

# ***The Financing of the Church and Hospital of Santiago De Los Españoles in Rome in Early Modern Times***

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From the Middle Ages there existed in Rome a charitable institution for the care of the pilgrims arriving from the domains belonging to the Crown of Castile.<sup>1</sup> This institution, known by the name of the Church and Hospital of the Spanish Nation, grew considerably from the end of the fifteenth century, when it established its new headquarters in Piazza Navona. Through the centuries it accumulated a significant patrimony in goods, chattels, and real estate, which allowed it to develop an intense welfare and religious service programme for the members of the Crown of Castile that lived in Rome, and to increase its income substantially.<sup>2</sup>

## **1. Sources and Method of Administration**

The creation, development and profitability of the estate of Santiago are accurately recorded in the documents stored in the Archive of the

<sup>1</sup> On the origins and history of this institution see the works by J. Fernandez Alonso, "Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma. Sus orígenes", *Anthologica Annua*, 4 (1956), pp. 9-96; and "Santiago de los españoles de Roma en el siglo XVI", *Anthologica Annua*, 6 (1958), pp. 9-122.

<sup>2</sup> There are several works dedicated to analyzing the financing of Santiago degli Spagnoli: M. Barrio Gozalo, "La Real Casa de Santiago y San Ildefonso de la Nación Española de Roma a mediados del Setecientos", *Anthologica Annua*, 41 (1994), pp. 281-309, which is limited to the eighteenth century. By contrast, M. Vaquero Pineiro, "Santiago degli Spagnoli a Roma. Beni e redditi all fine del XV secolo", *Medievo. Saggi et Rassegne*, 3 (1988), pp. 143-160; and "Il patrimonio immobiliare di Santiago degli Spagnoli tra la fine del '400 e la seconda metà del '500", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 112 (1989), pp. 269-291, focus on the final years of the fifteenth century and all of the sixteenth.

*Obra Pía* of Santiago and Montserrat in Rome. Some documents show, almost in photographic sequence, the situation of the estate and its income at a specific moment in time.<sup>3</sup> Others reflect the annual behaviour of the income and properties. Such is the case with the *Registros de cuentas del camarlengo*, which show the economic development of the House of Santiago year by year, from 1486 to 1803,<sup>4</sup> when the institution merged with *Santa Maria de Montserrat*, adopting the unified title of *Santiago y Santa Maria de Montserrat*.

Already in 1500, the *Registros de cuentas* display a clear and faithful pattern of bookkeeping for the development and annual profits of the estate. Income is broken down into two sections: *pecunias domorum* and *pecunias provenientes*. The former includes the fixed rents from town properties, while the latter, the uncertain revenues deriving from alms, donations, rights of burial, etc. In the second half of the sixteenth century, when the institution started to invest in public bonds, a new section was created to show the returns from such bonds. The same thing was done with leases (*censos*) and a few other items.

Expenditure is also broken down into different sections, which makes its analysis easier: chaplains' salaries, church and hospital, house repairs, etc.

The analysis of this rich documentation allows us to follow step by step the development of the estate throughout the modern period, both globally, and in relation to specific matters, particularly since every fiscal year ends with an increasingly detailed summary or balance. However, in order to evaluate these summaries or final balance sheets with some degree of precision, we need to take into account the fact that the heading expenditure reflected the amount of rent that the *camarlengo* or treasurer had to collect, not what he

<sup>3</sup> Among these, the following can be cited: Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2221: Estado de los capitales pertenecientes en el año de 1736 a la Real Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago de la Nación Española en Roma; AGS, Estado, book 202: Libro Maestro de la Real Casa de Santiago y San Ildefonso de los Españoles de Roma ( . . . ), en el año 1755 (There are three copies of this Libro Maestro in the Arch. Obra Pía, legs. 1, 2 and 2bis; Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224: Capital activo de Santiago de los Españoles en 1797; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, legs. 409-410, 489-582, 655-656, 1278, 2220-2224. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the records for some years are missing.

actually received. That is to say, that even though he may not have collected a particular house's rent or the returns from some public bonds, the *camarlengo* entered the amount due, because he was responsible for the income generated during his appointment. Thus, sometimes we will find an imaginary revenue and a real expenditure.

In order to solve this problem and enter the amount of money that the *camarlengo* had been unable to collect during his term in office (i.e. on account of delays in the payment of rents, houses that had gone unrented, etc.) the item "embezzlement" of income has been devised. It is registered in the expenditure account as if it were another item of expenditure.

Despite such corrections, one should not make too much of them.

Except for a few years, the difference between real and imaginary income was not great, and the accumulated deficit was usually made up in the subsequent tax years with the collection of overdue rents. In any case, whenever it has been possible, I have corrected the discrepancies in order to present numbers that reflect the economic growth of the Church and Hospital of Santiago de los Españoles in Rome from 1500 to 1800 as close as possible.

The administrators were responsible for the smooth management of Santiago's economic affairs. The statutes that governed the House of Santiago from the death of Paradinas (1485) stipulated that the administrators had to visit the houses and properties of the church and hospital to see if they needed repairing. They were also responsible for collecting the rents and leases owed to the institution, and for keeping the proceeds in the archive. Every year they were required to submit their accounts for auditing by two individuals. Once approved, a formal statement was drawn up in which the accounts were declared acceptable.<sup>5</sup>

The statutes of 1586<sup>6</sup> were even more explicit. Chapter ten, under

<sup>5</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 17, ff. 1-12: Constituciones para el gobierno de la iglesia y hospital de Santiago ( . . . ) Año 1485, specifically chapters 2, 3 and 4 (ff. 2-3v). The Acuerdos de las congregaciones para el régimen y gobierno de Santiago. Años 1500-1574 are contained in the same leg..

<sup>6</sup> AGS, Estado, leg. 5118: Estatutos de la Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago y San Ildefonso de la Nación Española, aprobados en 1586, Rome, 1650. Another copy can be found in Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 18.

the section entitled *Oficio de los administradores*, sets out what the administrators were required to do in order to fulfill their duties. Besides ensuring the order of tables during the celebration of mass (these tables were in the sacristy), and that the sick were visited every day, the administrators had to see “that much care be taken in the administration of assets, which are to be distributed by trustworthy people; that only that which is strictly necessary be spent; that accounts be settled often; and that income be increased whenever possible.”<sup>7</sup> In order to achieve these objectives a number of duties was required of them.

The administrators, aided by the *camarlengo*, the bookkeeper, the steward of the hospital and the overseer who took care of the houses, administered the estate of the Church and Hospital of Santiago. This task was not difficult “because the public bonds are paid punctually every second month, with no other requirement than to collect the payment at the time and place established by the Pope. And everything else, which consists of houses, leases, and rents, is of clear and standard exaction.”<sup>8</sup>

The legacies that granted dowries<sup>9</sup> and that which financed the music chapel<sup>10</sup> were worth 3,246 *escudos* and 89 *batocos*<sup>11</sup> in the mid-eighteenth century. These legacies had a separate account because what was left over after all obligations had been fulfilled was used for them and was invested the following year in dowries or music. Therefore, their income is not included in Santiago’s estate. On the

<sup>7</sup> “Que haya mucha diligencia en la administración de la hacienda, la cual se distribuya por personas fieles y que no se gaste sino lo forzoso, y se tome cuentas muchas veces, y que se trate de aumentar la renta siempre que hubiere ocasión.”

<sup>8</sup> “Porque los lugares de monte se pagan puntualmente de dos en dos meses, sin más diligencia que la de concurrir a hacer la cobranza al tiempo establecido por el papa. Y todo lo demás, que consiste en casas, censos y cánones, es de clara y corriente exacción.” AGS, Estado, book 202, f. 11.

<sup>9</sup> These are from Constantino del Castillo, Montoya, Fonseca, Casarrubio, Méndez, Ojeda, Peramato, Policena, and Sánchez.

<sup>10</sup> Francisco Vides donated eighty eight bonds in 1659 so that with their returns more bonds could be bought until a capital sum that would yield one thousand *escudos* a year was built up, in order to set up a music chapel in the Church of Santiago.

<sup>11</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224: Cuentas del quinquenio 1749-1753.

other hand, the income of other legacies was not accounted for separately because what was left over, once the obligations had been fulfilled, was used for the Church and Hospital of Santiago in accordance with the provisions laid out by its founders.

In spite of the fact that the administration of the income of Santiago was, at least in theory, an easy task, complaints and accusations against the administrators' poor management were made throughout the period. In 1630, Pedro de Losada sent a brief to the monarch in which he denounced the poor administration of Santiago.<sup>12</sup> But it was in the first half of the eighteenth century that the protests against its financial management increased. Cardinal Belluga, in a letter to Patiño dated 27 August 1733, stated that there was much disarray in the administration of the income of the House and Hospital of Santiago. This was the result of the unwillingness of the House to recognize the Governor as its superior and the lack of an accountant. Subsequently, Cardinal Aquaviva, on the assumption that he possessed royal authority, ordered the Assembly of the Forty (*la Congregación de los Cuarenta*) to make only daily household expenditures, and to ask for his approval for supplementary expenses such as building repairs, purchases and other matters of importance;<sup>13</sup> etc.

## 2. The Formation of the Estate

The estate grew thanks to the donations made by a multitude of benefactors and by the administrators' policy of buying real estate and investing in public bonds (*lugares de monte*) throughout this period with a surplus from some fiscal years.

The donations which became most important and whose origins tradition places in 1297 (when the *infante* Enrique, "founder of the Royal House," donated several houses, which by mid-eighteenth century yielded 1,106 *escudos*) were donations which took the form of a charitable foundation. Not being transferable, these donations

<sup>12</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 52, ff. 1-8: Memorial del Doctor Losada a S.M.C. Año 1630.

<sup>13</sup> AGS. Estado, leg. 5118: Gobierno de la hacienda y Casa de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma. s. f.

guaranteed the livelihood of the institution by means of their income. The number of officially-approved foundations from 1467 to 1750 rose to 125 and the period of greatest ferment was in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, when 72% of these foundations were set up. Henceforth their number decreased progressively until they finally disappeared in 1750, as is shown in table one.

**TABLE 1 - Officially-Approved Charity Foundations.**

Period	Number	%
1450-1499	12	9.60
1500-1549	22	17.60
1550-1599	33	26.40
1600-1649	35	28.00
1650-1699	15	12.00
1700-1749	7	5.60
1750-1799	1	0.80
<b>Total</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>100.00</b>

But what was it that these benefactors donated? Until the middle of the sixteenth century the prevailing form of donation was that of houses and cash. But from 1550 onward houses progressively lost importance until they finally disappeared. Money continued to play a predominant role. Public bonds or *lugares de monte*, and, on a minor scale, leases, the donation of an entire estate, and other items of sundry character, gained increasing importance.

The donations made by these benefactors usually carried with them an implicit obligation or a specific purpose. Throughout this period requests for masses and anniversaries dominated overwhelmingly. They accounted for 72.8% of donations, followed by chapels (12%). Various other requirements, such as bestowing a dowry upon maidens, financing the celebration of certain festivities, taking care of the sick, etc. remained far behind.

Purchases gained more importance than donations. Even if in the real-estate sector they were equal in number, the same thing was not

true of the credit sector. The buying of town properties took place already in the last few decades of the fifteenth century, when Alonso de Paradinas, the ruler of the charitable institution, made the first acquisitions in the name of the Church of Santiago. In the sixteenth century the number of purchases decreased, but the acquisition of new real estate continued until the middle of the seventeenth century (see table 2).

Although public bonds or *lugares de monte* had existed on the financial market since 1526 when Gregorius VII made the first issue,<sup>14</sup> and the Church of Santiago had acquired a few of them since 1554 through donations, they did not, for the time being, attract the attention of the people in charge of the finances of Santiago. It was only in 1570 that the Church bought its first *lugares de monte* and saw in them an alternative to real estate, which, although not as profitable, was a fairly secure income that was easily collected. From this point forward and despite the distrust some administrators felt toward public bonds, Santiago de los Españoles progressively increased its capital with new purchases. In 1797 the capital invested in the 2,435 *lugares de monte* owned by Santiago de los Españoles amounted to 243,500 *escudos*, while real estate capital was only valued at 236,000 *escudos*.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, the policy of exchange and transacting practised by the institution at various times with the goal of concentrating real estate in certain sectors of the city to improve its operations also contributed to the composition of Santiago's estate in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the great number of *lugares de monte* owned by the House in the eighteenth century stemmed from the policy that it had been carrying out from the end of the sixteenth century. A large share of the money donated by benefactors was usually invested in public bonds. The same applies to the surplus resulting from some years' accounts, although Cardinal Belluga told Patiño in 1733 that "it has been a long time since the five or six thousand pesos left over every year have been reinvested in public bonds."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> M. Monaco, "Il primo debito pubblico pontificio: Il Monte della Fede (1526)", in *Studi Romani*, 8/5 (1960) 553-569.

<sup>15</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224: Capital activo de Santiago de los Españoles en 1797.

<sup>16</sup> AGS, Estado, leg. 5118: Cardenal Belluga a Patiño. Roma 27 agosto 1733.

### 3. The Nature and Size of the Income.

The income generated by Santiago's estate was divided into four headings: house rents, *lugares de monte*, leases, rents (*cánones*) and other odds and ends, and obligations or "pecunias provenientes."

#### 3.1. Real Estate Income.

The documentation kept in the archive of the *Obra Pía*<sup>17</sup> details the formation, development, and management of the very considerable real estate owned by the Church and Hospital of Santiago de los Españoles in Rome<sup>17</sup>.

The number of town properties increased until the middle of the seventeenth century when the Church and Hospital owned 84 houses. In the eighteenth century their number decreased to 69, due both to the sale of some of them and to the demolition of others, on the ground of which new ones were built. The 70 houses that the Church owned in the middle of the eighteenth century included about 168 apartments or housing units, over 54 shops and a certain number of rooms that were also rented out.

The estate consisted in almost equal parts of the donations made by benefactors (46.43%) and of purchases made by the administrators (45.24%), while bartering accounted for a lesser part (8.33%).

The numerous donations of the last few decades of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century reflected the size and importance of the Spanish colony in Rome during these years. Of significance in this connection was the bull proclaimed by Sixtus V in 1425 authorizing the clergy in Rome to dispose freely of their

<sup>17</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 1645: Visitas de las casas. Año 1555; leg. 1644: Visitas de las casas. Año 1581; leg. 68: Mensuratio generalis domorum Ecclesiae et Hospitalis Sanctorum Jacobi et Ildelfonsi hispanorum de Urbe, facta annis 1609-1610; leg. 66: Libro de las rentas y hacienda de casas (...) Años 1616-1617; leg. 190: Piante delle case della R. e Ven. Chiesa et Ospedale di S. Giacomo et Alfonso della nazione spagnola di Roma, secondo la visita fatta l'anno MDCLXXX (...) fatta da Gio. Antonio Rossi architetto; leg. 8: Estado que al presente tienen las casas de la Real Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago (...). Año 1713; AGS, Estado, book 202, ff. 455-535: Estado particular de las casas que esta Real Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma y las memorias en ella fundadas poseen este año de 1755 (...); etc.

possessions at the time of their death or upon returning to their country of origin.<sup>18</sup> This provision allowed many Castilian churchmen, who owned a house in Rome and had no direct descendants at the time of their departure or death, to donate their house to the Church of Santiago in exchange for certain spiritual obligations. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century the number of donations fell noticeably, and in 1652 the last donation of a town property to Santiago was recorded.

Purchases, which in the last decades of the fifteenth century followed the same pattern as those of donations, decreased noticeably in the first half of the sixteenth. But, unlike donations, the number of purchases remained stable until the mid-eighteenth century, more precisely 1765, when four houses were purchased for demolition and rebuilding. When it comes to interpreting the institution's purchasing policy the proclamation of the bull *Aedificiis et iure congrui* (1575) must be taken into account. This authorized the compulsory expropriation of town properties in order to improve space, which meant that houses ceased to be permanent property. In view of this, the Church of Santiago became even more selective about its potential purchases and began to diversify its investments by acquiring public bonds or *lugares de monte*, although the administrators of Santiago continued to consider investments in real estate the safest and most profitable. Table two records this process throughout the period under study. However, in interpreting the data we must take into account the fact that it only shows the way in which properties were acquired, not that some were sold, nor that others were demolished in order to build new ones.

The purchasing and bartering policy carried out by the House of Santiago tended to concentrate on town properties in specific areas of the city in order to achieve maximum profitability. Table

<sup>18</sup> Previously the Apostolic Chamber had seized the estate of the clerics who died in the Curia.

**TABLE 2 - Ways of Acquiring Real Estate.**

Period	Donation	Purchases	Barters	Total
1467-1499	11	10	-	21
1500-1549	5	6	3	13
1600-1649	4	7	-	11
1650-1699	1	2	1	4
1700-1749	-	7	-	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>84</b>

three, which shows the urban distribution of real estate as well as the variations occurring throughout the centuries, shows the primacy of three urban areas or *rioni* (Santo Eustachio, Parione and Campo Marzio). It also shows a wide contrast between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the estate was being built up. On the other hand, the changes in the eighteenth century were minimal, because the real estate policy was directed toward renovating property. Many of the old buildings were demolished in order to construct new ones on the same ground. At the same time two houses were sold: one in 1743 to the fathers of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri, and another one in 1781.

The trends in real estate, together with the fluctuation of rental prices, determined income trends. In absolute terms, its value increased

**TABLE 3 - Distribution of Town Properties**  
(quoted in %)

Rioni	1500-1599	1600-1699	1700-1799
Colonna	1.12	3.75	3.85
Campitelli	2.24	3.75	3.85
Campo Marzo	12.24	21.25	21.79
Parione	18.50	25.00	24.36
Ponte	12.90	10.00	10.25
Regola	25.30	5.00	5.13
S. Eustachio	23.58	26.25	26.92
Trevi	4.12	5.00	3.85

until the second half of the eighteenth century, when stagnation occurred. However, on examining the annual growth rate, it will be noticed that the largest increase occurred between 1550 and 1649, when the rise was more than 4% per year. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the annual growth rate fell to 1%. It then increased somewhat in the first half of the eighteenth century (+1.96%), only to stagnate in the second half, and finally to decrease slightly by the end of the century.

Relatively speaking, that is to say, in relation to Santiago's total revenues, the value of rental income lost ground to other types of revenue. Thus, in the sixteenth century rent accounted for around 80% of all income, while in the seventeenth century it fell to 66%, and in the eighteenth to 65% (see table 4).

**TABLE 4 - Real Estate Revenue**  
(Yearly Average in Roman *escudos*)

Period	Escudos	Index	Annual growth	% Income
1500-1549	1,265	100.00	-	81.98
1550-1599	3,758	297.07	3.94	76.42
1600-1649	6,849	541.42	4.89	66.32
1650-1699	7,530	595.26	1.08	65.18
1700-1749	8,771	693.36	1.96	64.27
1750-1799	8,566	677.15	- 0.32	66.30

The data in table four show that throughout the period, the financing of the House of Santiago depended essentially on real-estate income.<sup>19</sup> This is explained to a great extent by the preference that the administrators showed for this type of income, which they

<sup>19</sup> This can be seen in other charitable institutions in Rome as well, as is shown by the data of the 1624 apostolic visit studied by A. Serra, "Funzioni e finanze delle Confraternite romane tra 1624 e il 1797", *Ricerca per la Storia religiosa di Roma*, p. 5 (1984), pp. 270-275.

considered to be safer and more profitable than credit or *lugares de monte*.

### 3.2. Lugares de Monte or Public Bonds.

Although Pope Gregory VII issued the first public bonds in 1526, this new kind of income was foreign to the administrators of Santiago until 1553 when Juan de la Espada, a cleric from Palencia, bequeathed his possessions to the Church and Hospital of Santiago. Amongst these possessions were six *lugares de monte* or public bonds in the *Monte di Fede e Farina*.<sup>20</sup> In the following years, benefactors continued to bequeath *lugares de monte* and, from 1570 to 1586, the Church and Hospital of Santiago bought at least 39 public bonds in the *Monte di Allume, Fede e Pio*.<sup>21</sup> In 1587, the Congregation of the Forty decreed the purchase of more *lugares de monte*, in order to diversify the sources of financing.<sup>22</sup> This policy, with some ups and downs, continued until the middle of the eighteenth century. In the accounts of 1760-1764 6,739 *escudos* were recorded as having been invested in the purchase of *lugares de monte*.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the reluctance sometimes showed by the administrators, investment in *lugares de monte* increased significantly throughout the seventeenth century and kept its upward trend until the middle of the eighteenth. The data in table five show that the capital deposited in Papal *Montes* increased at a rate of more than 8% annually from 1593 until 1723. On the other hand, from 1723 to 1793 the rate of increase did not reach 1%. Thus, the 19,856 *escudos* deposited in 1593 increased to 243,900 in 1797.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 634, num. 81.

<sup>21</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 1199.

<sup>22</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 72, f. 210r: Congregación de 20 de abril de 1587.

<sup>23</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2223.

<sup>24</sup> The data for the table is taken from the ASV, Fondo Borghese, series IV, vol. 44, ff. 371r-377v, Cod. Ottob. Lat., vol. 2484, t. I, ff. 122-124. (1593 and 1604); Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2221: Razón de todos los capitales pertenecientes en el año de 1723 a la Real Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago de la Nación Española de Roma; and leg. 2224: Capital activo de Santiago de los Españoles en 1797.

TABLE 5 - Capital Deposited in Roman *Lugares de Monte*

Year	Escudos	Index	Annual growth
1593	19,856	100.00	-
1604	39,005	196.44	8.77
1723	231,741	1,167.11	8.16
1797	243,900	1,228.34	0.78

The profitability of the *lugares de monte* was closely related to their stability and to the interest granted, as well as to their timely payment. There were a few times during the seventeenth century when one of these variables changed and the administrators of Santiago predicted considerable losses in this type of income.<sup>25</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century they even declared to the Spanish Ambassador in Rome that it would be advisable to sell all of the *lugares de monte* and to invest the money in houses, the income of which was safer and more profitable.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, and despite the low esteem the administrators of Santiago held for this type of investment, the income generated by *lugares de monte* increased strikingly until the middle of the eighteenth century, both in absolute as well as in relative terms (see table 6). In absolute terms the 494 *escudos* of the second half of the sixteenth century rose to 3,457 in the first half of the eighteenth century. This meant an increase of almost 70%. Later, as in the case rents, the growth rate was later to stagnate. Still, if we analyze the annual growth rate, it will be noticed that it does not show a straightforward trend, but rather an irregular one. It reached a peak of 5.66% in the first half of the seventeenth century, but then plummeted to 2.14% in the second half. It recovered and reached 4.19% in the first half of the eighteenth century, but shows a negative trend in the second half (-0.47%). It should also be noted that the revenue accruing from the interest did not fluctuate in the same way

<sup>25</sup> Around the middle of the seventeenth century the administrators complained that many of the *lugares de monte* were not being collected or that they were being collected with great difficulty. Cf. Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 16-6.

<sup>26</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 51, ff. 46r-47r.

as that of the capital. This can be deduced from a comparison between the annual growth rate of the capital invested in *lugares de monte* (see table 8) and the interest it generated. In relative terms, the revenue earned by *lugares de monte* gained increasing weight with respect to Santiago's total income. It did so to such a degree that, whereas in the second half of the sixteenth century it only accounted for 10% of total income, in the following century it went up to 19.71%. In the eighteenth century it accounted for slightly more than one fourth of total income (25.59%).

**TABLE 6 - The Income from *lugares de monte*  
(Yearly Average in Roman Escudos)**

Period	Escudos	Index	Annual growth	% Income
1500-1549	-	-	-	-
1550-1599	494	100.00	-	10.05
1600-1649	1,892	383.00	5.66	18.32
1650-1699	2,421	490.08	2.14	20.96
1700-1749	3,457	699.80	4.19	25.33
1750-1799	3,339	675.91	-0.47	25.84

### **3.3. Leases and Other Types of Income.**

Thirdly, the Church and Hospital of Santiago benefited from other revenues of lesser significance and various origins, the total value of which barely accounted for 3% of total income. Revenue from leases, rents (*cánones*), *quindenios*, etc. increased throughout the entire period as shown in table seven. It was only in 1798 that they declined as a consequence of the measures adopted by the Roman Republic.

**TABLE 7 - Revenue from Leases and Other Income.**

Year	Escudos	Index	Annual growth
1500-1549	-	-	-
1550-1599	59	100.00	1.20
1600-1649	306	518.64	2.96
1650-1699	346	586.44	3.00
1700-1749	446	755.93	3.39
1750-1799	580	983.05	4.54

The House of Santiago was the holder of various leases that yielded 18 *escudos* and 50 *baiocos*.<sup>27</sup> It collected 5 rents (*cánones*) from houses which yielded 35 *escudos* and 28 *baiocos*. This income stemmed from donations made by benefactors in the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The rents of vineyards owned by the Church of Santiago *in solidum et pro indiviso* with the Confraternity of the Holy Resurrection (*Archicofradía de la Santísima Resurrección*) of the same nation, contributed a yearly income of 11 *escudos* and 60 *baiocos* to the Church. Their origin went back to the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup>

In 1756 the Apostolic Chamber granted the Church and Hospital of Santiago an exemption of a thousand barrels of wine, which meant 300 *escudos* yearly. This item was collected regularly until 1798 when the Roman Republic abolished the exemptions enjoyed by charitable institutions.<sup>30</sup>

Lastly, some annual accounts also record sundry income from the renting of space in front of the church and the vestry in Piazza Navona. This space, divided into sections, was rented out to merchants on market days to put up their stalls.

### 3.4. Uncertain Income or "*Pecunias Provenientes*."

*Pecunias provenientes* was income received by the administrators fortuitously. It covered miscellaneous headings, such as the deficits of the *camarlengo*, anniversaries, burial rights, loans, charitable offerings, the sale of used wax and other spare items, etc.

The variety of headings and their contingent nature gave rise to a noticeable fluctuation in the amount of *pecunias provenientes* from one year to the next depending on various factors. The fluctuations could be so great that, while in some years during the seventeenth century the capital from *pecunias provenientes* did not amount to 100 *escudos*, in others it surpassed 2,000. In 1711 it even went up to 9,000

<sup>27</sup> AGS, Estado, book 202, ff. 537-551.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 552-560.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 561-581.

<sup>30</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224; Cuentas del año 1798.

due to the sale of 62 *lugares de monte* to the amount of 7,192 Roman *escudos*.<sup>31</sup>

In absolute terms the value of *pecunias provenientes* increased up to the middle of the seventeenth century. From then on, and after the stagnation in the second half of the century, a rapid decline occurred throughout the eighteenth century. In relative terms, *pecunias provenientes*, which accounted for 18% of the income of the Church and Hospital of Santiago in the first half of the sixteenth century, fell to 12% between 1550 and 1650, and dropped to 5.26% in the eighteenth century (see table 8).

**TABLE 8 - Value of Pecunias Provenientes**

Period	Escudos	Index	Income %
1500-1549	278	100.00	18.02
1550-1599	606	217.98	12.33
1600-1649	1,280	460.43	12.40
1650-1699	1,259	451.44	10.86
1700-1749	974	350.36	7.14
1750-1799	435	156.47	3.37

#### 4. An Approach to a Global Assessment of Income.

Having analyzed each of the headings that make up the income independently, in table nine we set out global income trends throughout the modern period.

**Table 9. The Income of Santiago de los Españoles.**

(Yearly average in Roman escudos and annual growth rate in %)

Period	Escudos	Index	Income %
1500-1549	1,443	100.00	-
1550-1599	4,917	316.66	4.33
1600-1649	10,327	669.28	7.05
1650-1699	11,552	748.67	1.59
1700-1749	13,648	884.51	2.72
1750-1799	12,920	837.33	-0.94

<sup>31</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 410: Cuentas del año 1711.

The data in the table show continuous growth in revenues until the second half of the eighteenth century, although it is much more noticeable in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. From 1650 on, the growth continued, but at a much slower pace. After the signing of the Concordat in 1753, and the departure of a significant part of the large Spanish colony in Rome, stagnation set in and, in the last decade of the century, became outright recession.

The author of a brief dated in 1692 describes income trends during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with these words: "From the year 1484 until 1500 it was no more than 800 ducats, then it increased to 1,900 in 1525, and in 1550 rose to 2,086 (...). From the aforementioned year of 1550 until 1575 the income increased to 4,555 *escudos*, and from that year until 1600 it increased to 6,000 *escudos*. And from the year 1600 to 1629, it increased to 9,200 *escudos* (...). In the year 1670, it was worth 10,885 *escudos*, 9,705 in 1682 and 9,406 in 1692."<sup>32</sup> According to this author, poor administration was the cause for the loss suffered by the income in the decade 1671-81. The administrators "stole" and pawned the income of the House. On the other hand, "the proper and thrifty administration" of the period 1682-91 succeeded in streamlining the income and paying off loans (5,184 *escudos* for wills and 2,400 to various individuals). The administration of rents (*cánones*) was restored "with great cleverness," rents were revised, *lugares de monte* were inspected and 1,237 *escudos* were invested in new ones. 9,000 *escudos* were spent on materials and repairs to the House, 13,000 more were spent on renovating houses and "restructuring them in such a way that they all became *apichonadas*."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> "desde el año de 1484 hasta el de 1500 no tuvo sino 800 ducados, la cual se aumentó hasta el 1525 a 1.900, y hasta 1550 a 2.086 (...). De dicho año de 1550 hasta el de 1575 se aumentó dicha renta a 4.550 escudos, y desde este año al de 1600 se aumentó a 9.200 escudos (...). El año de 1670 llega a tener 10.885 escudos, 9.705 en 1682 y 9.406 en 1692." Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 51, ff. 53r-56v.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 54v-55r.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the favourable circumstances and good administration led to a more marked increase in Santiago's income. But with the signing of the Concordat in 1753 a period of stagnation begun, which the political events of the last decade of the century transformed into a recession.

The final years of the eighteenth century produced a deep crisis in the financial system of the Church and Hospital of Santiago from which it never fully recovered. The author of the accounts of the five-year period 1793-97 states that the balance was positive to the amount of 1,600 *escudos*. But this was two thirds less than what it had been in previous years. He asserts that the decrease stemmed from "the great difficulty in renting out houses which consequently results in a cutback in this type of revenue. It also stems from the increase in income taxes, the greater expense in maintaining the Church and hospital due to the increase in the cost of living, and, finally, from the 17,072 *escudos* that the Church had to borrow for the funeral of Charles III ordered by Azara. Of this loan about 4,000 *escudos* still had yet to be paid".<sup>34</sup>

With the entry of French troops into Rome at the beginning of 1798 and the proclamation of the Republic, the crisis was complete. Pius VI was exiled and the French looted churches including the Church of Santiago de los Españoles. Azara protested before the military authorities, but so little was returned that he chose to leave it to the French as a token of Spain's friendship.<sup>35</sup> The new authorities did not recognize the public bonds issued by the popes and, as a result, the Church and Hospital of Santiago could not collect the returns from the *lugares de monte* that it owned. It was also feared

<sup>34</sup> "de la gran dificultad que hay para alquilar las casas, lo que ha dado lugar a la reducción de este ramo de entradas; del aumento de los impuestos que gravan las rentas; del mayor gasto para mantener la iglesia y hospital por el encarecimiento de la vida; del préstamo de 17.072 *escudos* que debió tomar la iglesia para el funeral de Carlos III, ordenado por Azara, del que ya sólo quedan por pagar unos 4.000 *escudos*." Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224: Resumen de las rentas de Santiago de los Españoles en el quinquenio 1793-1797.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. L. Pastor, *Historia de los Papas*, XXXIX: Pío VI (1775-1799), Barcelona 1961, pp. 281-290.

that the capital invested would be lost. For the same reason, the 400 *escudos* from the interest earned at a rate of 4% on the 16,000 *escudos* that years before had been lent to the Chamber and Senate of Bologna were not collected. The 300 *escudos* from the wine exemption were not collected either because the new authorities cancelled all of the exemptions enjoyed by charitable institutions. As a result, in 1798 the income of Santiago was reduced to revenues from house rentals, rents (*cánones*) and leases which totalled 9,760 Roman *escudos*.<sup>36</sup>

The arrival in Rome of the new Pope Pius VII in July 1800 created great expectations. The economic situation, however, improved but little. In 1802, the value of house rentals went down and the returns from *lugares de monte* only amounted to 46% of what they were worth in 1797. Furthermore, income taxes placed a heavy burden on revenues. The result was that income did not cover expenditure.<sup>37</sup> The *ancien-régime* institution was now undergoing a profound crisis, and nothing would be able to restore the substantial gains it had enjoyed in the past.

## 5. The Investment of Income.

Since the Church and Hospital of Santiago was an ecclesiastical institution devoted to religious and welfare needs, it invested the bulk of its income in carrying out these objectives. That is to say, it used its income to finance the Church's religious services and the Hospital's welfare activities. To these must be added the expenses incurred in the preservation of the estate, employee salaries, and other sundry items .

The different items registered in the accounts can be grouped into five categories (church and hospital expenses, estate management, salaries, and others) which, in the five-year period from 1749 to 1753, and, generally speaking, throughout the whole period under study, were as follows:<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2224: Cuentas del año 1798.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* Cuentas del año 1802.

<sup>38</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2220.

Heading	Escudos	%
Church expenses	4,376	48.57
Hospital expenses	1,669	18.53
Estate management	1,496	16.61
Salaries	858	9.52
Other	610	6.77
TOTAL	9,009	100.00

### 5.1 Church Expenses.

This category, which included all of the expenses related to services and ministers, was the largest. During the three centuries of the early modern era it came close to 50% of total expenditure. Headings included salaries and bonuses given to in-house chaplains, alms for mass, vestry expenses, and the cost of the music performed during solemn feasts and Holy Week, as well as many other typical church expenses.

Although church expenses increased considerably in absolute terms, in relative terms it did not. It is true that during the entire period they were the most important item in the accounts, but their share decreased, so that while, during the sixteenth century they amounted to almost 60%, in the seventeenth century they barely exceeded 40%. This is specified in the following table.

**Table 10 - Church Expenses.**

Period	Amount	Index	% Expense
1500-1549	935	100.00	68.65
1550-1599	2,237	239.25	50.26
1600-1649	4,154	444.38	48.30
1650-1699	4,155	444.38	45.60
1700-1749	4,040	432.09	38.50
1750-1799	4,615	493.58	43.70

## 5.2. Expenses of the Hospital and Hospice.

The amount of money used for hospital care fluctuated according to the number of pilgrims and sick taken care of. In the middle of the sixteenth century, 180 *escudos* per year were allocated for its operations. In 1550, this sum was raised to 240 *escudos* in order to meet the increased influx of pilgrims expected for the Jubilee. From this time on, expenses went on growing until the middle of the seventeenth century when they settled at around 2,000 *escudos*. They remained at this level until the middle of the eighteenth century when they started to fall due to the decrease in the number of Spaniards in Rome as a result of the signing of the Concordat in 1753. For this reason, the Secretary of the House of Santiago, commenting on the accounts for the five-year period 1749-53, stated that, in each of the two preceding years, hospital expenses had fallen by 449 *escudos* and 50 *baiocos*. He went on to say that "from now on less and less will be spent, for each day there will be fewer Spaniards in Rome and, consequently, fewer patients in the hospital."<sup>39</sup> This accounts for the fact that, between the first and the second half of the eighteenth century, the amount of expenses decreased by about 40% (see table 11).

The data in the table show trends in expenses, both in absolute terms and in relation to trends in overall expenses. In this respect, while between 1550 and 1750 hospital expenses accounted for about 20% of total expenses, in the second half of the eighteenth century they accounted for less than 12%.

**TABLE 11 - Hospital Expenses.**

Period	Escudos	Index	Expenses %
1500-1549	47	100.00	3.45
1550-1599	889	1,891.43	19.97
1600-1649	2,169	4,614.89	25.22
1650-1699	1,987	4,227.66	21.80
1700-1749	2,179	4,636.17	20.77
1750-1799	1,252	2,663.83	11.88

<sup>39</sup> "En adelante se gastará menos, porque cada día habrá menos españoles en Roma y, por consiguiente, menos familia en el hospital." Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 2256: Secretario de la Casa de Santiago al Gobernador de la misma. Roma 26 de mayo de 1756.

### 5.3. *Repair and Indemnification of the Houses.*

The expenses that arose from repairs done annually to the houses owned by the Church and Hospital of Santiago make up this category. The payments made by the Church at the time of purchase of real estate or when a new house was built are excluded from it. Its annual average value exceeded 276 *escudos* in the first half of the sixteenth century, and 2,401 *escudos* in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Table twelve shows trends throughout the period under study. In absolute terms such expenses increased until the mid-eighteenth century when there was a downturn. That is to say, from 1500 until 1750 the index number rose from 100% to 870%, whereas in the second half of the eighteenth century it fell to 760%. In relative terms, the situation was different. During the first half of the sixteenth century expenditures accounted for more than 22% of the total, but, from 1550 on, they fell, dropping to 13.86% in the period 1600-1649. From then on they started to rise again and, from 1700 to 1749, they returned to the level of the first half of the sixteenth century, only to drop again in the second half of the eighteenth century.

**TABLE 12 - Construction and Restoration Expenses.**

Period	Escudos	Index	Expenses %
1500-1549	47	100.00	3.45
1550-1599	889	1,891.43	19.97
1600-1649	2,169	4,614.89	25.22
1650-1699	1,987	4,227.66	21.80
1700-1749	2,179	4,636.17	20.77
1750-1799	1,252	2,663.83	11.88

### 5.4. *Salaries of House Employees.*

This category included the wages annually paid by the Church and Hospital of Santiago to its *provisionados* or permanent employees. Hospital workers were excluded from this category because they were already included in hospital expenses. The amount paid for this category depended on the number of employees and the amount of the wages paid plus gratuities or *manchas*.

In the first half of the sixteenth century the number of employees was quite low, but in the closing years of the century the register shows almost the same number as there was in the eighteenth century. Their salaries, in general terms, followed the same trends as those of the chaplains. They were practically frozen from the mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth century and rose considerably in the second half of the eighteenth century, while the number of employees decreased.

**TABLE 13 - Salaries of Employees.**

Period	Escudos	Index	Expenses %
1500-1549	89	100.00	6.54
1550-1599	348	391.01	7.82
1600-1649	568	638.20	6.60
1650-1699	762	856.18	8.36
1700-1749	850	955.07	8.10
1750-1799	956	1,084.27	9.16

The salary range of the employees of the House of Santiago was quite wide. At its apex, we find the *camarlengo* followed closely by the bookkeeper and secretary; further down we find the physician; at an intermediate level was the chaplains' cook, the overseer of the properties, etc.; and at the lowest level were the organist and the representative of the deputy cardinal.<sup>40</sup>

### **5.5. Other Expenses.**

Finally, the accounts contain miscellaneous headings, which changed frequently from one year to the next. However, certain items always appeared in the register: leases the church had to pay rents on some houses, litigation costs, the tax owed to the Apostolic Chamber for "virgin water" for some of the housing units, income taxes, which became very heavy in the final years of the eighteenth

<sup>40</sup> Arch. Obra Pía, leg. 51: Salarios de ministros y oficiales de la Iglesia y Hospital de Santiago (1700?): AGS, Estado, book 202, ff. 18r-21r. In the year 1754.

century, etc. The range of headings meant that their fluctuations basically depended on the greater or lesser weight they had during a given period of time. Table fourteen shows the progressive increase in their value until the end of the period under discussion, except for the years 1650-1699, both in absolute and in relative terms, although the rise was noticeably bigger during the eighteenth century, when they accounted for more than 5% of the total.

**TABLE 14 - Miscellaneous Expenses.**

Period	Escudos	Index	Expenses %
1500-1549	15	100.00	1.10
1550-1599	132	880.00	2.97
1600-1649	518	3,453.33	6.02
1650-1699	392	2,613.33	4.30
1700-1749	1,023	6,820.00	9.75
1750-1799	1,609	10,726.66	12.27

To summarise what has been said about expenses, it can be asserted that almost 50% of the expenses of the Church and Hospital of Santiago were of a religious nature, as opposed to 17.6 % which was invested in welfare activities; 19.3% was set aside for the management of real estate, 7.76% for paying employee wages, and the remaining 11% for various other expenses. In table fifteen the percentage of each of the items studied is specified in relation to the total expenditure during the three centuries under consideration.

**TABLE 15 - Investment of Income.**

(Annual mean in %)

Heading	XVth Century	XVIIth Century	XVIIIth Century
Church	59.46	46.95	41.14
Hospital	11.71	23.51	16.83
House Repairs	19.62	16.90	21.39
Salaries	7.18	7.48	8.63
Other	2.03	5.16	11.01

The expenses described do not cover all of the revenues of the Church and Hospital of Santiago. There was a surplus that increased until the last decade of the eighteenth century. The 500 *escudos* of the sixteenth century increased to 2,000 in the seventeenth century and to 3,000 in the first half of the eighteenth century. They then dropped to 2,300 in the second half of the century.

What was done with this surplus? Theoretically, it should have been set aside to increase and improve the institution's real estate and household goods. This is what seems to have been done most of the years, as we have seen when we analysed income stemming from these resources. Nevertheless, in the last decades of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century, many complaints were made concerning the faulty handling of the surplus, for "although it should be used in the purchase of *lugares de monte*, this is done only partially. The rest is expended on extras for festivities, musicians, and ministers."<sup>41</sup>

The reiteration of these complaints made it easier for the representatives of the Spanish government in Rome to exert ever-increasing control over the income of the Church and Hospital of Santiago until they gained full control in 1754. The steps taken by Cardinal Aquaviva to limit the power of the Congregation of the Forty, and the insinuations by the Governor of Santiago, Tomás Núñez Flores, to Patiño in 1733 that some measures had to be taken, must be seen within this context. The Governor's insinuations were repeated a few days later by Cardinal Belluga, with the addition that "there was much disarray in the internal management of the House and Hospital of Santiago, in the administration of the income (...) and it all originated in the unwillingness to recognise the Governor as their superior and the lack of an accountant." He requested, therefore, from his Majesty authorisation to enquire more closely into the matter together with the Governor and to report to the King

<sup>41</sup> "Aunque se debe imponer en la compra de lugares de monte, sólo se hace en alguna parte, y lo demás se consume en comparsas de fiestas, músicos y ministros." AGS, Estado, leg. 5118: Cardenal Belluga a cardenal Molina. Roma 16 de julio de 1739.

what he thought should be done or what innovations needed to be undertaken.<sup>42</sup>

Having completed the investigation and seeing "the poor use" to which the income was put, and having observed "the innumerable excesses of the Spanish that go to Rome, destroying their houses along with their household belongings, and living in license without studiousness and application" he proposed the foundation of a college in Rome "for aristocratic *abates* and civilised Spanish people, where they can live in quietude with their studies and suitable teachers." The financing of this college was to come from the surplus of wealth generated by Santiago and Montserrat, as well as from the 4,000 Roman *escudos* from the income of the College of St. Clements in Bologna. This college was to be joined to the one planned for Rome "because it was not useful in that city, and brought no benefits to the Spanish nation."<sup>43</sup>

The Chamber of Castile, in its meeting on the 11 April, 1741, agreed with Belluga's view and declared that "it cannot see a more efficacious way to avoid the financial loss affecting the House and income of the Church than the foundation of the Spanish College that Acquaviva and Belluga are planning." It believed that through this measure the reform of ecclesiastic teaching would be achieved and that in a few years the churches of Spain would be filled with learned and virtuous individuals.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> "Había muchos desórdenes en el gobierno interior de la Casa y Hospital de Santiago en la administración de sus rentas (...) y que todo nacía de no querer conocer por superior al gobernador ni tener quien tomase cuentas." AGS, Estado, leg. 5118: Gobierno de la hacienda y Casa de Santiago. Belluga's letter to Patiño is dated August 27, 1733.

<sup>43</sup> "Los infinitos desórdenes de los españoles que van a Roma, destruyendo sus casas y enseres, y viviendo con libertad y sin aplicación." (...) "para abates nobles y personas civiles españolas, donde vivan recogidas y aplicadas con los maestros convenientes." (...) "por no ser útil en aquella ciudad, sin beneficio alguno de la nación española." Ibidem: Proposición del cardenal Belluga sobre la fundación de un Colegio en Roma con las rentas de Santiago y Montserrat, y con la extinción del Colegio de Bolonia. Año 1739.

<sup>44</sup> "No halla medio más eficaz para evitar los perjuicios que se ponderan de la Casa y rentas del Hospital que la fundación del colegio de españoles que proyectan Acquaviva y Belluga, creyendo que por este medio se conseguirá la reforma de la disciplina eclesiástica y que en pocos años se verá las iglesias de España pobladas de sujetos doctos y virtuosos." Ibidem: Consulta de la Cámara de 11 de abril de 1741.

For the time being, nothing was done. But in 1747 the Spanish representative in Rome, Monsignor Clemente de Aróslequi, put forth a plan to create an Academy of Spanish Ecclesiastical History in Rome to undertake the writing of a *History of the Church of Spain*, "which has so many lacunae, despite the fact that knowledge of it is of such importance for Spain." The decree by which the Academy was to be ruled was drawn up and a few preliminary sketches for the planned history were actually drafted, but once again everything remained in the realm of mere dreams and noble ideals.<sup>45</sup> We will have to wait many years before the dreams of the enlightened past become reality.

<sup>45</sup> AGS. Estado, leg. 5074; E. Pacheco De Leiva. "Breves noticias sobre (. . .) la Academia Española de Historia Eclesiástica del siglo XVIII", in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. 68 (1916), pp. 75-96. This article offers information on this project and transcribes part of the existing documentation contained in the leg. cited above.





