

# 1 Setting

This book is concerned with the Sieneese rather than their city, but as a preliminary something must be said about the setting within which they lived.<sup>1</sup>

Medieval Siena was an extremely small urban zone in the wide expanse of a predominantly rural Tuscany. The appearance of the place was to strike a French traveller in 1580 as already one of great antiquity ('son visage la tesmoine fort ancienne'). This visitor, Michel de Montaigne, saw Siena as an 'uneven' (*inégal*) town, 'situated along a ridge where most of the streets are. . . Some of these continue onto the facing slopes of other hills'. The built-up area, rapidly growing in the middle decades of the thirteenth century, sprawled along two principal roads. The chief route from the north to Rome, the 'Via Francigena', bifurcated at the very centre of Siena, where the main road bore on, as the Via Cassia, towards Rome, and other routes led away to the south-west, towards Massa Marittima, Grosseto and the other towns of the Maremma. The city – Siena had a bishop and hence ranked as *civitas* – extended in fact along a series of ridges, from which housing had already begun to overflow onto the quite steep slopes and valleys which separated them. To walk from one end to the other of this site would have required no more than some fifteen minutes, unless the streets were exceptionally crowded, and to cross from east to west would have been the work of five minutes or less, despite the contours. Crowded into this urban microcosm were, around the middle of the thirteenth century, some 30,000 people, a number which was rapidly and continually increasing through immigration.

Siena's inhabitants lived in a great variety of dwellings all of which would now be considered appallingly uncomfortable and almost all dreadfully crowded. With little space indoors, life was lived as much as possible in the street, though from October till May this was often a cold and windy alternative to the cramped rigours of existence within the home. For most the house was probably a wattle and daub construction, sometimes with a brick facade, though a good many could afford a small house partly of stone. Often the building comprised a shop at

<sup>1</sup> On the topography of thirteenth-century Siena, see Balestracci Piccinni (excellent, but concerned with a later period); Braunfels (see 'Siena' in index); Bortolotti, chapter 2; P. Nardi, 'I borghi di S. Donato e di S. Pietro a Ovile', *BSSP*, third series, 25–7 (1966–8), pp. 7–59. M. Montaigne, *Journal de Voyage en Italie*, ed. M. Rat (Paris, 1942), pp. 89–91 (and, for the 'collines fertiles' of the region, p. 214).

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ground level with dwelling apartments above reached by a narrow internal stairway or steps outside. The external approach was characteristic also of the towers and houses of the wealthier citizens, which would have the advantage of possessing upstairs loggias and balconies. The grandest families, who derived their riches both from widespread landed estates and financial transactions, inhabited extensive blocks of buildings, sometimes styled 'palaces' or 'castles', ownership of which was complicated by the system of *consorzeria*, the joint 'consorts' being relatives who had shares in the family building.

An older Siena, going back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was beginning to seem swamped by the expansion of the mid thirteenth. Land near the centre was already a valuable commodity and the speed of change must have been bewildering for the older inhabitants. The isolated remnants of the early medieval city from which the new mercantile city had originated were primarily ecclesiastical. Besides the cathedral, sited at the centre of old Siena ('Castelvechio'), there was a small number of monastic foundations nearby, among them the Benedictine house of S Eugenio, the abbey 'at the archway' (all'Arco), S Vigilio (Camaldulensian) and the Vallombrosan house of S Michele. Among the many developments which were transforming the city the churches of the new orders of friars were perhaps the most imposing. With much financial assistance from the city, ambitious building schemes were launched by the religious innovators of the century, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Servites and Augustinian Hermits, and the crusading Orders, Templars and Hospitallers, representatives of an older tradition, were also building. Of the great families, the Tolomei already had a 'big palace' (*palatium magnum*)<sup>2</sup> and in general extensive private building kept pace with ecclesiastical building. Secular public work was a necessity, in particular the hilly site set urgent problems of water supply and the most crucial undertakings of the thirteenth century were the reconstruction of one fountain (Fonte Branda) and the addition of three others, Fonte Nuova, Fonte O vile and Fonte Follonica.

The lie of the land and the rapidity of the city's expansion militated against a neat system of ring defences. Although the necessity for city walls was a commonplace and Siena possessed a body of officials whose responsibility was to strengthen these defences, the reality was a series of *ad hoc* arrangements. By 1257 the watchmen had thirty-six gates to guard, many of which must have been situated within the city rather than on any outer perimeter. If in some parts building had outgrown walls, in others there were still green expanses within them; inside the walls were vineyards and vegetable gardens, also to be found in the environs of some of the religious foundations.

2 G. Prunai, 'La famiglia Tolomei' in Prunai, G. Pampaloni, N. Bemporad, *Il Palazzo Tolomei a Siena* (Florence, 1971), pp. 9–58.

The gardens are a reminder that the land and its activities dominated Siena. The rhythm of the judicial year was that of the harvests. Agricultural instruments, both wooden and iron, were excluded from those possessions which might be confiscated on account of debt,<sup>3</sup> not surprisingly, since a high proportion of the population earned their living by tilling the soil. Medieval Siena had originated as a stopping-place on the road to Rome: by this time it had become a market and financial centre on the road.

#### ROUTES

Proper guard and protection of the highway was a normal function of government in the Middle Ages and it was natural that the oath taken by Siena's leading official, the Podestà, on assuming office, should include the promise 'to govern the highway throughout the territory of the city, to the honour of God'.<sup>4</sup> The duties of the commune were indeed defined more closely: 'clerks (*clerici*), pilgrims, merchants and others travelling on the highway or other roads of the city or its sphere of jurisdiction must be defended and protected', and any one harming them must be punished, whilst a special legal protection prevailed for those travelling to the market or fairs.<sup>5</sup> The didactic frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico emphasize vividly the significance of these clauses. The horrors of bad government include robbery on the highway by an armed band, and a man lies murdered just outside the city gate: the entire countryside is dominated by the figure of Fear. In the contrasting scene of good government the corresponding figure of Safety (*Securitas*) carries a gibbet whereon hangs the body of a malefactor.

The road to Rome from France and the north, the Francigena, ranked in a special category. Robbery on such a frequented route may have been relatively uncommon – though a Sieneese merchant lost his gold on it in 1255 and some Florentines a valuable load of iron in 1257<sup>6</sup> – but its upkeep was essential to the city's well-being. A clause in the 1262 statutes begins with the lament that 'the main roads near the city are in such a state of disrepair and the bridges so broken-down that travellers cannot pass without great danger and in consequence the market suffers great disadvantage and foodstuffs cannot be brought to the city'.<sup>7</sup> The aim was to maintain the Francigena as a pilgrim route, not merely as a way for pack animals and carts; a duty of officials of all places between Siena and Torrenieri, thirty kilometres to the south, was to provide chained cups in

<sup>3</sup> *Const. 1262*, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Const. 1262. Cont. BSSP*, 2, pp. 318–19.

<sup>6</sup> *B.17*, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Const. 1262*, p. 297.

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wells by the roadside.<sup>8</sup> The travellers themselves appear in Sieneese legislation in other ways. When a pilgrim or merchant died in Siena itself, the owner of the hostel or inn where he was lodged was responsible for handing over his possessions, normally to the city; if he died intestate, however, and had been with companions who were willing to take an oath that they would pass on his property to his children or heirs, then these companions would receive it.<sup>9</sup> The numerous hostels were thickest along the main road, particularly close to the northern entrance, Camollia.<sup>10</sup> Naturally transport and communications were important sources of employment for the Sieneese. However, analysis of the occupations of Sieneese taxpayers in 1285 shows 'carriers' as numerically seventh in the list of trades given (with thirty-four names), keepers of hostels or lodgings ranking a good way below them (with seventeen).<sup>11</sup>

The market was Siena's heart and access to it Siena's arterial flow. If its business was interrupted by warfare the consequences were extremely serious for the city's finances and for those who farmed the indirect taxes. On such occasions the city officials would receive petitions explaining that receipts from the customs would be inadequate to repay the 'farmers' for the advances due from them. As one set of tax-farmers explained, the normal situation thus interrupted was that 'many merchants from Pisa, Lucca, Florence, San Miniato, Volterra, Figline, Colle, San Gimignano and the Elsa and Arno valleys and places north of Siena and its territory came to buy animals for their farms – sows, swine, piglets, sheep, oxen, cows'.<sup>12</sup> Trade in oxen was particularly lively since these beasts constantly needed replacement, having a working lifetime of only two to three years. The principal Sieneese hospital, which had big estates, had to purchase between 100 and 150 of them each year.<sup>13</sup> No doubt most of the transactions at the market were on a small scale, such as that of Francuccio from Quercegrossa (a village five miles to the north on the Castellina in Chianti road) in 1306, who sold two oxen in the Campo for 33 l. but had the misfortune to be attacked on his way home by the armed band of Mastro of Poggibonsi, and robbed of all his money.<sup>14</sup>

If the arrival of grain was most crucial of all to the city's well-being, that of raw wool for the local textile industry was also of great importance. Wool-dealers

8 'Breve 1250', pp. 72–3.

9 *Cost. 1309–10*, l. p. 409; *Const. 1262*, pp. 218–19.

10 Balestracci Piccinni, pp. 150–1, carta n. 9 (locates thirteen hotels in 1318–20). See also G. Venerosi-Pesciolini, 'La strada francigena nel contado di Siena nei sec. XIII–XIV', *La Diana*, 8 (1933), pp. 116–56.

11 Computer analysis of B 88, ff. 77–165v and 90, ff. 61–84v. Only one payer in five gave an occupation.

12 Bowsky, *Finance*, p. 138.

13 Epstein, pp. 220–4, 289.

14 CG 69, ff. 81v–3v (1306).

(*lanaioli*) rank numerically immediately after carriers among the 1285 tax-payers, while more specifically industrial textile occupations (carder, dyer, comber, shearer, fuller) are cited by twenty-five of them. The upkeep of the main road northwards to 'Lombardy' (i.e. the Francigena) was the subject of routine discussion by councils,<sup>15</sup> but the major route for commerce may have been that to the nearest port, Pisa. The most commonly used road for this journey branched off the Francigena only a few miles out of Siena and bore north-west through San Gimignano. With Rome the main links were financial rather than industrial. Whether the papal court and its innumerable ecclesiastical visitors were in that city or nearby in the Alban hills, or at Viterbo or Orvieto, they constituted the most promising nucleus of potential borrowers for Siena's bankers. Viterbo was the only significant commercial centre on the way to Rome, while Siena also had links with Umbrian towns such as Perugia, Foligno and Todi.<sup>16</sup>

That legislation concerning Siena's roads was extremely frequent is in part a testimony to its inefficacy.<sup>17</sup> Outside the city the principle of local responsibility for the upkeep of roads and necessary works prevailed, and on the chief roads boundary stones marked the limits of the areas of responsibility of the various localities. In 1306 twenty-nine authorities contributed sums ranging from 551. to 16 l. to the maintenance of the main road to Asciano and fifty-one shared the costs of the 30-kilometre stretch of the Francigena further west. Nine roads were regarded as 'principal' or 'public' ways, and those within two miles of the city walls ranked with those in the city itself. These were the special charge of three *ad hoc* officials (*pretori*), but after the 1270s they were reinforced by the office of six 'good men' appointed to act as general supervisors of roads, bridges and fountains. Later on it was decided that these functions were so sensitive that a high-grade official was appointed who was not to be Sieneese; the problems presumably arose over local financial responsibility, since only fountains were maintained from the city's general fund. This *iudex viarum* held office for a period of six months and his duties included both inspection and decision-taking. He supplemented and regulated but did not supplant the existing Sieneese supervisors.

15 E.g. CG 31, ff. 15 ff. (1286).

16 See D. Bizzarri, 'Trattati commerciali del comune di Siena nel sec. 13', *BSSP*, 30 (1923), pp. 199–216. On the itinerary of the thirteenth century papal Curia see A. Bagliani Paravicini in *Società e Istituzioni dell'Italia comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (sec. XII-XIV)* (Perugia, 1988), 1, pp. 225–46.

17 T. Szabò, 'La rete stradale del contado di Siena. Legislazione statutaria e amministrazione comunale nel duecento', *MEFR*, 87 (1975), pp. 141–86. Szabò counts 339 clauses in the Statutum Viarium (1290s).

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### PROMINENT BUILDINGS

The predominant impression within the city must have been one of social inequality. The homes of the wealthy towered above the dwellings of ordinary citizens, were much more numerous than churches and other religious buildings, and indeed in the thirteenth century had no secular rivals. Giovanni Antonio Pecci, an immensely learned eighteenth-century antiquary, noted that original sources known to him contained references to fifty-six towers as being in existence in the thirteenth century. This provides a minimum figure for the towers but it is also relevant that the list of *casati* or 'magnates' compiled by the commune in 1277 comprised fifty-three families.<sup>18</sup> The date at which leading families constructed 'palaces' or extensive towers cannot be established nor is it clear whether towers were features of all early magnatial palaces. Quite commonly the earliest reference that now survives to such a building is an account of its destruction by the commune following a 'rebellion' or family warfare or feuding. The rarity of specific reference before the middle of the thirteenth century is due merely to the poverty of surviving manuscript sources, the exceptionally early reference (1212) to the castle block *castellare* of the Ugurgieri family being the result of a freak (and indirect) survival.<sup>19</sup>

A rubric in the Sieneese statutes proclaimed the right of any citizen to build 'in the city or *burgi* (suburbs) a house or tower or any other building of any height, size or nature' – with the proviso that this applied unless the council should decide to establish fixed maxima. Nor should a citizen be deprived of his house or tower unfairly; any confiscation must be general, i.e. applied not just to an individual but to his co-owners also.<sup>20</sup>

The high towers characteristic of the towns of northern and central Italy in the Middle Ages had a parallel in the watch-towers of the countryside and were probably modelled on them, though there is insufficient evidence to establish any clear priority.<sup>21</sup> The purpose of the towers was primarily to serve as a place of safety, but they could also be used as bases for offence. 'If anything is thrown for the purpose of inflicting harm (*ad iniuriam*) or to begin or carry on warfare', the 'lord' or principal owner of the tower where the offence occurred had to pay a fine of 100 l., in the case of a *casatorre*, palace or other fortified building, or 25 l., in that of an unfortified building (1262). By the early fourteenth century the penalties had been increased and varied from a 400 l. fine for both the lord and

18 For Pecci's figure see *Misc. St. S.*, 2 (1894), pp. 18–25. Eleven torri in the terzo of Camollia are mentioned in *Lira*, n. 5 (1260).

19 P. Cammarosano, *La famiglia dei Berardenghi* (Spoleto, 1974), pp. 210–13.

20 *Const. 1262*, p. 403.

21 For a contrary view see A.A. Settia, 'L'esportazione di un modello urbano: torri e case forti nelle campagne del nord Italia', *Società e Storia*, 12 (1981), pp. 273–97.

the giver of the relevant command in the case of a tower (the thrower himself was to pay 200 l. and to lose the offending hand by amputation if payment was not made within a month) to a 50 l. fine for the thrower from an unfortified house.<sup>22</sup> In time of emergency the commune would commandeer and garrison and if necessary repair strategically situated towers.<sup>23</sup>

Tenure in common must have been liable to a continuing process of subdivision. In 1254 ownership of the Tolomei palace was divided into nine fractions, one half share being fragmented into four shares and the other into five. Even these nine shares were subject to co-ownership, so that at least twenty-four members of the family were part-owners at that date. This situation is revealed in the terms of an agreement that every ten years all the occupants would change their place of habitation within the palazzo. The principal aim was presumably to secure fair treatment for all concerned.<sup>24</sup> The process of subdivision was of course continuous: in the early fourteenth century one Francesco di Luccio owned a 1/192 share in the same palazzo or complex of buildings.<sup>25</sup>

Why did the possession of an imposing tower become a major social aspiration? The word 'aspiration' in itself helps (surely) with the answer. It would be hard to invent any achievement more illustrative of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous ownership. Not everyone could hope to achieve the status of those powerful men who 'began or carried on warfare', but possession of such a lofty launching-pad was an evident sign of having 'made good', of having become at least a potential aggressor. Ambitions to tower over others expressed social ambitions, to do so was to have strength and status: towerlessness was humility in the worst and best senses.

For a long time municipal building lagged behind. Throughout the thirteenth century, as before, the normal places for council-meetings were churches, most commonly the very central S Pellegrino or S Cristoforo, occasionally the cathedral.<sup>26</sup> More rarely secular palazzi were pressed into service, among them the palaces of the Ugurgieri, the Tolomei and Jacobus Pieri.<sup>27</sup> The rent for such scattered premises came to comprise a normal though not very considerable item in the commune's expenditure. At times the Podestà resided in the palaces of the Piccolomini, the Ugurgieri and Guglielmus Benachi, the Captain in that of Jacobus Pieri. In 1281 the normal meeting-place for councils was the palace 'formerly of the Alessi', while the leading office-holders (the Fifteen) met at the palace 'of the sons of Mariscotto', but by the following year the Fifteen had moved

22 *Const.* 1262. *Cont.* BSSP, 3, p. 89; *Cost.* 1309–10, 2, pp. 235–7.

23 B 36, f. 58 (1263); 39, ff. 3, 19 (1266); 44, f. 14v (1270).

24 Dipl., Tolomei, 19.3.1254 (text in English, '5 Magnate Families', pp. 237–40).

25 Balestracci Piccinni, p. 131.

26 CG 15, f. 43v (1272).

27 CG 5, f. 7v (1255); 17, ff. 45–8 (1273); 20, f. 33v (1275).

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on to the Gallerani palace. Tax officials sometimes met at the house of the Templars.<sup>28</sup> A building near the principal square, the Campo, which housed also some fiscal and other offices, was occasionally styled the 'palazzo del Podestà'.<sup>29</sup> Although rented premises continued to be required by the commune well into the fourteenth century, in the 1290s the great task was at last undertaken of clearing and extending the Campo with the intention of constructing a majestic public palace on the north side. Henceforth public wealth and might were to be proclaimed and private architecture would no longer predominate in grandeur.

### HOUSING

Towers and palaces were for a minority, but they tended to cluster near the centre, which made a quite different impression from that made by regions closer to the walls. This disparity is evident from tax assessments and payments. The surviving fiscal material from 1260 relates only to the terzo of Camollia, the northern third of the city, but it is noticeable that the sums due from taxpayers in a libra (fiscal parish) near the gate (S Bartolomeo) average only one-sixtieth of those due in the central libra of S Cristoforo *a lato dei Tolomei*.<sup>30</sup> The figures of payments made in 1285, which are from the whole of Siena, show a very clearly marked pattern, the nearer to the centre, the greater the sum paid. The wealthiest libre of the terzo of Città were Galgaria, Incontri and Manetti, all close to the cathedral. In Camollia the highest payments – as in 1260 – were from S Cristoforo, followed by S Pietro ad Ovile *sopra*, S Egidio and S Andrea *a lato della piazza*, all of them quite central, whilst in the terzo of S Martino too the rich libre were the central ones of Pozzo S Martino, S Pietro alle Scale and S Vigilio *dentro*. In contrast the poorest libre of Città were S Agata and S Marco, those for S Martino the similarly placed Badia Nuova and S Maurizio *fuori*. Even within particular regions this pattern normally prevails: the payments from Stalloreggi *dentro* were larger than those from Stalloreggi *fuori* (the proportion of those paying above 5 l. was eight times as high) and the same was true of S Andrea *a lato della piazza* and the less central libra of S Andrea itself. At the time of the major fiscal survey of 1318–20, for which there are fewer gaps in the surviving evidence, the same generalization held, as it did in other cities. Grohmann's study of Perugia in 1285 presents an identical picture and in particular emphasizes the poverty of those who lived immediately outside the walls.<sup>31</sup> Many of these, at Siena also, must have been recent immigrants living, surely, in roughly constructed shanties.

28 CG 25, Alleg. D; B 79, ff. 29–31; 82, ff. 155–6; Zdekauer, *Vita pubblica*, p. 88n.

29 An early reference (1248) is B. 8, p. 173.

30 Calculation from Lira, n. 5 (the sums are 1s. 3d. and 3l. 16s. respectively).

31 Balestracci Piccinni, maps 5 and 6; A. Grohmann, *L'imposta diretta nei comuni dell'Italia centrale nel XIII sec. La Libbra di Perugia nel 1285* (Rome/Perugia, 1986), pp. 63–106.

An indication of comparative wealth was the possession of a loggia or balcony, but these desirable features had disadvantages for the population as a whole. Extending over the narrow thoroughfares (only the main street was reasonably wide), they blocked the way and made the streets and passages dark and greatly increased the danger from fire. That hazard was one of the reasons for the policy of encouraging the construction of fountains. Crafts involving the use of ovens and kilns were seen as particularly perilous: potters were not permitted to have kilns inside the city, glass manufacture was prohibited within a zone of some fifteen miles,<sup>32</sup> and inspectors were sent out to search for potentially dangerous ovens. Despite these precautions fires were fairly frequent and it was difficult to confine the damage to the immediate neighbourhood of the outbreak. At least sixty-four major fires are known to have occurred in Siena during the fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Sometimes the damage was so widespread that nearby towns sent messages of condolence, as happened in May 1279 when more than 300 houses were burned to the ground. After a severe fire in 1292 it was decided to appoint a corps of eight paid fire-fighters (appropriately they were to be chosen from Siena's carpenters) while it remained the duty of all to assist in fire-fighting within their own region.<sup>34</sup> Checking fire from spreading often involved the destruction of property and it was not easy to reach decisions about this. Accusations of over-zealousness were inevitable because 'sometimes people suffer greater damage from human agency than from the fire itself'.<sup>35</sup>

'If it should happen that a house in the city of Siena is destroyed by reason of fire – which God forbid! – I [the Podestà] shall cause compensation to be paid by the commune according to the valuation made by three good and law-worthy craftsmen' runs a clause in the city statutes. This sworn estimate covered damage as well as total destruction.<sup>36</sup> The compensation could be an expensive matter for the commune and this may explain the failure to extend the provision to the Masse (the areas beyond the walls) where housing must have been tightly packed and mainly of timber.

In 1305 a fire caused much damage to the palazzo and houses of the Scotti and Saracini families. This proved a particularly costly occasion, largely because those who came to the rescue were numerous and their expenses considerable. At least 540 people helped over a period of two days, apart from 149 carpenters who gave skilled assistance. Many claimed for water-carrying pots which had been broken and one potter lost more than 1,000 vessels of various descriptions (767 oil jars at

32 *Const. 1262. Cont., BSSP*, 2, p. 138.

33 Balestracci Piccinni, p. 169.

34 Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 2, 213; *RIS, CS*, pp. 76–7, 225.

35 *Cost. 1309–10*, 2, p. 166.

36 *Ibid.*, 1, p. 302; *Const. 1262. Cont., BSSP*, 2, p. 140.

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16d. each, 374 water jars at 1s., 145 pots at 4d.). At a quite early stage more than 1000 l. was paid out by the commune (619 l. in compensation for damage, 402 l. in expenses and 41 l. in other payments to helpers). The bill continued to mount. When a member of the Tolomei family returned from a business visit to France he found that he and his 'consorts' had lost a house and a roof as a result of destruction undertaken to prevent this fire from spreading.<sup>37</sup> This disaster was by no means totally exceptional. In 1292 compensation totalling over 700 l. had been made to fifty-two houseowners, and a fire in 1307 involved the payment of over 1000 l. to twenty-nine owners and 138 l. to water-carriers.<sup>38</sup>

With buildings packed tightly together the policy of destroying houses to check fires from spreading must have created widespread damage. Towers which had been destroyed for this reason, others destroyed as a political punishment, and those which had collapsed from decay all constituted a danger and their debris sometimes blocked the streets. In 1271 the church of S Cristoforo was damaged by the destruction of the Salvani family's palace, and when the tower of the Incontrati fell in 1300 it caused havoc in the surrounding area. Nine members of the family died and the total death roll was over seventy.<sup>39</sup>

The very large volume of legislation concerned with building is also a reminder that lack of intervention by the commune in this matter would have brought about a very dangerous form of chaos.

### CONCERN FOR THE APPEARANCE OF THE CITY

That the commune, the community of the city, should be concerned with Siena's appearance as a matter of self-respect and pride was taken for granted. No doctrine of the rights of the individual hampered this assumption. A Sieneese could not, for example, destroy his own house except to rebuild immediately on the same site. Any dwelling demolished by its owners without consent had to be rebuilt within three months. This did not mean however that an all-powerful commune was totally ruthless in dealing with private property: if an owner suffered through schemes of clearance such as those designed to extend piazze, compensation was paid.<sup>40</sup> The prevailing attitude is well introduced by the words of a law proclaiming the need for a public garden in Siena: 'Among the cares and responsibilities that pertain to those who undertake the government of the city is especially that which regards the beauty of the city; and in any noble city one of the principal beauties is that it should have a meadow or place for the recreation and delight of citizens and strangers; and the cities of Tuscany and also certain

37 B 117, ff. 333–7, 339 ff; CG, 67, ff. 159–60v.

38 B 107, ff. 174v–5v; 121, ff. 301, 336 ff.

39 *RIS, CS*, p. 257; CG 59, ff. 76–8v.

40 *Cost. 1309–10*, 2, p. 264; B 83, ff. 111v, 117; Zdekauer, *Vita pubblica*, pp. 118–19.