



THE DISCOVERY OF THE TOLFA MINES AND THE REORGANISATION OF TERRITORY AND OF THE FINANCIAL FLOWS

Raffaella Maddaluno

CIAUD, Research Centre for Architecture, Urbanism and Design, Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa

rmaddaluno@fa.ulisboa.pt

RESUMEN

This paper will analyse the characteristics and relationship between market dynamics, financial flows, geography and urban space throughout the 15th century and into the 16th after the discovering of the Tolfa mines. These relationships will be strengthened and justified by the account of several important merchants and banker families that animated the Italian and international landscape during this period. Siena and its environs will be addressed first. By the 13th century, Siena had already evolved into the centre of operations for large business corporations whose activities expanded out internationally. These included the Bonsignori, Salimbeni, Tolomei and Piccolomini families. They partnered with the Roman Curia, fairs of Champagne, and merchant circuits of England, Languedoc, Flanders and western Germany in their financial operations. Europe's economic geography changed. Business interests shifted to the financial and commercial centres of Bruges, London, Lisbon, Seville.

Palabras clave: Tolfa mines, Siena, Roma, Renaissance

Bloque temático: 3. Dinámica Urbana. **Temas:** city and finance, territorial dynamics

Introduction

To trace all the financial flows of the 15th century, one must start with the city of Siena and its environs. Some of the most influential figures in the history of the markets and finance of the Italian Renaissance were active here. Together with other merchant families, the Chigi spanned the national and international spheres with agility and intelligence. They helped shape the urban landscape, a phenomenon we will analyse in the case of Rome.

By the 13th century, Siena had already evolved into the centre of operations for large business corporations whose activities expanded out internationally. These included the Bonsignori, Salimbeni, Tolomei and Piccolomini families. They partnered with the Roman Curia, fairs of Champagne, and merchant circuits of England, Languedoc, Flanders and western Germany in their financial operations. This golden era concluded in the 14th century, as the bubonic plague decimated the Sienese population and Florence began to assert significant dominance over markets. In reality, other Italian cities also suffered financial and market setbacks, yet they appear to have somehow managed to overcome this slowdown. (Tognetti, 2004, p. 28)

Europe's economic geography changed. Business interests shifted to the financial and commercial centres of Bruges, London, Lisbon, Seville, etc. This transformation led to the establishment of permanent banking branches and administrative staff with autonomous operational management powers. These continued to maintain ties to the parent offices. Siena's bankers and merchants proved unable to integrate into these new international dynamics. They were restricted to a national and on some occasions merely Tuscan, environment. The Chigi and Spannocchi families were the notable exceptions. Yet despite being producing wealth on a national (Rome, Naples, etc.) and international (Valencia) scale, they were unable to divert it to *Siene*se entrepreneurial projects.

The bank operated by Mariano Chigi (1439-1504)¹ enjoyed a considerable scope of operations. It was linked to such prominent players in Florence as the Cambini, a renowned banking family, as documents dating to 1466-1468 and 1470 testify. Mariano Chigi appears in these documents in partnership with Francesco Vieri in Viterbo. (Tognetti, 2004, p. 45)

Through the Cambini, Siena's merchants were able to sell wool from Abruzzo in Florence. This was considered the best Italian wool for the production of medium- to high-quality Florentine cloth. ² This detail is crucial because the bank operated by Mariano Chigi and his associates was the largest seller of Abruzzese wool.

The Chigi family also started a business partnership with the Florence mint in the mid-1460s. Minting was an expanding industry at this time, with the production of new silver coins such as the grossone, mezzo grosso and soldino. This activity reveals their leading role in financial innovation.³

The Chigi family enterprises were growing steadily by about 1466 when its activities are documented in the city of Viterbo, almost certainly because it had begun to penetrate the circuit of financial interests connected to the Roman Curia. Via the Cambini, the Chigi family sold modest quantities of alum to Florence, suggesting- as Tognetti argues- that Mariano's bank in Viterbo had begun to take interest in the nearby mountain deposits at Tolfa, discovered recently and immediately exploited by the popes as propaganda against the Turkish infidels. One of the crucial hinges of the Church's foreign policy was to identify the Turkish Empire as an enemy. One of its main objectives was to avoid any possible infiltration from the East, whether religious, political, cultural or even economic in nature.⁴

¹ Mariano was the son of Nanni and succeeded him in directing the Banks of Siena and Viterbo. He founded a corporation with Francesco Agostino Vieri of Siena, holding the position of *campor*.

² For further information about economic relations between Abruzzo and Florence and, in general, the late medieval Abruzzese economy, see Hidetoshi Hoshino, *I rapporti economici tra l'Abruzzo aquilano e Firenze nel basso Medioevo* (L'Aquila, 1988).

³ Richard A Goldthwaite, Giulio Mandich, *Studi sulla moneta fiorentina (secoli XIII-XVI)*, (Florence, 1994), 23.

⁴ Ottorino Montenovesi, "Agostino Chigi banchiere e appaltatore dell'allume di Tolfa", *Archivio della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria*, (Rome 1937), 107-147.

1. A new centrality of production and new power dynamic

The discovery of alum mineral deposits in the Tolfa Mountains altered some dynamics in the geography of power. Giovanni di Paolo di Castro was responsible for the discovery of the mines in 1462, as documented in the Commentaries of Pius II.⁵

Historiography tells us that the first quarries were opened in the central area of the Tolfa Mountains, between Tolfa Vecchia and Allumiere, in *La Concia* (in the forest of Sbroccati) and *La Bianca* areas, on which a residential nucleus to support the quarries would be built. (Zifferero, 1996)



Fig. 1: Details of the plan of the estates and forests from the *Corografia delle foreste camerali*, in ASR, *Disegni e piante*, coll. I, cart. 123, n. 229, 230. Source: <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2012?lang=es>

From another source of extreme importance, Friar Zenobi Simoni da Pescia, hermit of Monte Senario, who spent time at the sanctuary of Cibona in the 17th century, we also learn about the origin of the alum industry. In his "Ancient Memories of the Lumiere" he describes in detail the quarries opened at Bianca, and states that it was Agostino Chigi who moved the mining activity there, building a furnace, boilers, squares for the mineral, a building and a chapel for the miners. (Fig.1)

In reality, the attribution to Chigi of the construction of the complex would not be exact. It was the work of Giovanni di Castro, and probably, as Vallelonga points out, the attribution of the Chapel to the Chigi was a way to glorify the figure of the banker, his kinship with Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi – 1599-1667), to whom his writings were dedicated. But beyond the attribution of the site, it must be emphasized that the Bianca settlement was located on an older road, probably already in use in the Middle Ages. (Vallelonga, 2016, p. 66)

The papal intrusion continues when in 1458, Pope Nicholas V conceded the feudal holding of the castle at Tolfa Vecchia to the quarry owners, Ludovico and Pietro della Tolfa. This area held strong interest for high-born rivals.⁶

⁵ For a complete analysis of the events preceding the discovery of the mines, see Ivana Ait, "Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* [Online], 126-1 | 2014.

⁶ "Identified as sons of Tracheduccio or *Tungeduti*, known as *La Soma* ('Load' or 'Weight'). The papal brief in their favour followed a

The popes moved cautiously in this region given their strained relationship with local communities, subject to the jurisdiction of the State of the Church. A papal bull issued on 23 August 1461 validated Giovanni di Castro's agreement with the city of Corneto. This document formalised the contract concluded on 30 April of the same year, when Giovanni announced his discovery of vast quantities of alum in the area. The conditions specified in the contract were the possibility of exploiting the mines for 25 years, free provision of the fuel needed and the possibility of using firewood from the forests belonging to the city of Corneto. In return, di Castro agreed to pay 15% of the profits. (Ait, 2014, p. 4)

According to the 17th century historian Muzio Polidori, one of the first settlements in the area is also attributed to Giovanni di Castro. Pope Pius II allegedly granted him the authorization to build a premises for alum, a mill for wheat near the ruin of the church of Santa Severa, the latter identifiable in the current locality La Farnesiana (Polidori, 1977).

This area was of interest to alum contractors, especially the "Montexana" and "Montexanela" estates, mentioned in a contract dated 1492 and dependent on the territory of the Monte Cozzone castle.

The settlement of Santa Severella was readapted by virtue of its strategic position, along the route that connected the locality of Corneto with the mining basin.⁷

The most likely reading of the documents is that the discovery of the most important mines in Europe was backdated for propaganda purposes. The discovery might therefore be dated between the end of 1460 and the first months of 1461. (Fig.2)

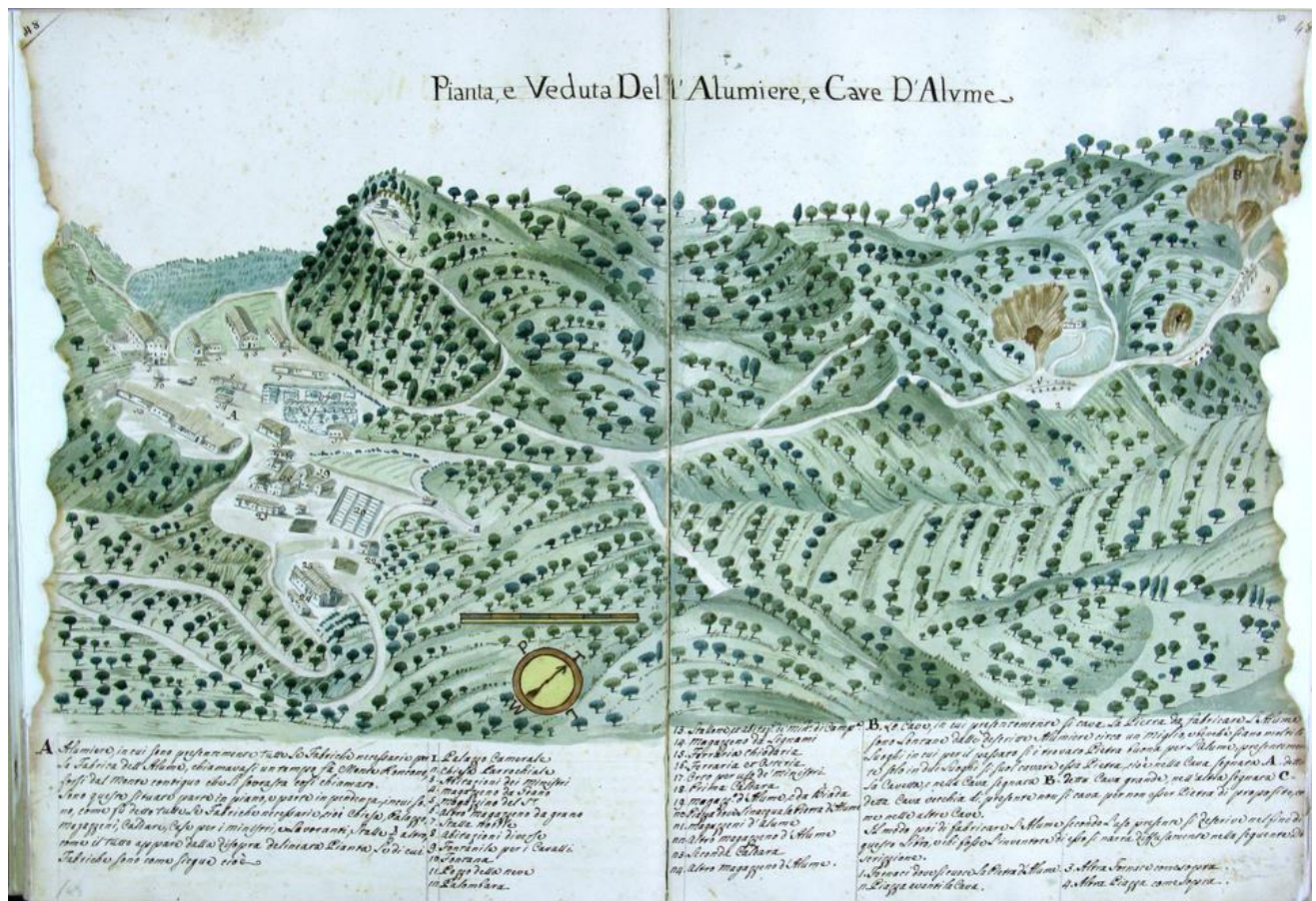


Fig. 2 General plan from Giovanni Battista Cingolani, "Misura, pianta e descrizione delle tenute spettanti allumiere da parte della Camera Apostolica", in ASR, Disegni e piante, coll. I, cart. 122, f. 211. source: <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2012?lang=es>

document Cardinal Bessarione had drawn up in opposition to the claim upon Tolfa Vecchia of the powerful Pandolfo and Felice Anguillara. (Ait, Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa, 2014).

⁷ Corneto was also involved in the early stages of the mining industry because of the possibility of using its port and supplying grain and animals to the mining settlements. (Vallelonga, L'insediamento della Bianca, il primo villaggio dei minatori?, 2016, p. 65)

Other episodes testify to the success of Giovanni di Castro as a merchant. Pope Pius II inserted him in the financial administration of the Apostolic Camera in the position of general commissioner of patrimony and the Roman provinces.

We also know that Giovanni di Castro visited Constantinople, which up to that point had held primacy over the production and trade of alum, extracted from the mines of Focea.

Documents indicate that the 'lumiere works' (from the Italian word for alum, *allume*) in the Tolfa Mountains were divided into three sectors. These were managed by di Castro and his two partners, an apostolic writer from Genoa named Bartolomeo Framura and the Pisan merchant Carlo Gaetani. In 1462, Pius II appointed a Genoan named Biagio Centurione Spinola as principal *magister dicte minerie alumum*: a position of absolute dominion.⁸

The terms of the contract were quite clear regarding the methods and need to make the extractive activities as efficient as possible. For example, the three partners were responsible for constructing housing for the workers and machinery (boilers and ovens), supplying equipment, contracting and paying workers, and underwriting the transport of alum from the quarries to the warehouses in Civitavecchia.

A clarification must be made regarding commercial methods. For alum sold by land, shareholders were bound to the conditions applied to other operators. For alum sold by sea, they enjoyed greater freedom. The two partners, Carlo Gaetani and Bartolomeo Framura, borrowed the enormous sum of 6000 gold ducats from merchant Piero dei Medici with the scope of increasing their commercial reach.

The Tolfa mines began to represent a true centre of production and consequently, to attract large flows of merchant capital. During the pontificate of Pius II, the Apostolic Camera entrusted the direction of alum purchases to the Spannocchi merchant family from Siena.

Pope Paul II is credited with solving an essential problem in the management of the mines. His predecessor had annexed the use of the subsoil to the state. To calm reactions, he appointed Ludovico and Pietro della Tolfa to the positions of honorary squires and mine guardians and granted them a share of the profits as well as a salary of 10 gold ducats per month. Paul II sought to definitively subject the area surrounding the quarries to the Church's power. The purchase of the castle at Tolfa Vecchia and all attached land was concluded on 2 June 1469 with the financial intermediation of the Medici family.⁹

Paul II's objective was to strengthen this domain, seeking as far as possible to control competition from other territories. He stipulated an agreement with the king of Naples on 11 June 1470 which founded the *compagnia et unione de tutte le allumiere* ('corporation and union of all alum mines'). For 25 years, Paul II would divide exports, transport costs, and insurance in two halves, shared between Rome and Naples.

The agreement was revoked in 1472 by Sixtus IV, who obtained the recession of Ferdinand I. In this environment, the Medici, initially welcomed as allies of the pope, later began to arouse distrust.

To guarantee the efficiency of its commercial sector, the Apostolic Camera was forced to rely on structured and tested corporations of merchants and bankers. With Pope Paul II, the Medici reclaimed possession of the Treasury of the Apostolic Camera. This meant they could resume the alum trade in autonomy. Moreover, following the death of Framura they became shareholders in the mining corporation.¹⁰

The ascension of Pope Sixtus IV to the papal throne heralded still more changes in the Church's commercial and business relations with the Medici family. The pope followed the tendency to favour relations with Genoa. Indeed, he appointed Viscount Cigala and Domenico Centurione to direct the Treasury of the Crusade. They shared the alum contract with Ludovico di Castro, son of Giovanni, for a period of ten years. Giovanni and Agostino Doria took over for Cigala following his death in 1479.

The Medici returned to the business of exploiting and selling alum only after the expiration of the ten-year

⁸ As Ivana Ait states, Spinola was famed at the international level for his skills in the mining sector. He had been employed by Venice, which had extended its search for minerals and metals to the mountains of Tyrol. (Ait, *Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa*, 2014).

⁹ The Duke of Ascoli, Orso degli Orsini, the brothers Ludovico and Pietro della Tolfa, and the Apostolic Camera agreed upon a price of 17,300 ducats. (Ait, *Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa*, 2014)

¹⁰ The Medici, "depositories of the above-cited alum works and the money that will flow from them", exercised a pure monopoly over the marketing of alum, which they funded themselves. They earned one gold ducat for each *cantaro*. It was also forbidden to sell forward, that is to transfer goods in advance or 'barter' without the license of the Apostolic Camera. (Ait, *Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa*, 2014, p. 44)

contract, in 1488.

Reconfirmations and alterations of the territory

We make a chronological jump and omit other episodes of succession and commercial alliance to arrive at Agostino Chigi (1466 – 1520) of Siena, a son of Mariano. He leased the mines that had belonged to di Castro.¹¹ Agostino Chigi brought a much broader vision to the alum trade. His commercial acumen, intelligence and ability to weave diplomatic relations with the very highest offices flowed into a single, unified project.

Upon winning control over the Tolfa alum monopoly in 1499, Agostino Chigi set about building an efficient and carefully pondered industrial system. He forged a strong alliance with the Spannocchi. He shook off the control of the Apostolic Camera by pledging to pay 15,000 carlini (1,500 ducats) each year. Having taken over Tolfa's production and mining business, he seized control of all other enterprises in some way dependent on the mines, such as the Massa quarries and those at Agnano, in the Phlegraean Fields.

The discovery of the alum mines liberated Christianity from its dependence on the Islamic world for this material, crucial not only for dying wool (and thus essential to the textile market) but in medicine for its hemostatic properties. This independence from the Turkish markets saved the Church about 300,000 ducats each year.¹²

This scenario of complex political and power events, in which the tension between nobility and papacy emerges with force, with the targeted destruction of some centers by the popes, definitely brought about substantial transformations in the territory. This must be considered to counterbalance the historiographical trends that attribute the territorial changes exclusively to the massive exploitation of allunite. As Francesca Romana Stasolla points out, the exploitation of the *allunite* contributed to the re-functionalization of the castles in the area, and to revitalize the economy of an area already with a strong industry. The development of mining is associated with the proliferation of new settlements and the revitalization of existing centers of medieval origin. The direct intervention of the popes had contributed to the acceleration of the crisis of some medieval settlements, putting an end to the territorial controls by the Lords, with the purchase of the 'Tolfa Vecchia' and the destruction of the 'Tolfa Nuova'. (Vallelonga, 2006, pp. 196-198)

The whole area, due to its previous territorial characteristics, quickly adapted from a functional point of view to the new mining industry put in place by Giovanni di Castro. (Stasolla, 2016, p. 45)

At first we witness, as has been repeatedly reported, a concentration first around Tolfa Nuova, then new small centers arise near the plants, such as Bianca, or as Allumiere, as the headquarters of the structures for the management of the industries. Here are hosted those who are directly or indirectly linked to mining. We are witnessing a shift in the identity landscape from the coastal strip to the inland hills, during the 16th -17th centuries, a shift due to the swamping of these places. This process leads to use the 'via Clodia' or the 'via Cassia' for long journeys. (Fig.3)

All this favors the economic revaluation of the centers of Etruria, especially the areas immediately adjacent to the aforementioned road routes. (Vallelonga, Del Ferro, & De Lellis, 2018)

From these dynamics there are therefore some territorial changes, which in some cases reinforced a previous industry, and in others adapted to the new extractive industry. For example, the areas far from the places responsible for the production of alum, such as those of Cencelle or S. Maria sul Mignone, resumed their ancient agricultural industry, organizing themselves into estates, often subject to the authorities of the Apostolic Chamber or to religious bodies. These estates had to have a reference center for the activities they were required to carry out, or even for the accommodation of workers and peasants. In Cencelle, we have news of a refurbishment of an ancient Romanic church according to the new need to create support structures: the

¹¹ Carlo Gaetani's son and heir, Alfonso, managed the other productive centre in the mining district. He became the depositary of the Treasury of the Crusade in 1421 and granted alum concessions to Paolo Rucellai and his partners, Florentine merchants Romanam curiam sequentes. In their division of responsibilities, Paolo Rucellai was engaged in selling the papal quota of alum in different locations - Venice, Genoa, Rome and Provence. Alfonso Gaetani produced 330,000 cantara of alum over six years. (Ait, Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa, 2014, pp. 55-57)

¹² The commentaries of Pope Pius II describe the discovery, as discussed above. E.S. Piccolomini (Pius II), *Commentari* (Milan, 1981), 677-680.

presbytery is transformed into a center for the new agricultural estate.

Even the milling activity, in some cases, is increased according to the extraction production. For example, Pope Piccolomini himself had allowed Giovanni da Castro to build a mill near the church of S. Severella, for *la comodità delle lumiere*. Similar events are repeated in different places in the area, everything that in some cases to guarantee a network of services around the main mining pole. In addition to the mills, metallurgical activity also finds its place in this process of redefining the territory. The production of iron was essential for the construction of the tools necessary not only for the quarries, but for agriculture, for the creation of the carpentry elements, for the shoeing of animals, etc. (Stasolla, 2016, p. 50)



Fig. 3: Detail of the plan of the Spiaggia di Mare from Montalto to Palo, 18th century, showing the roads that connected the port of Civitavecchia with Tolfa and Allumiere, in ASR, Disegni e piante, coll. I, cart. 44, n. 119 (legend : 8. Monti dell'Alumiere, 9. Tolfa, 10. Allumiere, 11. Cancelli, 12. Cibona, 13. La Bianca). Source: <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2012?lang=es>

After this brief analysis, we can summarize by identifying three macro-areas that result from the restructuring process of the territory: to the north an area with a tradition for the extraction of allumite deposits, to the south an area where a more consistent concentration of ferrous materials emerges which gives rise to an exploitation of the territory more aimed at guaranteeing the production of complementary resources. And finally, an area that includes the settlement tradition to support the exploitation of alum and its marketing. See the example of Castellina sul Marangone, whose existence seems to be linked to the control function of the road on which the alum passed to the port of Civitavecchia for embarkation. (Gran Aymerich & Prayon, 1996, p. 1127)

Even the road network undergoes a redefinition, creating what will be called "le strade dell'allume", which connected the entire structure of the production sites, places of storage, trade, agricultural estates and quarries, residential centers, mills and so on. A dense mobility that only partially leans on the existing road network. In some cases, the construction of new road sections is part of the contract agreements, as in the case of the contract of Andrea da Macerata who in 1465 undertakes to build the road that goes from Lumera to

Civitavecchia.

In some cases, even the construction of bridges, or other infrastructures, was foreseen in the contracts with the contractors, as in the case of the Olgiati family who built a bridge over the Mignone river between the end of the 16th and the first decades of the 17th century. (Passigli & Spada, 2014)

In some cases, the minor roads follow the traces of the production of ceramics, which in the case of Cencelle shows the connection with Tuscania and Blera, and with the axis of the Via Clodia. Therefore, it is no coincidence that on some stretches of the minor roads there are nuclei such as Vallerano, Farnese, Castro, well-known centers for the production of Renaissance majolica. (Stasolla, 2016, p. 51)

The alum industry also allowed the development of the port network. The popes took care to restructure the coastal defensive system, which also included the port infrastructures, such as the port of Civitavecchia, a strategic node for the alum trade, but also minor ports, such as the small port at the castle of S. Severa, the work of Urban VIII. Pius V in 1567 decrees the construction of new watchtowers (Torre Chiaruccia, Marangone, S. Agostino and Le Graticce and Pescie Romana) and the restructuring of those already existing (Maccarese, Polidoro, Flavia, Corneto, Il Torraccio, Montalto).

An important document for example, dated 13 June 1461, attests to a permit granted to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. This document addresses the privilege bestowed upon Piero to export and trade alum all over the world, free of the limitations linked to paying docking fees. For their part, the Medici committed to investing 200 gold florins to complete the construction of the Fortress of Santa Maria in Civitavecchia.

The entire area is being restructured according to this new mining industry and taking into account some pre-existing vocations. For example, as Stasolla tells us, the plans of the land registers including the Alessandria area show that most of the spots destined to supply wood for the processing of alum all began to be concentrated in the Tolfa basin. She also continues by noting that this concern to ensure the supply of raw materials for processing was already evident in the stipulations of the various procurement contracts.¹³

The role of Agostino Chigi in the governance of the Tolfa Mines

If we shift our interest to the city that represented the centre of the revenue streams, Rome, we must point out that at first, immediately after the discovery of the Tolfa deposits, there was no direct relationship between the profits from its production and the city's renewal project. Other interests attracted the attention of the popes. For example, Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1458 – 1464) concentrated on redeveloping his native city of Pienza (ancient Corsignano), rather than Rome. Moreover, several historical events of international importance steered the Church's European policy in other directions. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 immediately shifted the pope's concerns away from any type of cultural policy to the problems of war. The pope's sole objective was to avert the rampant danger posed by his Turkish nemeses.

we have seen how the Chigi family played a leading role in the financial power dynamics of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The Chigis' great talent lay in the ability to insert themselves into the most important commercial and financial circuits, like the Cambini and Spannocchi before them. The Spannocchi succeeded in controlling the Treasury of the Apostolic Camera, the Church's main financial body. Indeed, Agostino Chigi completed his period of technical training at the Spannocchi bank in Rome, where he was able to connect with the most preeminent actors in international finance, known as *mercatores Romanam Curiam sequentes* and active in Rome at the papal court (Ait 2015, 710)

The Chigi's financial empire in Rome developed on these premises. They had opened their bank in Rome alongside those in Siena and Viterbo. In 1502, Agostino became an equal partner with his father and Francesco di Matteo Tommasi. (Montenovesi 1937). It was in Rome that Agostino began to weave and consolidate

¹³ A contract of 1463 mentions the right *incidere et estrarre tam lapideis quam ligna*; in one of 1465, the landlord was obliged to sow a certain quantity of acorns every year in order to support the clearing of the woods around the alumiere. It was forbidden, for example, to cut down trees less than thirty years old. Under the pontificate of Alexander VI, there was a special officer for the surveillance of the Tolfa woods. (Stasolla, 2016, p. 44)

relations with the Medici, in particular with Cardinal Giovanni, son of Lorenzo dei Medici the Magnificent, who would ascend to the papal throne under the name of Leo X.

Giovanni became pope under the title of Leo X and undertook to complete the reform of the Church already initiated by such predecessors as Julius II, promoting not only new cultural and urban policies but new financial practices. To do this, he needed the continued support of a group of merchant bankers, who guaranteed him liquidity for his recurring debts. In return, he provided spiritual as well as material benefits, including sizeable and profitable contracts.

Agostino Chigi had already ridden these modes with the Medici Pope's predecessors. For example, he had obtained from Pope Alexander VI the Depositeria della Crociata, which gave him the possibility of managing the flow of money from the sale of the papal alum quota. In partnership with the heirs of Ambrogio Spannocchi, he had the concession to exploit the alum mining complex in Tolfa. These two contracts began on 1 May 1501 and were to be completed in April 1513.

On 27 April 1513- only a few months following the election- Leo X opened the seventh session of the Fifth Lateran Council. He announced his intention to organise a crusade against the Ottomans. The Treasury of the Crusade had been instituted in the mid-1400s, a special organ to finance wars against the infidels. The revenues from the Tolfa alum deposits, managed by the Apostolic Camera, were paid directly into the above-mentioned treasury.

Leo X's interest in exploiting the Tolfa mines was not a mere function of the qualities of alum and its valuable use in various industries, discussed above; above all, he viewed it as a partial solution to the constant need for liquidity to finance his enterprises. Operating as a pure monopoly, Chigi exercised complete control over the product. He set the price and decided whether or not to market the product to a given buyer. Chigi denounced the merchants who bought alum from Turkey or other sources, threatening them with possible papal excommunication.

The banquet was the pretext for discussing and negotiating the terms of a renewed alum contract. In fact, both Chigi's position as depositary of the Treasury of the Crusade and the concession were renewed.

It is said that Chigi spent 500 ducats on that occasion to honour the pope's presence by organising a sumptuous banquet, of which we have news from Sanudo's chronicles. The banquet was the pretext to discuss and refine the terms of the negotiations for the renewal of the concession of the alumiere contract. In fact, he was being renewed both as depositary of the Crusade and the contract for a duration of twelve years.

Conclusions

The historical analyses and the reflections of these on the territory, although partial, due to the complexity of the socio-economic context of the period considered, allow us to draw some brief conclusions. The first, and most obvious, is that an urban or territorial phenomenon cannot be fully understood unless it is supported by a careful and disciplined reading of the political and social conditions that contributed to its development. Very often the sign traced in the territory or in the city, is only the last step of a path of choices that comes from afar. And that same gesture will then enter a circuit of events that will in turn provoke new paths and new social and economic flows.

The second conclusion relates to the nature of the management of power in the hands of men of great institutional or political weight, as in the case of the popes in the Renaissance era.

This management, as we have seen, did not exclude, indeed required, a constant symbiosis between the world of the arts, of architecture, and the control and management of economic and planning instruments.

This pluralistic connection allows a vision both at the macro-scale of the territory and at the micro-scale of the story of an individual protagonist of a part of the narrative.

References

- Ait, I. (2014). Dal governo signorile al governo del capitale mercantile: i Monti della Tolfa e 'le lumere' del papa. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, 126-1. doi:<https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.1964>
- Ait, I. (2014). L'immigrazione a Roma e Viterbo nel XV secolo: forme di integrazione dei mercanti-banchieri toscani. Em B. De Bo, *Cittadinanza e mestieri. Radicamento urbano e integrazione nelle città bassomedievali (secc. XIII-XVI)* (pp. 263-282). Roma: Viella.
- Ait, I. (2015). Potere e denaro: Leone X e Agostino Chigi. In F. Cantatore, C. Casetti Brach, A. Esposito, D. Gavallotti Cavallero, P. Piacentini, F. Piperno, & C. Ranieri (A cura di), *LEONE X: finanza, mecenatismo, cultura* (p. 709-729). Roma: Edisegno srl.
- Gran Aymerich, J., & Prayon, F. (novembre-dicembre de 1996). Les fouilles franco-allemandes sur le site étrusque de la Castellina del Marangone, près Civitavecchia, Italie. Les campagnes de 1995 et 1996. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*, pp. 1095-1129.
- Montenovesi, O. (1937). Agostino Chigi banchiere e appaltatore dell'allume di Tolfa. *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 60, pp. 107-147.
- Passigli, S., & Spada, F. (2014). Il territorio delle cave. Trasformazioni del paesaggio vegetale e produzione dell'allume fra i secoli XV e XVI. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen âge*, 126. doi:<https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.2012>
- Polidori, M. (1977). *Croniche di Corneto*. Grotte di Castro: R. Moschetti.
- Stasolla, F. R. (2016). Le allumiere dei monti della Tolfa. Tra archeologia ed economia di indotto. Em L. Dallai, G. Bianchi, & F. R. Stasolla, *I paesaggi dell'allume. Archeologia della produzione ed economia di rete* (pp. 43-52). Roma: All'insegna del giglio.
- Tognetti, S. (Gennaio-Aprile de 2004). "Fra li compagni palesi et li ladri occulti". Banchieri senesi nel Quattrocento. *Nuova rivista storica*, pp. 27-102.
- Totaro, L. (Ed.). (1984). *I commentarii/Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II* (Vol. 2). Milano: Adelphi.
- Vallelonga, F. (2006). Decastellamento e trasformazioni territoriali nell'area dei Monti della Tolfa tra bassomedioevo ed età moderna. Em R. Di Paola, A. Antoniutti, & M. Gallo, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Arte, storia e cultura nell'Europa di Pio II* (pp. 179-205). Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.
- Vallelonga, F. (2016). L'insediamento della Bianca, il primo villaggio dei minatori? Em L. Dallai, G. Bianchi, & F. R. Stasolla, *I paesaggi dell'allume. Archeologia della produzione ed economia di rete* (pp. 53-68). Roma: All'insegna del Giglio.
- Vallelonga, F., Del Ferro, S., & De Lellis, L. (2018). La via Aurelia e la viabilità minore tra Roma e Civitavecchia nel Medioevo. Em C. Citter, S. N. Combescure, & F. R. Stasolla, *Entre la terre et la mer: La via Aurelia et la topographie du littoral* (pp. 273-282). Edizioni Quasar.
- Vaquero, M. P. (2011). Il porto di Civitavecchia tra limiti del passato e sfide future. Em G. Garzella, *I porti della penisola italiana. Due mari a confronto tra storia e sviluppo futuro* (pp. 157-159). Pisa: Pacini editore.
- Zifferero, A. (1996). Problemi di archeologia mineraria nel Lazio. Il caso dei Monti delle Tolfa. *Archeologia Medievale*, XXIII, pp. 739-753.