci and Piccinini, *Siena*, pp. 125, 164. For an example of internal arrangements for renting or allocating housing to family members, see the biography of Rinaldo di Fortebraccio Malavoliti in English, "Magnate Families," pp. 446-65; he bought a house from his mother within the "cassero, videlicet filiorum Malavolitorum cui ex uno latere est filiorum quondam Uguccionis Fortebracci [Malavoliti], ex alio est filiorum domini Orlando Arrighi [Malavoliti] . . ."; she was to be allowed to live...
there for the rest of her life (Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico Giustini, 24 October 1262).


22. Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico Giustini, 21 February 1332; "... vigesimam septimam partem pro indiviso hospitii quod vocatur casa grande..." Two towers were mentioned along with several apoteose, domo, and platea.


24. Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, pp. 97, 125; reconstructed only from Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 132, fols. 117, 130, 131, 144, 146.

25. For information on shares and general observations on the wealth of the Salimbeni, see Mandrioni, "I proprietari," p. 444; for the towers, see Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, p. 124, and Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 140, fols. 94, 129, 140, 143.


27. The savings bank that did the refurbishing also commissioned Il palazzo Tolomei a Siena (Florence: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1971), which contains three studies of the family and the building: Giulio Prunai, "La famiglia Tolomei," pp. 7-58; Guido Pampaloni, "Il palazzo," pp. 59-86; and Nello Bemporad, "Il restauro," pp. 87-98.

28. For some of the occasions in 1267 when it was attacked, see Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna 41 and 43 containing references to payments made for its destruction; printed in Guido Pampaloni, "Il palazzo," p. 79, illustrations 10 and 11; De Vecchi, "L'architettura gotica civile," pp. 31-33.


30. See the list in Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, p. 135; for an idea of the property of the Tolomei in general around 1318, see Alessandra Caldelli, "I proprietari delle libra di San Cristoforo a lato della Chiesa e San Cristoforo a lato dei Tolomei," Ricerche storiche, NS 5: 2 (1975), 436-37.

31. Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico Tolomei, 3 June 1310; English, "Magnate Families," pp. 343-47 (a transcription). After listing those present, they were described: "... qui sunt due partes omnium hominum laycorum maschulorum de domo, progenie et casato predictis existentium in prouintia Tuscie, et aliis omnibus et vniuersis solempniter conuocatis... ad infrascripta... Senis in palatio predictorum Tolomeorum vice et nomine dicte domus, casati et progenie..." For the failure of the Tolomei company, see English, "Five Magnate Families," pp. 77-125, and "Sienese Banking and Commerce, 1230-1350: The Benefits and Problems of Joint Economic Activity," forthcoming. The New Company of the Tolomei had been formed in the "palatio Talomeorum" on 21
March 1310; Giuliana Giannelli, "Atto costitutivo della Societas Talomeorum de Senis (1310)," Studi senesi, 65 (1953), 367-90, esp. 383. I intend to discuss elsewhere the changed political relationship after 1310 between the family and the commune. For such family organizational meetings, see D. V. Kent and F. W. Kent, "A Self Disciplining Pact Made by the Peruzzi Family of Florence (June 1433)," Renaissance Quarterly, 34 (1981), 337-55.

32. For examples: Balestracci and Piccinni, Siena, p. 130; they used Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo 95, fols. 193v and 230; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Diplomatico Ricci, 10 December 1255.


35. Ugo Guido Mondolfo, Il populus a Siena nella vita della città e nel governo del comune fino alla riforma antimagnatizia del 1277 (Genoa: A. F. Formiggin, 1911), pp. 74, 79.

36. Archivio di Stato di Siena, Biccherna 41, fols. 20v-23, 25 (July 1267).


44. Lisini, Costituto, Vol. II, D. V, rub. 365, p. 388, undated. On the exclusion, see Mondolfo, Populus a Siena, pp. 55-56, 82-85; they could and did serve on all the other committees (called ordines) of the communal government, being especially active on the crucial Council of the Merchants (Mercanzia).


47. Archivio di Stato di Siena, Capitano del Popolo, Statuti 1, fols. 23, 24.

48. See n. 8 above; William M. Bowsky, "The Anatomy of Rebellion in Fourteenth-Century Siena: From Commune to Signory?" in Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500, ed. Lauro Martines (Berkeley and Los Angeles:
Univ. of California Press, 1972), pp. 249ff. A shoemaker, who rented a shop from
the Tolomei, was supposed to have revealed the plot; Cronache Senesi, (Anonimo)
p. 128; (Agnolo di Tura) pp. 416-17.
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