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## Ordering the Urban Environment: City Statutes and City Planning in Medieval Todi, Italy

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THE CENTER FOR MEDIEVAL AND  
EARLY RENAISSANCE STUDIES  
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK  
AT BINGHAMTON

# IDEAS OF ORDER IN THE MIDDLE AGES



EDITOR

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**IDEAS OF ORDER  
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## ORDERING THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT: CITY STATUTES AND CITY PLANNING IN MEDIEVAL TODI, ITALY

Samuel Gruber

Modern town planning in Italy did not begin in the Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> From the twelfth century on city states and individual rulers were busy founding and laying out new towns in Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany, Apulia, and Campania.<sup>2</sup> As Wolfgang Braunfels demonstrated over thirty years ago, the citizens of many older towns such as Florence and Siena spent a great amount of time and energy in deliberations concerning the appearance of their cities.<sup>3</sup> Relatively little attention, however, has been focused on planning and organization in older towns outside of Tuscany that flourished due to the demographic and economic boom of the twelfth through early fourteenth centuries. The growth of these towns, located on irregular sites with long and tangled building, property and political histories, is often dismissed as "organic" as opposed to "planned" development. Close scrutiny, however, of the physical evidence in many Italian hilltowns, such as street patterns, house sizes, and decorative details, suggests that this was not always the case, and documentary evidence, particularly a wealth of city statutes from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, demonstrates that there was an enormous amount of civic control over urban development.<sup>4</sup> The appearance of many medieval Italian towns was the result of changes that were incremental, but hardly accidental.<sup>5</sup>

Medieval towns which lacked the regular, and easily recognizable orthogonal plan of new towns such as S. Giovanni di Val D'Arno (Tuscany), or Cittadella (Veneto), must be looked at more closely to detect evidence of an urban vision. Because no architectural treatises, such as Alberti's or Filarete's, exist from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one can not be sure what even a few highly educated people required, or desired, of the cityscape.<sup>6</sup> Evidence is varied and scattered,

as in the case of the Umbrian town of Todi, but this evidence tells us that medieval citizens were strongly concerned with the physical and visual condition of their cities. Todi's citizens followed a practical, not a theoretical approach to urbanism. In this paper two aspects of that approach, one viewed from Todi's laws and the other from Todi's streets, will be considered.<sup>7</sup>

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Todi was a rather ordinary, or at least typical city. Its economy, government, and laws shared much with numerous other medieval towns. Like dozens of towns throughout Italy, Todi was an independent commune with a population between 12,000 and 15,000 in the 1320's, with an additional 35,000 or so people in the territory under Tudertine rule.<sup>8</sup> The civic administration consisted of Podestà, Capitano del Popolo and General Council, whose membership ranged from 300 to 500 citizens.<sup>9</sup> The podestà, always a noble from another city, presided in Todi for a six month term served by his staff, or *famiglia*.<sup>10</sup> Todi's economy was based on its role as a regional agricultural market, with little contribution from large scale manufacturing or long distance trade.

The communal government passed regulations controlling almost every aspect of town life, and these were periodically brought together as collections of city statutes. In Todi, two extensive and well preserved editions of statutes survive — the first, and smaller, from 1275, and the second from 1337.<sup>11</sup> After the definition of the form and offices of the government itself, and the reiteration of the criminal code, it was the maintenance of the physical town, and the proper function and upkeep of public amenities, that was the chief concern of statute makers. Like city and state governments today, the infrastructure and public works of the town were both the government's greatest asset, and its greatest liability.

Many of the individual statutes were passed in response to particular problems, and it is likely, as is the case today, that some of the statutes would have been reactive rather than preventive. Individually, these statutes cannot be taken as instances of enlightened town planning, or even conscientious town management. In fact, they might be construed as evidence to the contrary. But when collected and preserved in large wood-bound codices in the Palazzo del Podestà, the individual statutes took on a more coherent, and powerful, collective meaning. The statutes

were a representation of the commune, and as such, for example, the podestà and staff were sworn to uphold them.

Beginning in the early 1200's as a government with an ad hoc attitude toward city maintenance, the commune of Todi developed by the second half of the thirteenth century a real policy toward maintaining the order of the city. This policy was wide ranging, and included citizen responsibility, private denouncements and regular public inspections by city officials to detect problems and prevent serious damages. The specificity of the statutes regarding the city came to mirror, if not equal, the more complex criminal laws.

Most of these issues are considered in a "do's and don'ts" manner, specifying particular actions that are or are not allowed within the town walls, or within the larger territory. Often the place or time allowed for a specific activity, especially when commercial, is stipulated in the statutes. The regulations fall into three main categories: 1) those insuring that the town is kept clean and healthy, 2) provisions for the maintenance of specific buildings, and 3) regulations concerning new buildings.

Efforts to maintain public health are particularly striking. The close quarters of the medieval city, the constant proximity of men and animals, the limitations of the water supply and the inadequacy of the medical profession all contributed to this concern. The need to insure passage through narrow streets and to accommodate the life style where so much of everyday living took place in streets and *piazze* also necessitated concern for the disposal of household garbage and sewage, as well as refuse from crafts such as the noxious remnants from butchers and tanners and the bothersome debris from construction work. Numerous statutes express in strong terms the need to keep streets clear, gutters and sewers in repair, sick animals away, and so on.

Strong measures were taken against throwing garbage and other refuse in the public streets. In 1275, for example, many provisions against disorder in and disordering of the city streets are lumped together in one typical rambling entry:

No one of the city dare throw out any dead animal, great or small, in the "piazza comunale" or in any other city street, but they can throw them outside the city walls, and every violation is punishable with a fine of 10 solidi.

Likewise, anyone living next to a city street and especially when it rains, is responsible to have a broom and with this to clean the said street, and every violation is punishable by a fine of five solidi. The podestà is responsible to send every Sunday a member of his staff through the paved streets throughout the town, and he must denounce and accuse all of those who have filth in front of their house, or any dead animals or any sort of obstruction, against which the podestà, or whoever it is, is responsible to fine 10 solidi for each offence. No one can play at tilting or games of arms or throw stones in the paved streets under the penalty of 10 solidi . . .<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, it was “forbidden to throw anything from balconies, houses, or walls, and . . . to throw filth in public streets or alleys.”<sup>13</sup> In most of these cases half of the fine collected went to the accuser.

In 1275, the admonition is reiterated in regard to specific locations. For example, “It is stated that the podestà keep clear the Piazza San Fortunato and that no one throw any kind of filth, and that whoever disobeys the aforesaid regulation will be fined 10 solidi” and “It is stated and ordered that no one venture or presume to make any mess or filth or uncleanness in front of the church of San Giovanni and Paolo, and within the entrance of the said church and within the church itself, and in the lot or garden of the church, . . .”<sup>14</sup> Until it was demolished in 1298, the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo was on what is now the Piazza Garibaldi, a market site in the medieval town.

Many of these provisions are repeated in other statutes. In the 1337 compilation, all of these directions reappear, but they are often stated in much greater detail, with even greater emphasis on specific locations within the city. The main piazza is still mentioned most frequently, with a full set of rules just for behavior in that place, but many other spots in town — churches, gates, and specific streets, are singled out for attention too.<sup>15</sup>

The half century after the formulation of the 1275 statutes was the period of Todi's greatest prosperity, and the city grew dramatically, not just within the walls, but along them and outside them. Indication of this development can be found in the census of 1322, when many extramural parishes, such as San Stefano and Sant'Agostino, are listed. The



greater attention to places might be an indication of a greater urban sense within the government, or these may be responses to particular problems, such as dumping near the town wall, that became more pronounced as the city grew. In the statutes, additional indication of this growth can even be found in the regulations concerning the disposal of dead animals. No longer could they be deposited just outside the walls, but now they had to be dumped at least a half mile away.<sup>16</sup>

The water supply was protected from contamination by regulations restricting access to wells by animals.<sup>17</sup> It was expressly forbidden to lead sick animals to public fountains.<sup>18</sup> The podestà was charged with the upkeep of the city's public water supply, including the aqueducts, cisterns and fountains. In 1275 these included the aqueducts which led water from the roofs of buildings around the piazza into the cisterns beneath the piazza, the cisterns themselves, and the Scarnabeco<sup>19</sup> and Termoli fountains. In 1337 more provisions were added to protect the new cisterns on the Campidoglio and the new aqueduct which led water from the Campidoglio to the piazza.

The maintenance of drains and sewers was also carefully controlled. For example, the Statute of 1275 specifies that "the sewer that is outside of Porta Carrigii, . . . at the corner of the house of Andreus" be "made precisely in the prescribed way."<sup>20</sup> Based on other notices this prescribed way might have been a channel down the middle of the street covered with slabs of stone. Other sewers and drains are also mentioned. The podestà was also required to make sure all drains, sewers, and aqueducts near paved streets ran underground. Drains from houses, leading waste from toilets and kitchens were also regulated.<sup>21</sup> In 1337, the terracotta pipes which descended from the upper floors in the narrow spaces between houses were not allowed to be attached to the walls of the opposite houses.<sup>22</sup>

The incoming podestà was required to examine many of the public properties and spaces within the town and if these were in need of repair, to effect these repairs immediately. The fines imposed on the podestà and on members of his staff were quite steep, and these could be withheld from their salaries.

The statutes ordered that the podestà and his staff be concerned not just with the appearance of the city streets and piazze, but with their real physical upkeep and improvement. The statutes empowered the *iudex extraordinarius*, a regular member of the government, to determine which

streets in the city and which roads and bridges in the territory would be repaired, widened or cleared of any obstructions.<sup>23</sup> These obstructions included balconies and other built additions to the houses of the town, that, as in so many medieval cities, gradually encroached upon the public space of the streets.

In Todi there are no surviving wooden balconies, but their traces can still be seen and their existence is mentioned elsewhere in the statutes.<sup>24</sup> Based on an examination of the surviving buildings they appear to have occurred only on the larger houses on the wider streets, or on those facing piazze. The statutes of 1275 allowed

proprietors of houses with frontages on communal or private streets to construct terraces and balconies without payment of any sort to anyone, provided that they do not extend beyond the middle of the streets and on the condition that they are at least ten feet above the level of the ground walkway and that they are adequately supported or attached to the buildings so that nothing can fall and endanger any passerby.<sup>25</sup>

Violators were fined 20 solidi. Under these same projections it was not allowed to dump garbage or allow it to pile up, or to build cesspools.

What the law specified and what actually took place could be two different things. In Florence, for example, 14th century officials waged war on the “sporti,” the overhanging upper stories of the Florentine houses. On the grounds that they hampered communication and blocked light and air, they were forbidden on many major streets. Villani reports, however, that many people preferred to keep their “sporti” and pay the fine, which in 1338, he says, totalled 7000 florins.<sup>26</sup> I have yet to discover any records of fines collected in Todi for balconies built in violation of city statutes, but in the surviving *Liber Communantiarum Comunis Tuderti* of 1282 there are numerous instances of citizens being held accountable for other violations, such a building rubble left in front of their houses and other obstructions of the public streets.<sup>27</sup>

It is clear in the case of balconies, that the governors of Todi were attempting to deal with an existing situation, one which could not be solved by the total elimination of the balconies, but rather through accommodation. Other recognitions of the status quo appear. The old tradi-

tion of building houses on the town wall, which again is evident in scores of medieval towns, is accepted by the commune, with the provision that those with houses atop the "*murum communis in extrimitate civitatis*" have them built in such a way so that they are not obstructive, and do not project over the wall.<sup>28</sup>

Other regulations concerning the construction of houses required that a space be left between them. This "*intercassella*" was to be no less than 40 centimeters wide and was to be kept clean of garbage.<sup>29</sup> In 1282, however, there are several instances where house owners are ordered to block up these openings, probably because they were proving too difficult to keep clean.<sup>30</sup>

Turning from what was written to what was built, I would like to suggest that the citizens of Todi were interested not only in the practical issues of city maintenance, but that they also had esthetic concerns. But on esthetics, the written sources are virtually silent. Any attempt to recapture the way the residents of medieval Todi viewed their city must therefore be problematic. It must be based on a careful consideration of the built city itself, as it survives, and for that we must engage in the difficult and often impossible task of mentally, if not physically, stripping off the built accretions and the many subsequent centuries. We must try, too, to recapture the medieval city as it is lost, to readjust streets blocked or widened in the sixteenth or nineteenth century and to rebuild and repopulate in our minds tracts of houses leveled in the fourteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>31</sup> The results of such labors cannot always be absolute, but the accumulative impressions can lead us to appreciate aspects of the medieval urban environment of which city notaries and magistrates seldom if ever spoke. Here, I would like to consider some of the questions concerning the relationships of buildings to streets and piazze — particularly siting and decoration.

Property boundaries determined the siting of most buildings. The conditions of light and air may have helped determine building orientation. The view of a building from the street or piazza, however, was also a serious consideration. Though I know of no documents in Todi which refer to a building's beauty, the Statutes of Siena of 1309 encourages the rebuilding of house facades, specifically for the city's "*bellezza*."<sup>32</sup> In Todi, the most visible sites were the preferred sites for the houses of the major families. The Chiarevalle, Astancolle and Atti palaces are all located on corner sites where they can be seen from several approaches.

Almost every public building in Todi, whether civic or religious, can be seen before it is reached, but these buildings are rarely approached head on. Direct axes do not exist. Sharp corners and rounded apses project into the sight lines of approach streets, and the full building is only slowly revealed. Even the Duomo is seen, at first, indirectly from any of three major streets entering the center of town. Samuel Edgerton, in his study of Renaissance perspective, has suggested that medieval paintings of cities allowed “experiencing structures, almost tactilely, from many different sides, rather than from a single overall vantage. . . .”<sup>33</sup> The paintings reflect a reality about the siting of buildings within the medieval urban context, and how these buildings were approached and seen by the medieval viewer. This arrangement is not arbitrary, but the result of a carefully considered relationship between buildings and streets. This relationship can be easily viewed in Todi.

The present Via Mazzini, known as Via Maior in the Middle Ages, enters the Piazza of Todi from the southeast. At first, only the right hand side of the Duomo and the campanile are visible, framed between large buildings. As one nears the piazza the street becomes even narrower, squeezing one’s view into a tightly controlled vista of the campanile. Was this framing device deliberate? The corners of the buildings which define the “picture frame” are detailed with tall slender applied colonnettes topped with sculpted decoration, something extremely rare in Todi that suggests an awareness of the visual effect. The Duomo facade and campanile as built probably post-date the arrangement of street and piazza, yet the positioning of the campanile still responds to the approach street (fig. 1).

A second important street entering the piazza is the Corso Cavour, part of the ancient Via Ulpiana. As it climbs towards the center of town, the street focuses on the southwest corner of the Palazzo del Podestà which beckons from afar (fig. 2). This was originally the main entrance into the palace. A stair rose from the Piazza Garibaldi just at the building’s corner. One perceives the seemingly narrow palace as the destination, but on getting closer, the Piazza Garibaldi opens on the right, and one realizes the larger size of the building, and gets the first view of the Piazza Maggiore beyond, to the left. This view is funneled, too, like that of Via Mazzini, only hinting at the space beyond, that then suddenly opens up as one takes a few steps into the square.



Figure 1. Todi. View of Duomo campanile from Via Mazzini.



Figure 2. Todi. View of Palazzo del Podesta from Corso Cavour

It must have been the conscious choice of the Palazzo del Podestà builders to have it protrude into the Piazza Maggiore and have the view of the building unfold from afar. The ancient street existed before the construction of the Palace, and probably had entered directly into the piazza (formerly the Roman Forum) along the line now maintained by the facade of the Palazzo del Capitano which replaced houses on the site in the 1290's, the private buildings still beside it, and the present Via del Duomo. The Palazzo del Podestà aggressively breaks the old street line. From both sides, the new Palace struck out, a bravado show of civic pride — and perhaps at that still early stage of communal development, defiance.

The building history of the Palazzo del Podestà is not precise.<sup>34</sup> The present grand stairway is really a nineteenth century reconstruction of a probable sixteenth century stair. The exact medieval appearance of the stair cannot be determined. On the Piazza Garibaldi facade traces of the earliest stair, the blocked door, and the original placement of the commune's arms above the door, were noticed before the late nineteenth century restoration. The main entrance to the palace was switched to its present location on the piazza facing the north sometime in the thirteenth century, probably by the podestà Pandolfo Savelli in 1267.

Both the original stair and the later stair were important administrative and ceremonial points within the city. Public announcements and presentations, such as the annual act of submission of the town of Amelia,<sup>35</sup> and petitions and representations, including bids for contracts for public works projects, were received on the stairs.<sup>36</sup> The movement of the stair from the smaller piazza to the larger would not have changed its function or the way in which it was perceived, especially since the new stair too was lined up on an important street, this time the Via del Duomo.

A few meters from the mouth of the Via Mazzini, is the Via del Monte. We zigzag up the slope of Rione Valle and then turn at right angles to enter the Piazza Maggiore. Framed between the walls of the buildings of this tiny street not more than two meters wide, is again, the Palazzo del Podestà, this time showing its west facade. And as we move up the narrow opening, now made smaller by a post-medieval "ponte," spanning the street at the piano nobile level of the adjacent houses, the walls seem to open up, so that about five meters from the

end of the passage the entire width and height of the Palazzo del Podestà is visible (fig. 3).

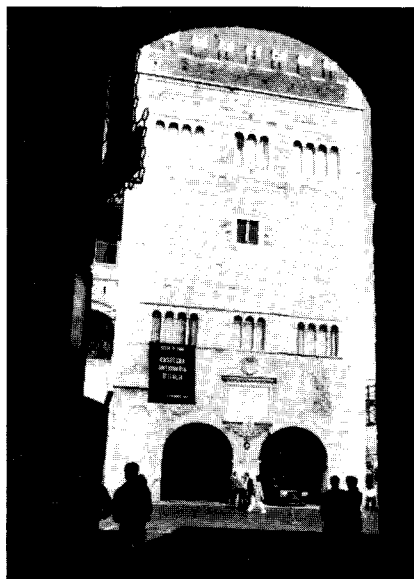


Figure 3. Todi. View of Palazzo del Podesta from Via del Monte

The focusing of streets on specific buildings, or siting of buildings — or their doors, windows, balconies and corners — on streets, occurs again and again throughout the city. As can be seen in the plan, in the area around the Piazza Maggiore alone, this type arrangement occurs over a dozen times. Straight streets, when they do occur in the maze of the city plan, are constantly interrupted. One of many examples is the Via San Lorenzo which runs parallel to the Piazza, in front of the parish church of San Lorenzo, and heads dead on into a door — now blocked. On the other side of the obstructing building, the same thing happens. The precise date of these buildings is not known, but the materials, masonry and building details are those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

These adjustments, which provide well chosen views of buildings from streets, when seen by themselves can appear to be part of a casual, accidental urbanism, but when seen in such abundance, and considered in the light of the concern for the appearance of the city expressed in

the statutes, should be considered at the very least as an important medieval esthetic, and at best as examples of a more sophisticated planning.

Todi's statutes, and the actual urban fabric suggest that the citizens of Todi carefully ordered their environment by correction, adjustment and improvement. In the case of Todi, and in the many other towns which developed under similar situations, it is important not to equate urban planning with geometrical regularity. The ordering of the medieval urban environment took place in many other ways.

Columbia University

## NOTES

1. W. Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana* (Berlin, 1953). See also the review by W. Lotz in *Art Bulletin*, XXXVII (1955), 65-67. Braunfels' themes are further developed in E. Guidoni, *Arte e urbanistica in Toscana, 1000-1315* (Rome, 1971). The most recent treatment of the planned towns of Tuscany is D. Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Design and Urban Transformation in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Ma., (forthcoming).
2. For an introduction to Italian new towns see P. Lavedan and J. Hugueney, *L'Urbanisme au Moyen Age* (Geneva, 1975), 101-5.
3. Braunfels is particularly interested in the role of individual artists, such as Giotto or Giovanni Pisano, in the shaping of the urban environment.
4. Recent discussion of how statutes relate to actual building patterns and processes include D. De Giovanni, "L'ampliamento di Assisi nel 1316," *Boll. d. dep. di storia patria per l'Umbria*, LXXII (1975), 1-7; D. Andrews, "Medieval Domestic Architecture in Northern Lazio," in *BAR International Series* 125, (Oxford, 1982), especially pp. 64-67; and I. Ceccarini, *S. Gimignano: Crescita Urbana Disciplinata dagli Statuti dei Sec. XIII e XIV*, (San Gimignano, 1983). See also W. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune, Siena under the Nine, 1287-1355*, (Berkeley, 1981).
5. Braunfels went so far as to state "Medieval cities are a work of art. We have to understand their patterns of growth just like those of an individual palace, a statue, a painting," thereby accurately stressing the idea of intention in medieval urbanism, but overly stating the case for artistic vision, in contrast to collective compromise.
6. We have no treatises on architecture and city building before Alberti's *De Architectura* of 1452, and no lengthy descriptions of large scale designs for city planning and



building, such as we find in Giannozzo Manetti's biography of Pope Nicholas V, also written in the 1450's. With the exception of lengthy descriptions of Milan by Fra Bonvicinus de Rippa (1288) and of Florence by Giovanni Villani (before 1348), there are few instances where we can even begin to see the medieval city, real or ideal, through the eyes of contemporaries. More practical writings, in the form of specific directions for the laying out of new neighborhoods do survive, however, from Assisi (see De Giovanni *op. cit.*); Brescia (see E. Guidoni, "Appunti per una storia dell'urbanistica nella Lombardia tardo-medievale," in C. Pirovano (ed.), *Lombardia — Il territorio, l'ambiente, il paesaggio*, (Milan, 1981), vol. I, 109-162); and elsewhere.

7. Todi was founded as an Etruscan stronghold and it became a Roman city, but it is best known today for its well preserved medieval appearance. This is partly due to several impressive public buildings — including the Romanesque Duomo and the high Gothic Franciscan church of San Fortunato; and the magnificent grouping of three civic palaces set on the central piazza, all structures built between the early 1200's and the mid 1300's — but also to the evocative collection of less monumental medieval structures, mostly houses, which still line the city's narrow, and often twisting streets. The large number of these houses, and their often excellent construction, testify to the widespread prosperity of the late medieval city.
8. These numbers are based on an examination of the *catasto* of 1322 (A.C.T.) which lists all property holders within the city of Todi by *riione* and parish.
9. A political history of Todi remains to be written. G. Ceci's *Todi nel Medio Evo* (Todi, 1897) presents a sketchy history until 1300, based on documents. Information concerning Todi's government comes largely from the city statutes of 1275 which is published as G. Ceci and G. Pensi, *Statuto di Todi del 1275* (Todi, 1897), and of 1337, which exists in manuscript copies in the Archivio Comunale di Todi (hereafter A.C.T.). For this paper I have consulted the clearest copy, Arm. II, Palch, 1, no. 4.
10. For a general look at the organization of Italy's communal governments in the later Middle Ages see D. Waley, *The Italian City Republics*, (New York, 1969).
11. Hereafter referred to as *Statuto* 1275 and *Statuto* 1337.
12. *Statuto* 1275, II, 35: "DE PENA PROHICIENTIS ANIMAL MORTUUM PER CIVITATEM."
13. *Statuto* 1275, II, 1. "QUOD NULLUS TABERNARIUS PROHICIAT CUCURAM IN VIIS PUBLICIS."

14. *Statuto*, I, 59: "DE PLATEA SANCTI FORTUNATI," and II, 103. "PRO ECCLESIA SANCTORUM IOHANNES ET PAULI."
15. For example, *Statuto* 1337, book IV, rubric 142 (151v) mentions Porta Vallis, porta Carrigi, and "supra murum Sancti Angeli." Book V, rubric 31 mentions "a Porta Carigii usque ad Portam Martii et a tribio Sancti Silvestri usque ad Portum Camuccie."
16. *Statuto* 1337, IV, 150: ". . . et postquam fuerit animal mortuum sic egrotum teneatur ille cuius est facere ipsum portare extra civitatem Tuderti alonque (?) per medium miliare ad penam predictam." and *Statuto* 1337, V, 32: "DE PENA DECORANTIS ANIMALIS BRUTI CONTRA INFRASCRIPITAM FORMAM. Item statutum quod nullus alicuius bruti animalis cadaver decoriet in civitate vel burgis Tuderti vel prope per medium miliare ad penam decem soldorum pro vice qualibet auferendam a contrafaciente."
17. *Statuto* 1275, I, 53: "QUOD NULLUS MACELLARIUS ABRUSCET VEL INTERFICIAT ALIQUAM BESTIAM IUXTA PUTEOS."
18. *Statuto* 1275 II, 42: "DE ANIMALI EGROTO." The order is repeated in *Statuti* 1337, IV, 150.
19. *Statuto* 1275 II, 25: "QUOD NULLUS FACIAT PARAM AQUE PLATEE," II, 82: "DE CONDUCTIS CISTERNARUM," and II, 58: "DE FONTE SCARNABICCI."
20. *Statuto* 1275 II, 101: "DE CLOCANA PORTE CARRIGIJ."
21. In *Statuto* 1337, V, 20, the *Iudex extraordinarius* was responsible for maintaining streets and "facere murari omnes et singlas formellos et cludi, tam amplos quam strictos . . ."
22. *Statuto*, 1337, V, 11: Et quod nulla persona possit habere nec facere aliquam privatam et sciacquaiale in aliquo formello ubi mactonus infixus est, in muro aliquis sive aliquis murus protenderetur usque ad murum alterius vicini . . .
23. *Statuto* 1275, I, 15: DE VIIS PUBLICIS ACTANDIS ET SUPRA APREHENSIS.
24. They are mentioned on occasion in the Statutes. For example in *Statuto* 1337, IV, 142: "Item nulla persona de domo balcone vel muro prohibiat aliquam cucuram vel fetorem in fictis locis sub pena predicta . . ."
25. *Statuto* 1275, I, 80.

26. Villani, *Croniche*, Book XI, chap. 92.
27. A.C.T. Arm. III, palch III, no. 10.
28. *Statuto* 1275, II, 63: "DE ILLIS QUI HABENT DOMUM SUPRA MURUM COMMUNIS."
29. *Statuto* 1275, II, 17: "DE MACTONIBUS EXISTENTIBUS INFRA INTER-CASIA" and *Statuto* 1337, V, 11: "DE MACTONIBUS EXISTENTIBUS INTRA CASAS."
30. *Liber Communitiarum Comunis Tuderti*. A.C.T. Arm. III, palch III, no. 10, fol. 142v. Assobono and Someo are ordered to wall up the opening up to ten feet within eight days.
31. In the late fourteenth century much of the residential area of rione Colle was demolished to build the Rocca. In this century the present Via Ciufelli was created out of the old Via della Valle Superiore, by demolishing most of the houses on one side of the street. Likewise the grand approach to the church of San Fortunato was created by destroying the entire hillside of houses formerly in front of the church.
32. See A. Lisini (ed.). *Il Costituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX* (Siena, 1903), vol I, 406-7. For more on Siena's building see D. Balestracci and G. Piccinini. *Siena nel trecento: Assetto urbano e strutture edilizie* (Florence, 1977).
33. S. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York, 1975), 9-10.
34. Most of the important notices concerning the building's history are published in G. Ceci and U. Bartolini, *Piazze e palazzi comunale di Todi*, ed. by M. Pericoli (Todi, 1979). A full study of the architecture and structure of the building has never, however, been undertaken.
35. Amelia was conquered by Todi in 1208. Every 29th of June, during the vigil of San Fortunato, Amelia made its annual act of submission. A representative of Amelia presented the podestà with his tribute of a fifteen pound candle, at the foot of the steps of the Palazzo Comunale. See A.C.T., *Registrum veteris*, istromento 63, and G. Ceci, *Todi nel Medio Evo* (Todi, 1897), 89-90, 165.
36. The *Liber Communitiarum Comunis Tuderti* of 1282 (A.C.T. Arm. III, palch III, no. 10), mentions at least two instances for the presentation of bids at the stairs. One (fol. 142v) asks for bids for construction work at the Fonte Termoli, and these are to be presented "in scalis palatii dicti comunis. . . ." The other (fol. 148r) involves work on the cisterns on the "Campitolii."