Power and Punishment: Architecture and Violence in the Italian Renaissance

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Abstract

The traditional narrative of a humanistic Renaissance, with its tropes of classical ornament, courtly manners, and artistic geniuses, has clouded the study of Italian Renaissance architecture. Over the course of three chapters, this dissertation challenges this narrative, reexamining the city, architecture, and architectural spaces across the complex milieu of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, starting with the concept of the 'ideal' city. The most truthful prescription of the paragon city is found in the combined text and images of military architectural treatises with their geometrically defined city walls. Reflective of its chaotic time, it is a paragon city under the jurisdiction of a ruler whose primary authority is the right to judge and dispense punishment. Because of the authoritarian overtone, the military architectural treatise has not been given the same consideration as its civic counterpart. The marginalization of military architecture has resulted in the exclusion of certain types of buildings from the history of Italian Renaissance architecture. The *rocche* and castles built during the Renaissance, misclassified as military architecture, have an underlying medieval heritage that has resulted in their omission from the broader discourse of Italian Renaissance architecture. Though fortified, these structures are no different from the classically clothed villas of the wealthy, more commonly examined and discussed. The conventional focus on patronage and magnificence excludes the actual socio-political environment, one of power, violence, justice, and execution—each regularly on display in the main piazzas of Italian cities. Violent threats to those in power demanded swift punishment that often resulted in the public execution of the offender. The public space of the piazza is understood as a space of authority and control: a gateway to power where certain kinds of violence were deemed acceptable. The exclusion of violence from Renaissance architectural history promotes a bias inherent in the traditional narrative. The resolution is a more inclusive narrative, one that acknowledges that the Renaissance is more complex and complicated than ideal.

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Introduction

When the Florentine architect Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) crossed the Alps into Italy along with the French army and the future Pope Julius II (1443-1513), he certainly had no idea that he was participating in an event that would transform his country into a militarized landscape, lead to his captivity[1] and, perhaps more importantly, cause him to lose the greatest commission of the era, the new St. Peter's Basilica, to a newcomer from Milan.[2] Thus, this cultural context of war and violence wielded great implications for the history of architecture. However, Renaissance architectural history has tended to flatten or nullify the pungent aspects of the military and violence that surround important works, resulting in a seemingly more palatable discourse. The existing reluctance to include work associated with violence moreover hinders the inclusion and the contribution of Italian Renaissance architecture within a broader collective history of violence as well as sterilizes the works from the social and political implications embedded in the works. The absence of cultural violence from architectural history is not always deliberate yet this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that collective memory can differ from visual memory and how architecture speaks to past events and experiences, including atrocities and victimization of the powerless, rather than merely being buildings representative of a particular kind of patronage and privilege.

The dissertation argues that the violent milieu of the Italian Renaissance serves as a valuable, if not essential, factor in the discourse of architectural history. It claims that the social

[1] As the French made their way through Italy, they freed Pisa from the grip of Florentine might. On his return to Florence, he was taken captive by the Pisans and held for ransom for six months. See Vasari.
[2] Two months prior to returning to Italy, he accompanied the self-exiled Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (Pope Julius II) on his voyage to Lyon. There, Sangallo and della Rovere presented the French king, Charles VIII, with a model of a royal palace.

and cultural implications of war and societal violence, such as death, disaster, and disenfranchisement, have architectural and spatial implications. The Italian Wars charged the geography of the Italian peninsula with what philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) refers to as juridico-political notions of authority.[3] Foucault's concept speaks to the territorial claims and conquests of powerful Renaissance rulers whose sense of political authority was coupled with temporal jurisdiction. Temporal jurisdiction was not a passive concept; it often involved displacement and transformation, actions that were facilitated by armies. As the dissertation will make evident, architecture in the Italian Renaissance played a critical role in communicating temporal and political authority. The authority supported by military violence was not unlike societal violence: both were carried out in the name of honor or justice. Hence, any discussion on violence, even random acts of violence, should recognize the underlying relationship and frequently the foundational role of the law and the concept of justice. Such an awareness implicates the [nation] state as the legitimizer of societal violence. As historian Julius Ruff has noted, "violence is a central concern of every modern state."[4] The central question for this dissertation is: how does architecture participate in the legitimization and implementation of violence?[5] As a crucial aspect of early modern society and culture deadly violence and its acceptance (vendetta killings and criminal punishment) cannot be completely detached from the built environment in which it occurred.

In 1492 the Italian peninsula was nothing more than a collection of small states. Of these, there were five larger and more prominent ones: the Republics of Venice and Florence, the

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[3] Michel Foucault *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 178.

[4] Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 44.

[5] While numerous texts discuss sixteenth-century military architecture, few recognize that the architecture is representative of a type of violence authorized and administered by the state as an assertion of their jurisdiction, temporal, and political might.

Kingdom of Naples, the Papal States, and the Duchy of Milan. The political relations between these five were tenuous; the deaths of Florence's Lorenzo de Medici and Pope Innocent VIII in April and July of that year, respectively, further strained those relations. The perceived power vacuum created by the death of these two leading men marked the beginning of decades of turbulence, violence, and death, as foreigners began to take over the peninsula. In 1494 French troops descended into Italy, turning Renaissance civility into war, and effectively transformed much of the peninsula into a militarized landscape for more than six decades.

The Italian Wars (1494-1559) scarred the land with their devastating destruction. They also had an enormous effect on the daily lives of sixteenth-century Italians—politically, socially, and culturally. The pitched battles and siege warfare occurred in parallel with the more recognized narrative of the architectural and artistic achievements of the Italian Renaissance. Therefore, many of the most iconic Renaissance works—the Sistine Chapel, the *Mona Lisa,* the Tempietto—therefore, were products of a war-torn country. The Wars affected the production of architecture more than generally recognized: more than the development and innovation of fortification design. This dissertation reaffirms that the intellectual aura of the humanistic Renaissance has shrouded the violent tenor of daily life in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy. The violence often associated with the medieval period did not instantly dissipate with Petrarch's call for a return to the classics. His 1344 lament of the blood-stained grass of his homeland and subsequent cries for "peace, peace, peace" were still applicable in 1544. [6]

Art historian Alina Payne has noted the prejudice in Renaissance architectural scholarship which has insulated it from broader issues and challenges. In advocating for a global approach to Renaissance scholarship, she has promoted the idea of challenging traditional

[66] Petrarch, *Italia, mia; Il Canzoniere* 128.

narratives and being suspicious of normalized approaches that focus on individual geniuses and selected events.[7] The absence of violence within the discourse of architectural history invites the suspicion that Payne spoke about. Is it not suspect that the 1527 Sack of Rome is the only significant violent event that receives attention in Renaissance architectural history? Yet, within the larger scope of the Italian Wars, from which it has been detached, the Sack was a relatively minor episode. Romans often ransacked their city in the absence of a pope during the *Sede Vacante.*[8] Given this perceived lacuna, my work articulates the relationship between violence, architecture, geography, and urban space, drawing from both social and architectural history. By examining the ways in which Italian Renaissance architecture demonstrates violence or military control, it begins to connect and expand the disparate discourses on violence and architecture.

The beginning of the High Renaissance in architecture is commonly associated with the arrival of the architect Donato Bramante (1444-1514) in Rome, and the completion of his Tempietto, which has been characterized as the invention of a new 'classical' Renaissance architecture.[9] Yet Bramante's relocation to the imperial city was one of necessity, not of choice. His patron, Ludovico Sforza (1452-1508), was forced into exile as Milan had been invaded by

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[7] Alina Alexandra Payne, "Introduction," *The Companions to the History of Architecture*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave, vol. 1 (Chichester; Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2017).

[8] The *Sede Vacante* was the period between the death of a pope and the election of a new one. The period was often one of looting and uncontrollable violence. For example, after the 1484 death of Sixtus IV, the threat of civil war was palpable. All of Rome was in arms; prominent cardinals dared not leave their palaces which had become strongholds, not even for the funeral rites of the deceased Pope. Laurie Nussdorfer recounts the ritual and political activities around the death of a Pope, though, she seems to downplay the life-threatening atmosphere that accompanied it. Any 'violent' acts she portrays as political protests. For more see: Nussdorfer, Laurie, "Vacant See: Ritual and Protests in Early Modern Era," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18, no. 2 (1987): 713–189.
This is the prejudice, I believe, Payne is speaking about. Nussdorfer states that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Vacant See was a political struggle fought with words, as opposed to the "bloody clashes of the Orsini and Colonna." Nussdorfer, 182. Without any further explanation or comment on the 'bloody clashes', the reader is left to infer about the Orsini and Colonna feud based on prior knowledge that both clans had prominent cardinals and *condottieri* in their ranks. Neither were too far detached from the papacy. Nonetheless, the reader, be it intentional or not, is left with the impression that conflicts in the Renaissance were more akin to a war-of-words rather than a bloody clash.

[9] The Tempietto is heralded as embodying the essential qualities of antique architecture and not simply an imitation of classical Roman architecture.

the new French king, Louis XII, who claimed hereditary rights to the duchy. Bramante, thus, had become an artist/architect without a patron whose exit from Milan was the direct result of claims of territorial jurisdiction, backed by military force.[10] This would not be the last time that an architect had to flee or relocate due to the violence of the subsequent Italian Wars.[11] Nonetheless, it is safe to presume, that if it were not for the French invasion, Bramante would have remained in Milan, and his companion at the Sforza court, Leonardo da Vinci, would be buried in Italy rather than France. While Bramante's arrival in Rome is well known, the circumstances of his arrival are often disregarded in the history of Italian Renaissance architecture. However, it is precisely within this context of burgeoning nation-states, territorial conquests, and the violence associated with them that the architecture of the period was created.

Renaissance historian J.R. Hale has insisted that war played such a dramatic role that to ignore it would radically change our understanding of the cultural and social context of the early modern period.[12] In *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620*, Hale proficiently illustrates the interconnectedness of judicial powers, territorial dominion, and violence and their combined importance to the early-modern European state. The military served as an important instrument of the state to enforce order and execute its will through violence against fearful populations.[13] While war was indeed significant, Hale emphasizes that it should be viewed within the context of the state's expansion of its juridical institutions. The imposition and implementation of justice within a state's territories was infused with violence through "the

[10] This was a common occurrence and typical of the artist-patron relationship in Renaissance Italy. It was how Giuliano da Sangallo came to work for Cardinal della Rovere after the death of Lorenzo di Medici in 1492.
[11] In 1527, due to the violence of the sack of Rome, the architects Baldassare Peruzzi and Jacopo Sansovino fled the city; the former barely escaped alive and the latter never returned.
[12] J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 13
[13] Civilians were subjected to various forms of violent acts by soldiers including looting, destruction of property and even execution. Ruff notes that looting, in fact, comes out of a European military tradition. Ruff, 56.

corporal and capital punishments that the penology of the day employed."[14] It is through these judicial institutions that the state, as well as the church, sought to quell popular unrest and impose their sense of civil conduct. Be it corporal punishment, executions, or war, the ritualization of state-sponsored violence marks early modern Europe as a society far more violent than our own. Moreover, this period (one of great discoveries) was permeated by a culture of war.[15]

War as a form of politically motivated and legalized violence consumed much of the time and space of early modern Italy. The Italian Wars and their impact on society have been thoroughly examined by social historians, but, again, not as readily by architectural historians. The presumption is that the violence of war, even 'just wars', mainly affected soldiers, with battles occurring in open fields hence bearing no architectural or spatial implications. [16] However, we must be reminded that the Italian Wars were battles for territorial domination that required the seizing of major towns. The characteristic siege warfare was a drawn-out battle against a walled-in citizenry, not to mention the exposed rural population. Stephen Bowd's *Renaissance Mass Murder* is a lucid account of the impact of the Italian Wars on civilians, explicating the horrific and violent acts soldiers imposed upon them. In the book, he reveals how there was a deadly cycle of "plunder, assault and revenge" when armies breached the city walls.[17] The massacre of civilians was customary as Italian towns were sacked and claimed in

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[14] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 3.
[15] Robert Muchembled and Jean Birrell, *A History of Violence : From the End of the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press, 2012), 8.
[16] The sixteenth-century understanding of a just war stems from a combination of Greek philosophy and Christian morality. At its core, just wars were restitutions against an opposing entity that made unsubstantiated claims against them, in short, were the avenging of damages caused. Following the writings of St. Augustine, war was rationalized from a moral perspective to control wickedness and restore a sense of order to civil society. Hence, there was an acceptance of violent acts even against non-combatants. As Stephen Bowd points out, just wars tended to encourage such violence. See Stephen D. Bowd, *Renaissance Mass Murder: Civilians and Soldiers during the Italian Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 126.
[17] Bowd, 82.

the name of the besieging ruler. Bowd noted that civilians had to prepare themselves materially and spiritually, at times going to the *duomo* (the town cathedral) to make their last confessions.

Beyond religious rites and rituals, the *duomo* had a secondary function as a defensive stronghold in cases of conflict. It is in the tales of the atrocities of war, told to us by social historians, that we discover spatial and architectural significances. For instance, during the 1512 sack of Brescia, the munitions were located near Piazza del Duomo. It was the appropriate place because many of the civilians (women, children, the elderly, and clergy) had taken refuge in the centrally located *duomo*. The sanctity of the cathedral, however, was not a deterrent to the ferocity of the French as they slaughtered all those inside, without discrimination, before looting the church of its treasures. While some were able to escape, more than eight thousand Brescian and Venetian lives were lost. Their bodies littered the streets, piazzas, and back alleys of the city as French soldiers tossed the dead from windows. The principal anti-French co-conspirators were spared the brutality of mass murder instead, they were taken prisoner and later hanged. One of the principal anti-French plotters, Luigi Avogadro, was led into the Piazza della Loggia, fronted by the under-construction palazzo for the Venetian podestà, and decapitated. Today, the Palazzo della Loggia is an idyllic Renaissance building displaying the efforts of famed architects Jacopo Sansovino and Andrea Palladio.

Though the cathedral and the Palazzo della Loggia do not sit on the same piazza, a small lane connects the Piazza della Loggia to the Piazza del Duomo (now known as Piazza Paolo VI). The Palazzo Broletto, which housed the civic government, also fronted the Piazza del Duomo and operates as a hinge between the cathedral and the Palazzo della Loggia. As the most significant buildings and spaces it is logical that they would be the most well-defended and a place to display power and authority. The spatial relationship of these buildings along with their

political and social relevance—not to mention the inherent violence and demonstrations of authority—has escaped most accounts of Renaissance architecture. From a military perspective, their location was strategic. Even if the walls fell and the town sacked, the center (of power) could potentially be defended and saved from destruction. Though not within the scope of this dissertation, the rebuilding after the devastation of a siege can perhaps explain why an architect would accompany a ruler/commander on their war campaigns.

To the non-Renaissance specialist, the idea of the Renaissance as a violent era may come as a surprise. Even to a budding Renaissance architectural historian, such knowledge was astonishing. The shock, however, has led to wonder and opportunity, opening new modes of inquiry, which demand an expanded approach to architectural history—an approach that supplements architectural analysis by borrowing clues from social history. Doing so has allowed for a broader sense of architecture's role and purpose in society. One learns that the violence in Renaissance society as a cultural context cannot be detached from the more common perception of the Italian Renaissance as a renewal of classical humanities, artistic achievement, and princely courts. The focus in this period on the traits of social behavior and proper conduct appears to reconcile the prominence of princely courts with the less desirable aspects of a violent society.

Person-to-person violence (murder, assault) and group violence (riots, rebellions) were all too familiar to sixteenth-century Western Europeans. These actions were associated with personal aggression and identified as civil disobedience - actions that were not proper behavior in an age of humanistic decorum and growing civility. To ensure civility, violent behavior required counteractions, which were also violent in nature. Hence, violence, as a construct, is an act equally attributed to an individual aggressor as well as to state authorities. It is in the latter instance where violence is deemed legitimate or just. The notion of 'just' violence extends to war

and the 'just war' theory prescribed by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica.*[18] Aquinas' caveats allowed early modern rulers to wage war as the (re)acquisition of land/territory believed to be theirs was deemed 'just.' Meanwhile, the violent tactics of the army disqualified these state conflicts from truly being 'just wars.' The violence imposed on the enemy and civilians alike fell into a more secular realm of violence, thereby connecting war with all forms of violence, including revolts and rebellions.[19] However, the existing narrative of popular violence in the Renaissance as unbridled violence of an armed crowd can be challenged by replacing 'emotional outbursts' with 'honor' as a catalyst.[20] This implies that there existed socially acceptable forms of violence or, at the very least, that the use of violence was justified in certain instances, reinforcing the concept of legitimate violence.[21]

The word 'violence' may mean different things to different readers, though a clear definition comes from French historian Robert Muchembled. In his book, *A History of Violence*, he states that one must first recognize the etymology of the word to understand its meaning. Originating from the Latin word *vis* meaning force or vigor, violence later became associated with the concept of a "power relationship aimed at subjecting or constraining another person."[22] Western civilization, Muchembled argues, elevated violence to a fundamental and positive role

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[18] At its most basic level, the 'just war' theory stipulates that all motives for war should be just in that they are the righting of a wrong. Aquinas states that for an act to be just it must correspond to rectifying an inequity (ST II-II, q.57). He further states that there are three conditions for a war to be just: first, he insinuates that war can only be waged by a legitimate ruler; secondly the war needs to be based on a just cause (the avenging of wrongs) to achieve peace; finally, all intentions of war should be as moderate as possible and avoid evil intentions (ST II-II, q. 40).
[19] There is an inherent aggressiveness in man, fueled by the passion of anger, that often results in violence. Crime and war become the same when violent acts are committed with an indifference to justice and/or without cause.
[20] Francesco Benigno argues that associating riots with unarmed primal aggressiveness dismisses the underlying political hierarchy embedded in them. See Francesco Benigno, "Reconsidering Popular Violence: Changes of Perspective in the Analysis of Early Modern Revolts," in *The Culture of Violence in Renaissance Italy: Proceedings of the International Conference: Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, 3-4 May, 2010*, ed. Fabrizio Ricciardelli and Samuel Kline Cohn (Firenze: Villa Le Balze Studies, 1, 2012), 123–43.
[21] As an example, vendetta killings, though not officially sanctioned, were considered private justice, and often escaped prosecution.
[22] Robert Muchembled and Jean Birrell, *A History of Violence: From the End of the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge; Malden: Polity Press, 2012), 7.

by declaring brutal acts of defense as legitimate, particularly when employed by institutions such as the state or the church. Illegitimate violence, then, is committed by the individual in disregard of the laws and morality. This distinction is notable because, as Muchembled suggests, violence, as a result of human aggression, is related to the need to defend territory, group, or self, and that there is an inherent relationship between aggression and the fundamental principles of human society: group identity and support.[23] There is an obvious double standard here; the line between legitimate and illegitimate is indeed fine. However, it reveals that violence is cultural. The classification, acceptance, and punishment of violence of a given period are fundamental to the cultural context and identification of a particular society, and, I maintain, cannot be detached from other cultural/societal conditions nor the built environment in which acts of violence occur.

In the sixteenth century, the early modern state's emergence out of the knightly order of the Middle Ages coincided with the evolution of the civilized courtly society commonly associated with the Renaissance. According to sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990), Western Europeans were becoming a society regulated by manners and notions of proper behavior. In the humanist milieu of Renaissance Italy, this translates to tenets of decorum and *cortesia*. Elias' seminal text, *The Civilizing Process*, argues that there was, particularly in courtly society, a self-consciousness regarding socially acceptable behavior; a behavior that exemplified intellectual and artistic prowess and, most importantly, self-control. The notion of (self-) control extended to the population as well, though, according to Elias, it was the king or prince who was responsible for the pacification and civilizing of society.[24] Still, this civilizing of society was not as pacifying

[23] Muchembled and Birrell, 11. Muchembled notes that this draws from an ethological perspective. While there are some who disagree with the idea of man's animal behavior, in my opinion he is right to question why man is crueler and often more vicious than other animals.
[24] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 1st American ed., Mole Editions (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), 48.

as Elias suggested.[25] The acknowledged interrelation between the process of becoming a civilized society and the formation of early modern states suggests an interrelationship between control and violence. Furthermore, the determination of proper behavior, by default, defines uncivilized behaviors. Certain uncivilized behaviors or actions, in the view and authority of the state, could then be deemed criminal. As such, those criminal behaviors warranted punishment.

The Renaissance prince as head of state had the jurisdictional authority, if not the responsibility, to control societal violence through the implementation and defense of laws. The pure power (*merum imperium*) of jurisdiction sanctioned the use of capital punishment for criminal offenses. Hence, the means used to control violence, suppress aggressive impulses, and ensure social cohesion were often legitimized (legalized) acts of violence. Internally, this was achieved with physical and deadly forms of punishment—externally, it was military aggression against opposing courts or states. Machiavelli stated, "the chief foundation of all states…[is] good laws and good arms," and "where [states] are well armed they have good laws."[26] This explains the relationship between laws, behavior, and the state's authority. There then exists a perceived correlation between the lack of self-control and violence. This irrepressible self-expression was not "how people behaved at court."[27] Societal violence was uncivilized. While the violence and perceived lack of civility stand counter to the vision of the Renaissance as a golden age of individualism and discovery, it accurately reflects the group identity and the

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[25] What Elias failed to account for was the power of jurisdiction. The phrase, *Merum et mixtum imperium* was a common medieval and Renaissance phrase that denoted the privileges and power of jurisdiction, consisting of the might of the sword and the right to judge. Merum *et mixtum imperium* means pure and mixed authority. It is a phrase adopted during the reign of Frederick II of Ulpian. It is unclear what Ulpian meant by the phrase, though it is believed he was distinguishing between delegated and inherent powers. The delegated powers come from a higher authority, typically the prince or pope. The distinction is most effective when the higher authority desires to reclaim power and/or land from local governments.

[26] Machiavelli, Chapter XII

[27] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 62.

overall character of society, in particular, the reading of the princely court as a monopoly of legitimized violence.

The predominant narrative of the Renaissance courtly prince as a patron of the arts and architecture and an adept humanist tends to supersede all other perceptions. In the discourse of architectural history, this is particularly true. However, the princely court's role in implementing violence is equally important. In acknowledging the Renaissance prince as a patron, we must also recognize him as a despot, *condottiero*, or oligarch, who commissioned the building of fortifications and authorized the use of force. The reason this perspective is important is twofold: first, it provides a fuller and more accurate representation of the Renaissance ruler, and second, it permits the inclusion of works incorrectly referred to as military architecture into the wider discourse of civic architecture. I posit that there is no difference between Pope Paul III's redesign of the Campidoglio and the refortification of Rome. As Guido Rebecchini has noted, both were highly symbolic and well-known architectural and urban projects.[28] On the other hand, in his essay on Rome under Paul III, Rebecchini treats the fortifications as insignificant, concentrating more on the Campidoglio and other architectural works by the pope. He relegates to the footnotes Michelangelo's possible involvement in the design of the new fortifications, and in doing so contributes to what, I argue, is a routine disassociation of a Renaissance architect's civic and military work. Fortifications were not solely motivated by military factors. They were driven by urban planning and political motives as well.

The decision to completely refortify Rome was eventually abandoned by Paul III. The threat from the Ottomans had declined and the Roman populace was seeking relief from the taxes imposed on them to fund the fortifying of the city and other papal territories. The tax relief

[28] Guido Rebecchini, "After the Medici. The New Rome of Pope Paul III Farnese," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007): 168.

was not given; instead, tax funds were used to transform the Borgo, the zone fronting the Vatican, into a "formidable armed" camp.[29] The pope's fortifying of the Borgo, from an internal political perspective, may have appeared as an action taken by a self-centered papacy securing itself against an anticipated attack from the citizens, rather than providing protection of populace from foreign forces. Given Paul III's later degrading infliction of papal authority with the erection of fortresses in Perugia and Ascoli, such an argument is plausible. Fortress building by princes and popes was often seen as symbols of tyranny by an oppressed populace. The association with tyranny is valid considering that perched atop the bastions of these fortresses were canons trained on the city and its citizens. Yet this does not negate the possibility of civilian discord and the need for an autonomous ruler to take refuge. The Fortezza da Basso in Florence, designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, along with its garrison of soldiers, was built for this purpose: it served as the shield, or the protection of power for the Tuscan duke Cosimo I de Medici. If rebellion or conspiracy had occurred, he could have held up in the fortress, ultimately escaping the threat of expulsion and exile that befell his predecessors. From an external-temporal viewpoint, the fortresses, citadels and *rocche,* as symbols of despotic rule, are more evident. The Rocca Galliera in Bologna and Perugia's Rocca Paolina, both occupied by papal garrisons, ensured the unity and control of the papal states. However, the demolition of both not only signaled a regime change but, more importantly, a disgruntled citizenry whose actions were in some respects, an effigial form of violence. In Bologna, for example, not only was the fort torn down, Michelangelo's bronze statue of Pope Julius II was ripped from its perch above Bologna's cathedral, San Petronio.[30]

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[29] Simon Pepper, "Planning versus Fortification: Sangallo's Project for the Defense of Rome," *Architectural Review* 159 (March 1976): 48.

[30] The disdain for the pope had grown to a fever pitch by 1511, five years after he triumphantly rode through the streets as a liberator of Bologna. The hatred of those who favored the return of the Bentivoglio tore down

In the field of architectural history, it seems as if the prevalent humanist perspective of the Renaissance supersedes the scholarship on violence. I do not wish to imply that there is no architectural research that deals with the violence of the period. There is a fair amount of research on the impact of war on architecture, yet I believe it is insufficient. Architectural history's treatment of war has focused primarily on fortifications or military architecture, highlighting the 1494 and 1499 French invasions of Italy as the catalyst for new concepts in fortification design, exemplified by the creation of the bastion.[31] Current literature treats military architecture as a distinct form of architecture, divorced from other civil and ecclesiastical architecture. This narrow approach neglects the effect of violence on the built environment. The presumption is that military architecture was an 'other,' that it did not belong within the same discourse of the classically inspired civic and religious structures.

The otherness of military architecture obscures the fact that fortifications, piazzas, and churches were built concurrently and often by the same architect. As Pope Julius II rode off to reclaim the papal cities of Perugia and Bologna from their perceived oligarchical families, the Baglioni and the Bentivoglio, respectively, he was accompanied by his architect, Bramante. Bramante's role was not to advise on the construction of new churches, but the construction and renovation of papal fortifications.[32] As currently written in the broad spectrum of Renaissance architectural history, Bramante's role in fortification building is nothing more than a footnote, if mentioned at all. In those rare instances where his fortification work is mentioned, Bramante is

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Michelangelo's sculpture. It was viewed as one the finest statues in Italy, one that rivaled the ancients. The massive statue was so large (three times life-size) that when it crashed to the ground it left a good-sized hole. The fragments from the fallen sculpture were melted down and turned into cannons by the Duke of Ferrara. See Ludwig Pastor Freiherr von, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, vol. VI (London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1923), 512–13.

[31] Of these authors, Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams are leading figures. Their book, *Firearms and Fortifications* uses Siena as a case study to explore the modernization and modifications made in fortification design.

[32] One counterpoint to this argument is that in Bologna, Bramante was not involved with the building of the Rocca Galliera but is credited with the design of a grand stairway in the Palazzo degli Anziani.

not referred to as an architect but as a "military engineer."[33] Such a designation is unnecessary because the distinction between architect and engineer did not exist in the sixteenth century. [34] Nonetheless, fortifications were more than structures of protection; they symbolized the emergence of a central state and jurisdictional powers. In this light, I argue that military architecture is a misnomer. Fortifications were infrastructures of state control and authority. While the advancements of military weaponry and the professionalization of forces lessened (albeit minimally) the civilian population's fear of violence from hostile forces, the state's need to impose order and quell rebellions required institutional, fiscal, and architectural infrastructures.

Over the course of the following chapters, this dissertation addresses the issues laid out above. Working across scales, it first examines the political and military functions of fortified planned cities; it then looks at *rocche*, like citadels, as symbols of authority; and last considers piazzas as public spaces of execution and their role in the administration of violent forms of punishment. The epilogue reconsiders how the effects of violence on Renaissance architecture have evaded the broader discourse.

Chapter One examines the fortified city within the cultural milieu of the Renaissance and Italian Wars, challenging the notion of the ideal city and its architectural representation. Treatises on military architecture, rather than those on civic architecture, serves as the basis for examination. Using Guastalla in the Po Valley as a case study, the chapter considers the planned

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[33] "Donato Bramante - Roman Period," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed March 23, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donato-Bramante.

[34] Civic architects such as Bramante or Palladio have received much of the attention in the historiography of Italian Renaissance architecture, leaving so-called "military architects," like Francesco Paciotto, unappreciated by the same historians. For more on Francesco Paciotto see Martha D. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12. and Ian Verstegen's "Francesco Paciotto, European Geopolitics, and Military Architecture." *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 3 (2011), 393-414.

city as a fortified frontier town indicating temporal jurisdiction, rather than an expression of utopian ideals.

The Italian *rocca*, which sits at the intersection of a citadel and a castle, is the focus of Chapter Two. The fortified nature of *rocche* has unfairly relegated some buildings to be categorized as military architecture, made evident in comparisons between the Villa Caprarola and the Rocca Paolina. Both were commissioned by Alessandro Farnese (Pope Paul III), with the intent to build a *rocca,* though the former has received much more attention than the latter. Hence, the classification of buildings as military architecture has resulted in them receiving less scholarly attention and, arguably, a disassociation with Renaissance architecture.

Chapter Three considers the possibility of violence as that which determines the social character of space. The executions that occurred in Bologna's Piazza Maggiore were often done in the interest of justice and retribution. Hence the violent acts of punishment contribute to the definition and understanding of the Piazza Maggiore; further highlighted when architecture participates in the executions. No longer a mere backdrop, the buildings of the piazza, like the Palazzo del Podestà in Bologna, become mediators of the seen and obscene displays of power.

Thus, the dissertation seeks to redress the prejudices of current architectural history by reinserting the architecture into its historical context and see it as more than an expression of a cultural movement of a romanticized age. The inclusion of aspects antithetical to the perception of the Renaissance is paramount, particularly the messy parts of history. Together, violence, architecture, power, and authority are essential ingredients to a fuller understanding of the tableau of Italian Renaissance architecture.

Chapter 1: The Military Ideal

"Strangely, the ideal city of the Renaissance was promoted not so much by Venus but by Mars" [1]

The word utopia was popularized in 1516 with the publication of Sir Thomas More's book: *Of a Republic's Best State and of the New Island Utopia*. Commonly referred to as *Utopia*, the book depicts an idyllic society of ideal social norms and political structures. *Utopia,* as a work of literature, is a humanist retort to the milieu of sixteenth-century Europe. The order and discipline prescribed in *Utopia* contradicted the societal and political chaos, violence, and wars that plagued much of the European continent—the Italian Wars contributed to most of these ills.[2] The imagined paradise of *Utopia* was a satirical escape from reality, portraying a society considerably different from contemporary Europe, one where all violence was condemned—even though the pacifist inhabitants were trained for war.[3] It was a representation of ideal communities founded on shared ideas of virtue and justice. Hence, More's *Utopia* was a conjectural proposition meant to explain away reality. It, and all other forms of utopias, are nothing more than responses to periods of war, violence, and disorder.

In sixteenth-century Italy, an unlikely peer to utopian visions were architectural treatises, particularly treatises on military architecture where Renaissance architects transcribed their

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[1] Michael J. Lewis, "Utopia and the Well-Ordered Fortress: J. M. von Schwalbach's Town Plans of 1635," *Architectural History* 37 (1994): 24.

[2] *Utopia* was written during the War of the League of Cambrai and published in the year of England's involvement in the Holy League. England was not heavily involved in the Italian Wars, which at one point or another entangled all the continent's kingdoms and empires. England's involvement had more to do with aggression against France than conflicts with Italian city-states or the Papacy,

[3] The satirical nature of *Utopia* requires an awareness of the war-ravaged landscape of Europe and the unjust hierarchical structures of sixteenth-century society. In other words, More's prescription for a better society is a caricature that relies on knowledge of the contemporary milieu to comprehend.

theories and designs of the ideal city. Considering this, Michael Lewis, the author of the leading quote, should not be surprised.

Like More's *Utopia,* architectural treatises are works of humanist scholarship, rhetorical texts of persuasion, and promotion of classical standards in architecture. The designs of ideal cities found in architectural treatises are often read against the backdrop of humanism, and a return to the geometrical, symmetrical, and proportional principles of classical architecture. The architectural treatises and their return to the classics were a rebuke of medieval and Gothic architecture and, most notably, the unplanned and unorderly layout of medieval towns. The prescribed plans of well-arranged cities found in these treatises are regularly described as being encompassed by walls. In treatises that illustrate the written descriptions, the walls form a clear identifiable geometrical shape. Filarete's plan of Sforzinda (c. 1464) (Fig. 1.1), with its eight-pointed star shape (formed by two overlapping and rotated squares) and the circle that surrounds it serves as a prime example. The star delineates the city walls and the circle a moat with both functioning as defensive barriers. Though, the physical and geometrical attributes of a city are important, perhaps more so are its social and functional attributes. In civic treatises, (those that offer speculative ideas on the city and civic architecture such as churches, residences and bridges) there is a disconnect between the ideal society and ideal geometry; they tend to neglect the integral relationship between the defensive walls and the society contained within. While the social proposals align with humanist notions of an archetypal republic, the walls as a mere protective shield negate its role as a political and martial apparatus (demonstrated by the lines of fire emanating from the city walls) (Fig. 1. 2) that operates as a territorial marker. This

disconnect renders it more a formal conceit than a true 'ideal city.'[4] Instead, a truer representation of the ideal city can be found in military architectural treatises of the period.

This chapter redresses the relative disregard given to Renaissance military architectural treatises compared to their civic counterparts for their role in urban planning.[5] The indifference to military treatises as viable sources for the discussion of the ideal city is unjustifiable; military architectural treatises tend to provide a more in-depth description of the city than civic treaties. Nonetheless, the shared humanist foundation of both civic and military treatises makes a case for their equal treatment, if not an analysis of their similarities. Such an evaluation can begin at recognizing the role of the city in military architectural treatises whose indisputable focus is the design of fortifications (bastions and curtain walls). However, the authors clearly understood that without the city, fortifications served no purpose. Furthermore, military architectural treatises consider fortifications as works of architecture rather than military apparatuses.[6] Many of the authors state the importance of having an architect involved in the building of a city's fortifying

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[4] The term "ideal city" has been used to describe the plans of Filarete and Francesco di Giorgio by authors such as Martha Pollak and Eugenio Garin, who dedicates an entire chapter to the ideal city see: Eugenio Garin, *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Peter Munz, 1st ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969). The tendency to understand the ideal city as being related to the search for geometric logic or beauty is misguided, predicated on the notion of attempting to read the city as an ideal architectural form. The proportional relationships and geometric rationalizations of architectural parts to the whole cannot be translated to the form of the city.

[5] My dissertation is not a critique of the wealth of scholarship on Renaissance military architecture. Nicholas Adams and Simon Pepper's work on fortifications is foundational. Martha Pollack's catalog of military architectural treatises has been a valuable source. Added to this are the numerous writings on Francesco di Giorgio Martini and J.R. Hale's short inquisitive exploration on the art of fortification design.

[6] In this regard, the fortifying walls in military architectural treatises can be viewed as civic works as well as military works. The predominance of the words *mura* and *muraglia* (wall and city walls) found in military architectural treatises suggests a not-so-rigid classification of the wall not as a mere military apparatus but as an integral part of what constitutes a city in sixteenth-century Italy. If we consider the military architectural treatise as a guide to building fortifications, or more precisely the proper techniques to build a wall, then there is no appreciable difference between military architectural treatises and Vitruvius' discussion in Book VI, Chapter 8 on foundation/retaining walls. Although the chapter is specifically on the substructures of buildings, Vitruvius' description of the building of foundation/retaining walls is a precursor to fortification designs found in the sixteenth century. His mention that the walls against the soil should have teeth-like projections at proportional intervals and to be the same thickness as the wall itself resonates with later recommendations. See Vitruvius Pollio and Frank Granger, *Vitruvius on Architecture*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 57. In essence, the walls of fortifications with their bastions and ramparts are nothing more than retaining walls.

walls. For example, Pietro Cataneo, in his treatise, believed that a successful project required a competent architect.[7] Nonetheless, it is the often-overlooked city in military architectural treatises that deserves attention. As the first half of the chapter will elucidate, the city described in the military architectural treatises is a valid representation of a Renaissance ideal city and is more than an example of military urbanism as author Martha Pollack has argued.[8]

Like *Utopia*, these treatises were a response to the violent and war-torn conditions of early-modern Italy. Both the ideal city and the fictional concept of utopian cities seek universal answers to temporary problems.[9] In assessing the representation of the ideal city in military architectural treatises what emerges is an image not of a stand-alone capital city, but a city that exists within a larger structure of jurisdiction and authority, one partly read through the arrangement of the city. It participates and is representative of the social, cultural, and political milieu of the time.

Since the 1494 French invasion of Italy, Italian city-states, the Papacy, the Kingdom of Spain, and the Kingdom of France fought for territorial control, in the Italian Wars (1494-1554), thus increasing the need for and interest in new defensive fortifications. The French advancement in artillery made Italian cities defended by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century walls susceptible to being sacked. The tall, thin medieval walls simply could not defend against the onslaught of the powerful and mobile French cannons, which precipitated "the most radical change" in

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[7] Pietro Cataneo, *I quattro primi libri di architettura* (Venice: Aldo Bros., 1554). See section entitled *Q[u]ell che pi[ù] facci[fare] di bisogono allo architetto, & di quanta importanza gli sia l'essere buono prospetti[v]o.*

[8] I agree with Pollak that the 'ideal city' is more than an abstract inspiration, though I do not fully agree that the ideal city has military design thinking at its core. While I acknowledge that there is, in some military treatises, consideration as to how the roads can be planned for the best means of defense, I would argue that there is equal emphasis on the civic and political organization of the city. Martha D. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 155.

[9] Helen Rosenau, *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution in Europe* (London; New York: Methuen, 1983), 2–3. What Rosenau is implying is that the development of ideal plans and utopic ideals were reactionary to current issues such as war.

fortification design.[10] The emergence of sixteenth-century military architectural treaties indicates that there was an audience for such literature, the bulk of which was written after 1550. This date is important because it is at a time of relative peace and stability on the Italian peninsula—after nearly six decades of constant conflict. The fact that the treatises were written during peacetime, and not during wartime, suggests that the authors wanted to make certain their descriptions of the proper techniques on fortification building were tested and proven. Hence, it is logical that some authors (and co-authors) of military architectural treatises were ex-military; they had experience in building fortifications and knowledge of ballistics. Regardless of the profession of the author, the overall theme of all the treatises was the development of defensive fortifications for a new city, the boundaries defined by its geometrical walls.

The design of new and stronger fortifications as a response to the threat of war is a reasonable impulse to produce military architectural treatises. They could serve as manuals of defense. Though equally important, they depicted the possible defense of a new temporal possession.[11] Existing cities did not allow for pure geometries, hence the focus was on the planning of new cities. Perfect geometries notwithstanding, the tenets put forth in these treatises were applicable to smaller existing towns, particularly those that relied on outdated medieval walls and towers. This was the case for the Po River valley town of Guastalla when it was refortified in 1547, which will be discussed later in the chapter. The idealized plans found in military architectural treatises can be regarded as a militarization of the landscape. Here 'military' refers to the organization and implementation of armed forces for political purposes.

[10] Horst de la Croix, *Military Considerations in City Planning: Fortifications.*, Planning and Cities (New York: George Braziller, 1972), 8.
[11] The importance of territorial jurisdiction is discussed later in the chapter.

'Landscape' is understood as a text from which to read practices of power over space.[12] This notion of dominion is expressed in military architectural treatises. The fortifying of a new or existing town is a military-political function; the urban planning of that town has political and social ramifications. Consequently, the early modern military architectural treatises recognize the integral relationship between authority and territorial jurisdiction. In a sense, the ideal city of sixteenth-century Italy is a paradigmatic form of political authority backed by military might—even Thomas More's island of Utopia was conquered land.

The chapter begins by examining military architectural treatises arguing for their relevance in the broader discourse of Renaissance architectural history. Like their civic counterparts, military architectural treatises are a theory of architecture: a form of literature that expresses forces and ideas that in turn influence architecture. The study of these treatises yields a more comprehensive understanding not only of the architecture but also the political context of the period particularly as it relates to war and territorial rights. The acquisition, fortification, and urban planning of the small town of Guastalla illustrate these issues. Even if not a new city, the principles put forth in the treatises become real in Guastalla, particularly given the environment of the Italian Wars.

The Treatises

The architectural treatises (both civic and military) of the fifteenth and sixteenth century can be understood as theoretical propositions, often of a historical imagination bound to the humanist culture of the time, a culture of eloquence and decorum. It is the humanist culture of the Italian Renaissance that establishes early modern treatises as textual or literary works used to

[12] Rachel Woodward, "Military Landscapes: Agendas and Approaches for Future Research," *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 40–61.

"rationalize a visual domain."[13] Hence, the treatises represent a link between the thinking and the practice of architecture, although it is important to recognize that each is related to other disciplines.[14] This is most evident in the planning of cities, where political, social, and civic concerns are addressed. In the absence of the profession of urban/city planner, the responsibility of planning new cities fell to the architect. According to Pietro Cataneo, a good portion of [the profession of] architecture is certainly that which deals with the city.[15] Numerous treatises written in the fifteenth and sixteenth century evidences Cataneo's sentiment.

The number of Renaissance architectural treatises is too great to list here. The most recognized, read and revered include Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (1485), Filarete's *Trattato di architettura* (ca. 1464), Francesco di Giorgio Martini's *Trattati di architettura, ingengneria e arte militare* (ca. 1482), Sebastiano Serlio's *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva* (1537), and Palladio's *I'quattro libro dell'architetura* (1570). To the Renaissance architectural historian, these are seminal texts. They serve as guidelines and founding principles of Renaissance architecture and its attempts to interpret the architectural

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[13] Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8.
Humanism was above all a scholarly and literary movement centered on classical scholarship. The study of classical writings became associated with the notion of eloquence. Classical elements were not, however, limited to literary or rhetorical studies but found their way into all areas, including architecture, were**,** according to Payne, ornament can be seen as a rhetorical device. In my opinion, Payne's use of the phrase "visual domain" refers to the concept of style wherein words and text are used to explain and justify the non-verbal, yet readable language of architecture. She positions architecture within the humanist culture particularly as it relates to the notion of eloquence. Author Piyel Haldar provides a clear view of the relationship between style, decorum, and eloquence. Haldar states "decorum might be regarded as providing an environment for the most appropriate style to bind both the composite relations between text and image into meaning…to condition the appropriate method of viewing, reading, and deciphering an [image]." He states further that "...decorum provided space for a heavily regulated style of language considered by the humanist to be eloquent." See Piyel Haldar, "The Tongue and The Eye: Eloquence and Office in Renaissance Emblems," in *Genealogies of Legal Vision*, ed. Peter Goodrich and Valérie Hayaert (London: Routledge, 2015), 152.
[14] Tod A Marder, "Vitruvius and the Architectural Treatise in Early Modern Europe," in *Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne, vol. 1, The Companions of the History of Architecture (Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 42. Other contexts/disciplines may include, philosophy, politics, art, aesthetics, etc.…
[15] *"la bella parte dell'Architettura certamante s[a]rà quella, che tratta delle città…"* Pietro Cataneo, *I quattro primi libri di architettura* (venice: aldo bros., 1554), np.

fragments of ancient Rome. Their proposed building types and discussions on ornament are ensconced in humanist ideas of decorum: realized in the artistic interpretation (license) of classical forms.[16] This sense of decorum is also found in those treatises that theorize the planning of cities.[17] The city, then, is an element of architecture (as Cataneo suggested) and its planning is part of an architect's duties; as such it is a civic work of architecture. The appearance of cities in what has been classified as treatises on civic architecture has led to their absorption into the overall discourse of Renaissance architecture. However, the city was not only theorized in civic treatises, postulations on the city and its planning are found in treatises on military architecture as well; however they have not garnered the same attention as those by Alberti or Filarete, despite their similarities in approach to forming and defending the city. Furthermore, the use of "*fon[t]i classichi"* (classical sources) as inspiration by the authors of military architecture treatises requires further consideration.[18]

The literature on early modern fortifications and military architecture is sizeable.[19] Beyond modern-day scholarship, there are numerous extant sixteenth-century treatises written by military architects and engineers, including Pietro Cataneo's (1510-1569) *I quattro libri di*

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[16] Alina Payne notes that there is a correlation between decorum/décor as it relates to ornament and the ornate as it relates to rhetoric and elocution. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, 58.
[17] Of the treatises noted above, Palladio's *I quattro libri* does not discuss the city at all.
[18] Scholars such as Martha Pollak and Horta de la Croix have noted the use of classical sources by military architecture treatise writers, while seeming to downplay them in favor of the broader topic of fortifications. Pollack even states that the writers were addressing the humanistic themes of the time. See Martha D. Pollak, *Military Architecture, Cartography & the Representation of the Early Modern European City: A Checklist of Treatises on Fortification in the Newberry Library* (Newberry Library, 1991), xxiv. Authors such as Alberti or di Giorgio Martini were addressing the same themes, particularly in relation to their discussion of the city. Since writers of military treatise are doing the same, it is reasonable to examine their plans in the same light.
[19] Those referenced for this work include, Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*; Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams, *Firearms & Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Horst de la Croix, "Military Architecture and the Radial City Plan in Sixteenth Century Italy," *The Art Bulletin* 42, no. 4 (1960): 263–90; J. R. Hale, *Renaissance Fortification: Art or Engineering?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); James D. Tracy, *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Sidney Toy, *A History of Fortification from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1700* (London: Heinemann, 1955); Marino Viganò, *Architetti e ingegneri militari italiani all'estero dal XV al XVIII secolo*, Castella 44 (Livorno: Sillabe, 1994); Enrico Rocchi, *Storia delle fortificazioni dell'architettura militare in Italia e in Europa* (Genova: Associazione Italia, 2010).

architettura; Galasso Alghisi's (1523-1573) *Delle fortificationi*; Girolamo Maggi (d. 1572), and Giacomo Castriotto's *Della fortificatione delle città* and Francesco de Marchi's *Della architettura militare*. As noted above, the increased interest in fortifications was in response to the advancement of artillery. Alghisi notes in his treatise, that "the great force of artillery strikes" prompted the development of new methods and materials needed to resist such force.[20] The need to improve existing fortifications and develop new and more effective defensive structures was a task undertaken by many of the leading architects of the period, including Donato Bramante (1444-1514), Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) and, most notably, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546) (by far the most prolific Italian fortification architect of the sixteenth century).[21] The result was the conception and construction of the angled bastion (Fig. 1.3) which was a city's most powerful defensive weapon.[22]

Current scholarship on early modern military treatises deal only with the construction and geometry of fortified walls and bastions, while often disregarding the city the walls enclosed. Yet the treatise writers themselves did not ignore the city. Therefore, one could argue that city

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[20] "*le grande impeto de colpi de l'artigliaria"* Galasso Alghisi, *Delle fortificationi di m. Galasso Alghisi de Carpi ... Libri Tre* (Venice, 1570), 9.

[21] In 1508 Bramante built a fortress at the harbor of Civitàvecchia. After the Sack of Rome in 1527, Florence and Siena made concerted efforts to improve their fortifications, hiring renowned native architects to lead the efforts: Michelangelo, in Florence and Baldassare Peruzzi in Siena. It is worth noting that each architect mentioned was involved with the design of the new St. Peter's Basilica.

[22] The triangular bastions with their sloping faces were designed to limit the impact of cannonball fire providing enough defense to allow for counter-fire from the platforms on top of them. The bastions were more important for the defense of the curtain wall (the section of wall between bastions) because crossfire from adjacent bastions along the face of the curtain made attempts to breach the wall perilous. Even though shots could be fired from the bastions they were not vehicles for offensive attacks as de la Croix suggests. Any firing from the bastions was defensive return-fire.

The flanks, the short walls connecting the curtain to the bastion, is where the cannons were located to protect the curtain. Their guarded position made it difficult for defenders to attack. Because battles typically took place on a single front, not all bastions were under attack, hence heavily armed artillery from other bastions could be relocated to match the firepower of the enemy armies. See de la Croix, "Military Architecture and the Radial City Plan in Sixteenth Century Italy." In a different article, de la Croix argues that the triangular bastion was probably first conceived in Northern Europe though perfected by Italians which became the standard throughout Europe. See Horst de la Croix, "The Literature on Fortification in Renaissance Italy," *Technology and Culture* 4, no. 1 (1963): 31.

walls are a form of civic architecture despite their defensive purpose. Alberti notes that the walls offer safety and freedom for its citizens but one must recognize that due to man's aggression and desire for possession that at some point a city could be threatened; hence the walls offer defense as well.[23] Consequently, their classification solely as a form of military architecture limits our understanding of their multi-faceted roles.[24] Without negating the defensive properties of fortifications, the intent is to highlight their often-disregarded aspects.[25] The liminal quality of the wall in the debate of civic versus military rests, I believe, in two key points: protection of the city or defense of the realm. Additionally, consideration must be given to the building of a fortified city as either a form of princely patronage or military strategy; in either case, political motives are the basis.[26] The illustrated designs in military architectural treatises are hypothetical and not in conjunction with a specific military strategy, although it is reasonable to consider them, at the very least, as sociopolitical works of architecture. This allows for the liminal reading of the enceinte as civic and military.

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[23] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 102.

[24] The question could be raised whether or not town plans in military architecture treatises or the fortifications themselves can be classified as civic or public architecture. While de la Croix argues that civilians represented nothing more than manpower to military architecture planners, I would argue that these same planners were fully aware that they were fortifying a city and not merely a garrison. The consideration of details such as the location of civic buildings, water quality and fertile land are more in line with public amenities than the requirements for a defensive structure. Furthermore, the administration and supervision of a city's fortifications were handled by city managers as opposed to military leaders. See: de la Croix, "Military Architecture and the Radial City Plan in Sixteenth Century Italy," 284.

[25] As many of the treatise writers referred to their works as military architecture and themselves as military architects/engineers I suggest that their concept of fortification does not differ from the concept of the city walls proposed by Alberti. Alberti's discussion of the wall also suggests that city walls are a form of infrastructure. He discusses the city walls in relation to the roads (military and non-military) as well as bridges and waterways. The interior architectural organization is separate. The walls then are part of the initial structure upon which city life needs to operate.

[26] Political motives for patronage are intertwined with the actions a prince undertook to define their status and secure their power, a power based on a recognized and accepted fixed hierarchy. Within the context of a proposed new city, the prince is essentially establishing a space that would be defined by sociopolitical hierarchy, in other words the organization of people within a political system. Thus, the city represents the rule and legitimacy of the prince.

The military architecture treatises of the sixteenth century share a significant feature with their civic counterparts: the reliance on classical sources, most notably the writings of Vitruvius (d. 15 BC), Pliny the Elder (23-79), and Plutarch (46-120). These classical sources are referenced not for the design of fortifications but the design and planning of the city. Vitruvius is referenced in almost every early modern civic and military treatise, making him the foundational and authoritative source regarding the city. The city walls are, of course, discussed but do not constitute the main point of emphasis of these classical authors. In addition to the Roman authors noted above, Greek thinkers such as Aristotle and Strabo also find mention in military architecture treatises. This foundation illustrates the "in-depth literary studies" that military architecture treatise authors engaged in, which speaks to the humanistic heritage of the period.[27] Following Vitruvius, military architecture treatise authors situate the city as a place of refuge for man. This coincides with Alberti's notion that the power in the walls lies in their ability to safeguard the freedoms of the citizens.[28] There is a clear promotion of republicanism, such that it is rare to find a mention of a ruler in these seminal texts. Even the idealistic society of More's *Utopia* had a singular leader: King Utopus, the conqueror. The first mention of a ruler in Vitruvius' text, occurs, oddly, at the beginning of the book that deals with building materials.

In the preface to Book II, Vitruvius recounts the first encounter between the architect Dinocrates and Alexander the Great (356 BC- 323 BC). The encounter led to Alexander to tasking Dinocrates with the design/layout of the city that would bear the emperor's name: Alexandria, Egypt.[29] In several sixteenth-century military treatises, additional cities such as

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[27] "*riconducibili agli approfonditi studi letterari"* Iacopo Aconcio et al., *Trattato sulle fortificazioni*, Studi e testi / Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento 48 (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2011), 45.
[28] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 102.
[29] The mention of Dinocrates and Alexandria at the beginning of a chapter on Building Materials is indeed odd. Contrasting his face "ruined with age" against the "fine face" of Dinocrates is further puzzling, however, Vitruvius' intention is to prove himself worthy of the emperor's approval. Although he did not possess the youth, beauty, or charisma of Dinocrates, his point is that his experience and knowledge, the determining factors of an architect's

ancient Babylon and Pataliputra (present-day Patna India) are presented as other examples. Their mention is not inconsequential. Their inclusion is intended to illustrate the relationship between a city, its famed (military) leader, and subsequently their respective empire—Babylon and Hammurabi; Pataliputra and Chandragupta Maurya (founder of the Maurya empire).[30] Vitruvius' anecdote obliquely highlights the creation of a new city as an expression of the ruler's power that centers on notions of territorial jurisdiction. Though minor within the scope of Vitruvius' text, military architecture treatise writers such as Cataneo and Maggi made note of this crucial relationship between the ruler and the newly planned city.

The reference to Alexandria gains more significance when considering the figures to whom the sixteenth-century treatises were dedicated: Enea Piccolomini, Ferdinand the Archduke of Austria, Count Eugenio Sinclitico, and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II.[31] Note that three of the four men have titles that indicate their position as a ruler or designated figure of authority who has dominion over a given territory.[32] Like their ancient prototypes, the cities proposed in military architectural treatises are meant to establish and extend a ruler's territorial jurisdiction.[33] Moreover, the implied significance of establishing a city with which one's name would be associated for all time, like Alexander the Great and Alexandria, or Sforza and

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expertise, practice, and reasoning, make him worthy of always being at the side of the emperor. The argument can be made that there is a similar plea in some of the military architecture treatises as some authors needed new patrons.

[30] Both Cataneo and Maggi mention numerous other cities including Athens, Naples, Constantinople, and Rome though none of them, other than Rome receives any description nor is there an architect or ruler associated with them.

[31] There are two sixteenth-century editions of Maggi and Castriotto's *Delle fortificatione delle città.* The 1564 edition is dedicated to Sinclitico, and the 1583 edition is dedicated to Ferdinand.

[32] Enea Piccolomini, also referred to as Aeneas Piccolomini delle Papesse, was a Sienese captain who led the insurgent take-over and ouster of the Spanish from Siena in 1552. Cataneo's dedication to Piccolomini may simply be an acknowledgment of his part in the liberation of the city they both claimed as their hometown.

[33] To make another comparison to *Utopia,* we tend to forget that *Utopia* was an island containing multiple cities, not just one city. Hence, King Utopus had vast territorial authority. Therefore, in thinking of the cities described in the treatises being studied it is important to recognize that what is being proposed is not just for a single city.

Sforzinda, must have appealed to the dedicatees.[34] Marchi, in fact, even states: *"...quegli Imperatori, Re, Pr[inci]pi, e gra[ndi] Signori, che acquistano n[u]ove Provnice, doveriano ancor loro fare delle Città, le quali fussero dedicate al nome loro"* (those Emperors, Kings, Princes, or Grand *Signori* that acquired new provinces still had to make a city, which was named after them).[35]

Fortification of the Realm: The State and Jurisdiction

The mention of Alexandria in sixteenth-century treatises on military architecture may appear irrelevant and inconsequential, which may explain why it has been overlooked by scholars. However, the fact that the authors established it as an exemplary city and garnished it with such high praise, with more detail than any other city except Rome, warrants closer observation. Unlike ancient Babylon or Pataliputra, Alexandria was not the capital of the Macedonian Empire; it was a city built to extend the territorial reach of Alexander the Great. The authors of these military treatises, I suggest, recognized this and hence, were promoting not the building of new capital cities but the creation of a city that would expand a ruler's territorial boundaries.[36] In *Delle fortificatione delle città,* Giacomo Castriotto states that fortifications were "for the preservation of the state, the city, the domain."[37] The order of Castriotto's words should not go unnoticed. The city becomes the lynchpin in establishing a state's territorial jurisdiction:

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[34] Martha Pollak speculates that the dedicatees may be employers or patrons. In the text I have presented here, I can find no direct evidence to suggest that this was indeed the case.

[35] Francesco de Marchi, *Della Architettura Militare, Del Capitano Francesco de' Marchi Bolognese, Gentil'huomo Romano*, vol. III (Brescia: Comnio Presegni, 1599), fol. 8v.

[36] One exception to this could be Albrecht Dürer's Etliche Unterricht, zur Befestigung der Städte, Schlösser und Flecken which depicts the construction of a fortified city around a fortified residence of a powerful ruler.

[37] "*per conservare gli stati, le città, le terre."* Giacomo Fusto Castriotto and Girolamo Maggi, *Della fortificatione delle città*, ed. Camillo Borgominiero, Francesco Montemellino, and Giovacchino da Coniano (Venice: Borgominiero, 1583), fol. 17.

without it, the state cannot establish legitimate authority mainly because the city is the physical locale from which to establish a political administration.

French philosopher Michel Foucault stated that territory and domain are "juridicio-political" concepts because they are areas "controlled by a certain kind of power."[38] Foucault does not elaborate on the type of power he is referring to, though one can deduce that he meant the 'state.' Fundamental to the definition of a state is the specificity of territory.[39] Furthermore, the state as a political entity has the right to exercise its legitimate and legal authority or, in other words, its territorial jurisdiction. This concept was understood by early modern princes and lords, many of whom sought to enlarge their marquisates, duchies, and republics, i.e., their territorial jurisdiction. Nor was it lost on the papacy whose territorial holdings—the Papal States—were seen as part of the temporal powers of the pope.

The understanding of statehood and territorial boundaries in the sixteenth century is implicit within the context of the wars of the period. While the acquisition of new territory could be transactional (purchased), the modern state's notions of legitimate authority and jurisdiction are associated with violence in that "the state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence."[40] The act of waging war influenced the administrative and to some degree the financial operations of governments. For example, Cosimo I de Medici, Duke of Florence, sought to build two fortified cities, one as an administrative center and the other as a defensive stronghold. The first city, Terra del Sole was, according to one scholar, Cosimo's entry into the

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[38] Foucault and Gordon, *Power/Knowledge*, 176.

[39] The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines state as a politically organized body of people usually occupying a definite territory.

[40] Max Weber, *Politics as a Vocation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 4. Weber also states that the relationship between the state and violence is an intimate one and that the development of the modern state was initiated by the actions of a prince and believes that every state is founded on force. This correlation lies in the prince's unchallengeable executive powers which gave him the means to start wars. Within the milieu of sixteenth-century Italy, particularly during the Italian Wars, the connection of the state and violence is poignant.

ranks of the idealized Renaissance city as connoted by its perfect symmetry, the orderliness of the street layout, and, of course, the fortifications.[41] Cosimo's desire to build these cities echoes what was being discussed in military treatises: fortified cities as state apparatuses. Though the most prominent battles of the Italian Wars are known by the cities in which they occurred (the 1525 Battle of Pavia or the 1509 Siege of Padua), the actual battles were never solely for control of those cities. Instead, they were military offensives that sought to wrest control away from a political enemy and claim territorial dominion. In this light, the proposed city plans in military architecture treatises can be viewed as outposts of a given political regime.

The political aspect cannot be understated as it is the essence of jurisdiction, the official power to make the law and administer decisions and judgments. As Ellen Wurtzel has adeptly noted, jurisdiction "was the currency of political authority" in the early modern period and was heavily dependent on the control of territory.[42] The Hapsburgs, two of whom (the brothers Ferdinand and Maximillian) were dedicatees of the treatises discussed here, acquired, or conquered territories over which they exerted judicial, military, and fiscal authority, expanding the family's temporal control and power. However, the imposition of external authority over existing lands with existing inhabitants was not simple. A new city allowed rulers to have total authority over the "legal landscape," avoiding disputes, judicial or otherwise, with existing city governments.[43] In existing cities, the enshrined rights of citizens and political privileges were often barriers to complete jurisdiction, hindering complete authority. The rights and the ability to enact justice often mattered more than the city's physical limits according to scholar Ellen

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[41] Joel Penning, *The Crown of the City: Fortification and Identity in Early Modern Italy* (Dissertation: Northwestern University, 2017), 200.
[42] Ellen Wurtzel, "City Limits and State Formation: Territorial Jurisdiction in Late Medieval and Early Modern Lille," in *The Power of Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marc Boone and Martha Howell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 30.
[43] Wurtzel, 30. Wurtzel defines legal landscapes as the intersection of jurisdiction and territorial control.

Wurtzel.[44] The city defined the locus where justice was dispensed, yet often the territorial jurisdiction extended well beyond the physical boundaries of the walls.

The Idea(l) of the City

One could argue that the city was a pretext for military architectural writers to demonstrate their proposals, primarily their understanding of the city and the role of the city in its relation to the state and territorial control.[45] As the treatise writer, Jacopo Aconcio (1520-1556), stated, a city or town should be fortified to defend itself as well as to prevent a foreign enemy from entering the confines of a given realm or dominion.[46] Aconcio's advocacy of a city's self-defense speaks to an understanding of the city as an inhabited place worth defending. Defense against the foreign enemy is protection for the state: self-defense is protection for the people and preservation of their *libertas.*[47] Even if many military treatises address this human need, typically in the first several pages, scholars have often failed to mention this fact. The authors of military architectural treatises understood that a discourse on fortifications could not be complete without consideration of the space and more importantly the people within.

Most treatises begin with some discussion of the city as an entity created to meet the needs of mankind. The walls give the city a physical and spatial presence, but the identity of the city was more than its enclosure. Drawing from classical sources, military architecture treatise

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[44] Ibid, 35

[45] Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, 61. Pollak states that writers used the city as a backdrop for their theories in order to gain influence. I would tend to disagree with the assertion: as mentioned earlier these were not theories as many of the authors had practical experience in building fortifications before writing their treatises and were not merely expounding theoretical ideas. It is true that all the treatises propose different geometric configurations, primarily by increasing the number of bastions, however in many of these scenarios the interior of the geometric outline is left empty.

[46] Aconcio et al., *Trattato sulle fortificazioni*, 82–83.

[47] Self-defense can also be understood as protecting those within from that which is outside. Historically the walled city provided security and safety like an inverse cage, protecting mankind from the wild beast that roamed the land but also, by the sixteenth century, the walls demarcated order, class and wealth inside the walls as opposed to the poor and desolate outside the walls.

writers acknowledged that the city was a place for men to live and communicate with others, to be social and to establish a rational society made to benefit man.[48] A rational society can be read as a community of people bound together under the principles of shared responsibility and common purpose (their rights and responsibilities). This rational society relates to Cicero's definition of *civitas:* a community of citizens; familiar to architecture writers due to their reliance on classical sources. In describing men coming and dedicating themselves "*al vivere politico"* (to live socially), Pietro Cataneo linked the development of society to the establishment of the city, and ultimately to architecture.[49] Girolamo Maggi, also recognizing this connection between the city and civil society, remarked "*le città erano sotto i rè & hoggi anche le nationi,*" (cities were under kings and now also the nations).[50] Hence, city planning was a function of establishing a political order, one that simultaneously preserved the independence of man and protected political power. The sixteenth-century city plan proposals reflected a sociopolitical space reinforced by architecture.

The concept of the ideal (idea of the) city has rarely, if ever, been associated with military architectural treatises, though perhaps they are the best-suited texts. Whereas not specifically treatises on town planning, they possess a political undertone that should not be ignored.[51] The treatises promote the foundation of a new city predicated on political-cultural factors which

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[48] Using Virgil, Aristotle and Cicero as his sources Maggi sees the city and society as that where all man's needs are met. See. Castriotto and Maggi, *Della fortificatione delle città*, fol. 1r. Cataneo, similarly sees the banding together of man as the first step to giving themselves a social life, by which he means a "*più sicura, più stabile, e più giovevole"* (more secure, more stable, and more beneficial). Cataneo, *I quattor primi*, fol. 1r.

[49] Cataneo, *I quattro primi*, fol. 1r. The use of the world *politico* to mean 'social' implies a structured society, where men are more than an undefined group of people but are inhabitants of a city, i.e., citizens. As citizens, they are also members of particular jurisdiction or state.

[50] This is obviously not the *civitas* or *res publica* of Cicero. The presence of king means that the government (or state) is no longer the property of the people. Maggi's statement speaks to the time in which he is writing and the political environment of princes, kings and oligarchs. Castriotto and Maggi, *Della fortificatione delle città*, fol. 1r.

[51] Garin suggests all treatises on town planning are political, bolstering the argument that military treatises, in a small way, are treatises on town planning. Garin, *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance*, 25.

define not only the relationship of the city to the surrounding territory—as part of a larger political system—but also the citizenry.[52] The political, even the military-political, cannot be separated from the social, which I argue, can be read in the distribution and arrangement of the architecture and architectural spaces within the city walls.

In every military treatise, or any treatise that deals with the city for that matter, the walls physically give shape to a city. No matter the type of treatise, first and foremost the wall represents security. It protects those within from those who are outside (not always an enemy); it also, through political organization and the establishment of laws, protects against disruption to the social order. The city walls then are simultaneously a container and a barrier. They are fortifications against an attack and yet nothing more than a malleable perimeter that separates those within from those who are outside. Regarding the interior of the city, military architecture treatises are less concerned with problems of building types and uniformity of buildings than with the urban fabric. While some treatises, such as Cataneo's *I quattro libri,* provide street layouts (Fig. 1.4), it is the spatial and functional description of the architecture that is more valuable in understanding how these treatises depict ideal cities. The implication is that the architecture actively participates in establishing social order, political structures, and jurisdiction.

In a brief outline of the important structures of a city, Francesco de Marchi's *Dell'architettura militare* notes that the house of the *Principe* or *la Signoria* should be at the center of the city where the main cathedral is also to be located. This spatial arrangement with the prince or ruling body and the church at the center of the city is a legible expression of the

[52] Giulio C. Argan, *The Renaissance City*, trans. Susan Edna Bassnett (New York: George Braziller, 1969), 18. Political-Military is one of four cultural factors that include doctrinal and theoretical, historical-artistic and practical. The political-military factor, Argan notes, influences the perimeter of the city with its defensive walls, the relationship between the city and surrounding territory and on the architecture of public and private buildings.

organization of power.[53] De Marchi calls for buildings necessary to meet the needs of the citizens (libraries, schools, and hospitals) to be distributed in every part of the city, though it is his advice to build a palazzo with "*molti ricetti,*" (many shelters) that is interesting. [54] Speaking always as a soldier, de Marchi advises that the palazzo have dwellings for "*servitori & guardie"* (servants and guards) as well as an armory.[55] He, along with other treatise writers, locates the center of power in the geographical center of the city, and according to de Marchi it is the most well-guarded space of the city. Hence, the central piazza, which the church and palazzo typically front, becomes a space of power and not wholly one of civic importance. Taken from another perspective, the presence of the guards and location of the armory suggests that defense of the power (and *libertas*) was the responsibility of trained men at arms. The piazza became the last stand, and the architecture was the place of refuge.[56]

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the architect Cataneo who gives a lengthy description of the city's layout, from its streets and piazzas to various public buildings and spaces—this distribution and arrangement of the city, however, comes second to the wall in the importance of works of architecture. Nonetheless, he considers both equally important and

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[53] Garin, *Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance*, 26.

[54] "*...le Chiese, i Conventi de Frati, I monasteri di Monache, i Spedali, le Fraternità, & altri luoghi pii, le Scuole, l'accademie, le Sapienze dove si legge publicamente, le Librarie, le Stampe, i Granari, li Molini, Forni, Macellli, Pescarie, Larderie, & luoghi da far feste, così da Cavallo, come da piede, & i Condotti dell'acque, per far feste Navali, le Stuffe, bagni, il Mercato per le bestie, le taverne, & altre simili cose distribuirsi in ogni parte della Città, ma sopra tutte l'altre vorei che'l Pane, Vino Legna, Carne, Herbaggi, Frutti, si vendesino in tutti lati della Città, & massime dove la comodità delle Piazze.* Marchi, *Della Architettura Militare, Del Capitano Francesco de' Marchi Bolognese, Gentil'huomo Romano*, vol. III, fol. 8r.

[55] Ibid. *Ricetto,* is defined in the dictionary (Follet Zanichelli Italian Dictionary) as shelter or refuge. It is also defined as a dwelling place. *Ricetto* also refers to a small medieval fortified structure used for protection of the citizens against attack. Marchi's use of the word suggests the meaning as a dwelling place however given the context and use of the palazzo he is proposing and its close vicinity to the city center, one could argue that the palazzo resembles the medieval *ricetto*. In this instance refuge seems to be the most logical meaning.

[56] The only mention of housing is that for the soldiers, De Marchi locates these residences relative to the wall, clearly as a mobilization strategy. One could argue that the presences of soldiers advocated the treatment of the city as a garrison (even if partially) though, in the sixteenth century the presence of soldiers, domestic or foreign, in a city was a way of life.

necessary in providing shelter for mankind.[57] Man remains central to Cataneo's city. The main piazza is located at the center so that it is convenient for all citizens. The *Palazzo Signorile* is also to be located on the main piazza and meant to stand out from everything around it.[58] In a similar fashion the Duomo should be located in a convenient place where it can be easily seen.[59] Though not directly stated, we can deduce that the Duomo is near the main piazza in the center of the city. Like de Marchi, Cataneo places the architecture of authority at the center of the city. However, the way in which he approaches the city reveals the differences between the architect-as-writer and the solider-as-writer. Cataneo focuses more on what is convenient for the city's inhabitants. He is also more descriptive. For instance, in the description of the *Palazzo Signorile,* Cataneo speaks of grand rooms for the city leaders, the *podestà* or *capitano di popolo,* and their families: magnificent, richly decorated parlors; gathering spaces for the Senate, and places for the administrating of the government. The palazzo, in Cataneo's treatise, belonged to the people and the *podestà* equally. Though, like de Marchi, the palazzo also houses the armory. The difference is in who the arms are for. Cataneo refers to the armory as *l'armeria pub[b]lica* and states that the weapons are to be handed out to the *popolo* in case of an attack.[60] On one hand, the presence of the armory in the city's main palazzo seems to centralize weapons for defense, as well as making evident the ruling authority's right to enforce that authority through violence.

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[57] Pietro Cataneo, *I Quattro Primi Libri Di Architettura* (Venice: Aldo Bros, 1554), fol. 7v.
[58] Cataneo, *I Quattro Primi Libri Di Architettura,* fol. 8r.
[59] Ibid. Earlier in the text he notes how St. Peter's Basilica in Rome is located at the edge of the city and that it would be better if it were in the center, mistakenly identifying it as the cathedral since it is the largest church in the city: *Vedesi ancor hoggi san Pietro, Chiesa cathedral di Roma, esser all'estremità della città: della qual essendo il principal tempio, io lo direi molto più se fusse nel mezzo di quella.* Fol.7v
[60] Cataneo, *I Qvattro Primi Libri Di Architettura Di Pietro Cataneo Senese*, fol. 8r. The difference in approach between de Marchi and Cataneo lies in their given profession a soldier and an architect respectively. There is the understanding that an architect, as a man of letters, is the one qualified to design, and even execute, the building of cities but as Marchi notes a man without letters can also write about architecture if they study the ancients and have respect for the profession.

Other sixteenth-century treatises, like those by Albert Dürer or Sebastiano Serlio, attempt to unpack the functions of the city and spatially define social order.[61] Although military architectural treatises do not go into the level of detail civic treatises, one can infer how they modulate between economic and political needs of the city: markets, custom houses, mints and, perhaps most importantly, places for the administration of justice. De Marchi calls for such spaces to be in the main Palazzo, while Cataneo advocated for a dedicated palazzo for the *Capitano di giustizia*. This seemingly minor distinction belongs to the broader discussion of jurisdiction and who has the right to legal authority: the right to judge. Here is where the title of the man residing in the main palazzo matters. If his title was viceroy or governor, he had jurisdiction over a designated region or province within the larger empire or kingdom.[62] The *podestà* or *capitano del popolo* had jurisdiction only over the city. While these leaders held their respective levels of jurisdiction, the importance and need of a judicial system were paramount to maintaining civic order. A lack of civic order and the potential of free-reign violence equated to a failed or non-functioning city. Hence, by prescribing and highlighting the need for a dedicated place for the administration of justice, the authors understood that an effective, well-governed city depended on a well-soldiered city and capable defenses, fortifying itself and the broader territorial domain.

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[61] The German artist Albrecht Dürer's treatise lays out the city in detailed description and drawings, establishing locations for industry, craft, commerce, and government, while Sebastiano Serlio's treatise provides insight into the social stratification of a city. For a description of Dürer's "ideal city" see: Tessa Morrison, "Albrecht Dürer and the Ideal City," *Paregon* 31, no. 1 (2014): 137–60. For an examination of the social classification see: James S. Ackerman and Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in Renaissance Urban Planning," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989). Serlio's treatise is not considered to be a treatise on military architecture, though in Book VIII, which is the focus of Ackerman and Nan Rosenfeld, is a consideration of the walled city based on Polybius' description of temporary Roman military camps.

[62] The titles of viceroy and governor could be classified as either political or military designations.

Jurisdiction and the administration of justice are crucial in establishing sovereignty. Jurisdiction and justice are rights held by the state (including the local representative), both intrinsically linked to violence. It would be disingenuous to state that military architectural treatises advocated violence, though the underlying theme is one of war. Furthermore, the right to use such force is tied to claims of territorial jurisdiction and the sociopolitical environment. Within the context of sixteenth-century Italy, temporal control was vital to a ruler's geopolitical power. War not only assigned authority and jurisdiction to a locale but in a certain way assigned identity as well, typically in the form of *libertas.* Hence, the early modern ideal city, as the physical marker of geopolitical dominion and local identity, is one in which the terms 'military' and 'security' are interchangeable, and the violence of war is normalized. [63]

From Theory to Practice

Typically, there is a disconnect between architectural theory and architectural practice; the page is much more forgiving than the landscape. Even those pieces of theory that are actualized bear the mark of reality. Pure geometrical enclosures were not easily achievable for existing cities; they were never really intended to be.[64] While it was not always feasible to build a new city to expand temporal jurisdiction (conquering existing ones was easier) the prescribed bastion and curtain wall designs were useful. Though written in relative times of peace, the threat of war and potential loss of sovereignty or *libertas* was ever-present; threats from the Ottomans, French, and Austrians did not abate until the nineteenth century. Hence, there was a legitimate need to modernize a city's defensive capabilities. The evidence of this need is found throughout

[63] Woodward, "Military Landscapes," 52.
[64] Though some existing towns came close, there were always some irregularities. The geometry, in terms of defense, was never paramount. The size and proximity of the bastions were the determining factors in the layout of new walls, not to mention existing site conditions.

the Italian peninsula, be it the preserved and in-use enceintes of Lucca and Ferrara or fragments of walls found in Milan or Piacenza. In other locales, only the traces of the walls remain: indicated by street patterns or earthen revetments, like the Po Valley town of Guastalla.

Guastalla is an interesting case because the traces of its seventeenth-century walls show an attempt to achieve the ideal star-shaped enclosure around an existing city, indicated in plans from the period (Fig 1.5). The new fortifications would be useful a century later when the French and Austrian battled for Guastalla and its territory. A relatively inconspicuous town located between Parma and Mantua, the need for such modern defense is of interest. Its history tells us that the seventeenth-century plan and its eight-pointed form have a connection to the treatises beyond the geometry of its walls. The urban scheme depicted in the 1689 plan was not the organic growth of a medieval village rather it was the result of a commissioned city plan, tied to the military and jurisdictional needs of an Imperial army general: Ferrante Gonzaga

Guastalla: In Attempt of the Ideal

Facing the Ducal Palace, in Guastalla's Piazza Mazzini, stands a commanding bronze statue of Ferrante Gonzaga (1507-1557) (Fig. 1.6). Entitled *Ferrante Gonzaga Conquering Envy,* the bronze statue shows Ferrante clad in ancient and modern armor with his left foot resting on the chest of a dead satyr. His right food stands on the cut-off heads of a hydra. A toga wrapped around his back and draped across his left knee reveals a muscular physique of what would have been a fifty-year-old Ferrante. Resting on his side, his right-hand holds three apples, a reference to Hercules. As Vasari notes the statue symbolizes Ferrante's "virtue and valor," his overcoming of vice signified by the satyr and envy signified by the hydra.[65] Commissioned by his son Cesare

[65] Giorgio Vasari and Gaetano Milanesi, *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, vol. 7 (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, 1881), 539. According to Vasari the state was a symbol of Ferrante's triumph over maliciousness that

in 1560, the statue is a tribute to a heroic father, respected general in the army of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.[66] It is also a statue of the man considered the modern-day founder of Guastalla; the man responsible for the town's first walled-city plan. A plan lauded for reflecting the new Renaissance condition derived from contemporary theoretical research and fundamental cultural models which produced the most suitable design to meet the functional needs of the city.[67]

The championed qualities of the plan of Guastalla falls within the three fundamental characteristics of an ideal model or utopian city, as outlined by Giorgio Simoncini: the reflection of platonically understood ideas; a city developed to meet particular functions; and one that is geometrically centralized (a sign of authority) with the cathedral or residence of the prince at the center.[68] Though the plan of Guastalla (Fig. 1.7) does not meet the third characteristic (it is not geometrically symmetrical nor is it centralized) Simoncini highlights it as a model, alongside the theorized plans of Filarete, de Marchi, and Maggi, as well as the realized cities of Palmonova, Sabbioneta and Livorno (Figs. 1.8- 1.10). The inclusion of Guastalla, despite its noncompliance to what would otherwise be the most legible identifier of an ideal city, suggests that there is something more to the plan; something that still conveys a sense of authority. I suggest that like the treatises discussed above, what makes Guastalla a model city of the mid-sixteenth-century

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led to a period of disgrace during his tenure as governor where he temporarily lost favor with Charles the V and was removed from his position; he ultimately regained the title and the emperor's favor.

[66] The statue of Ferrante was not completed until 1564 but not put into place until 1594, after both Cesare and the sculptor, Leoni Leone, had died

[67] Alessandro Gambuti, A.A., Università degli Studi di Firenze, Storia dell'Architettura, (1982/83), n.p. "*Il Giunti assume il modello geometrico base per la progettazione di Guastalla da una tradizione teorica e operativa che ha caratterizzato in modo particolare la prima metà del secolo, inserendosi così pienamente in una precisa linea di ricerca e assumendone i modelli culturali fondamentali.*
In tale adesione allo spirito dello spirito del proprio tempo il progettista rimane fedele non solo alla forma geometrica potenzialmente più carica di significato ed allusioni antropologiche, ma adotta, quale forma di suddivisione dello spazio intero, la soluzione a scacchiera, considerato in questo periodo la più confacente ai bisogni funzionali della città."
Soldini, "La costruzione di Guastalla," 63–64.

[68] Giorgio Simoncini, *Architetti e architettura nella cultura del rinascimento.* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1967), 158.

Italy is its connection to Ferrante Gonzaga, military-political strategies and the ever-present desire for territorial dominion that was the basis of the Italian Wars.

It is necessary to keep in mind the important context of the Italian Wars. As noted earlier, many of the military architectural treatises were written after the major battles of the Wars. As they were writing in times of peace their plans of fortified cities remained only as paper propositions. The reality was that the expense of building and fortifying a new city was costly and time-consuming. In addition, the treatise writers had the benefit of hindsight and experience. On the other hand, the planning and fortifying of towns like Guastalla were done in real-time, amid the Italian Wars. Stefano Storchi insists the plan of Guastalla blended the needs of the *ideale* and the *militare*, stating that the plan reflects sixteenth-century ideas of urbanity able to respond to a mobile military.[69] Given the importance of Guastalla's geographical location for the Spanish kingdom, I would argue that the plan reflects the *militare* as the *ideale.*

Capital or Citadel

On 21 May 1538, Ferrante was granted permission to buy the village of Guastalla, roughly one month before the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France signed the treaty of Nice. The kingdoms of Spain and France had waged war against each other for control of the northwestern region of Italy for two years, from 1536 to 1538. Fatigue, a lack of progress, and depleting coffers led both parties to seek a truce. In the end, the truce between the two powers gained nothing for either side, though at the crux of the conflict was control of the Duchy of Milan, to which the French had made claims since the late fifteenth century. Milan

[69] Stefano Storchi, *Guastalla: la costruzione di una città* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 1999), 32. He cites Francesco di Giorgio and Sebastiano Serlio to support the *ideale* claim, though provides no support for the military claim, not even di Giorgio. By mobile military he means one that can attack from multiple positions.

had been under Spanish rule since Charles V's decisive win in the battle of Pavia in 1525. Nonetheless, in the negotiations with France, the Emperor was willing to cede Milan to the French Duke of Orleans in return for Francis' help in his quest to capture Constantinople.[70] If agreed upon, Spain would have retained control of Milan and its territories for several years before yielding to France. Ferrante, as a top military strategist, understood that the loss of Milan at any point in time would have left the Spanish/Imperial armies in northern Italy vulnerable. They would not have had any secure place of defense. Control of Guastalla, with which Ferrante was familiar, created the space necessary to house troops and allow for defensive positioning.[71] He viewed Guastalla as an outpost for the Spanish dominion in Italy—fitting since the name Guastalla is derived from a Lombard word meaning outpost.[72]

In 1538 Guastalla was ruled by Countess Ludovica Torelli (1500-1569) whose family had governed the town since the 1400s.[73] Purchase negotiations, which were handled by Cardinal

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[70] For details of the negotiations see Hayward Keniston, "Peace Negotiations between Charles V and Francis I (1537-1538)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 102, no. 2 (1958): 142–47.

[71] As a military strategist Ferrante's purchase of Guastalla can be seen as part of a larger military plan. The town's longtime use as a place to billet troops as well as its potential to serve as an outpost for the Duchy of Milan was reason enough for Ferrante to purchase Guastalla despite the Emperor's hesitation. Its proximity to the duchies of Mantua, Parma and Ferrara would have allowed the imperial army incontestable leverage in northern Italy.
The emperor's hesitation stemmed from in-fighting amongst the Torelli family. From the beginning of Ludovica's reign as countess in 1522, there loomed the threat of territorial claims by distance family members. In 1535 a distant relative, Paolo Torelli, count of Montechiarugolo, requested a Roman tribunal to force Ludovica to grant him proceeds from the duties/tariffs collected on the Po and in Guastalla territories. The tribunal had no jurisdiction though Paolo was able to get Pope Paul III to write a brief to Ludovica stating that she was impeding his rights to the duties. The pope's letter was also unsuccessful. Ludovica's impediment to Paolo was in her mind justified because the Tribunal of Milan awarded those duties to Marcantonio de' Torelli di Milano. Ludovica seemed more interested in charitable works than the operations of the town. According to Benamiti, Ludovica wanted to escape from "*contentioni domestiche/local government,"* see Giovanni Battista Benamati, *Istoria della città di Guastalla* (Parma: Mario Vigna, 1674), 49. Apparently, the quarrelling agitated everyone in Milan, including Charles V who "*aveva nausea di tante discordie."* Affò, 2:187-188. Gonzaga convinced Charles V that by purchasing the town the quarrels would come to an end.

[72] The Lombards ruled much of Italy for almost two hundred years, ending in the mid-eighth century The area of Guastalla was an outpost or checkpoint for troops as they moved across the Po River. After the fall of the Lombards, the region remained inhabited.

[73] While it was not rare to have a woman be in a position of leadership during this time, usually as regents to their young sons, Ludovica's becoming a countess was somewhat unique. She had an older brother, Ercole but since he was illegitimate, Ludovica inherited the County of Guastalla. Though not totally germane to the dissertation, Ludovica Torelli was an interesting woman whose charitable works and patronage are the reasons that, to this day,

Ercole Gonzaga, Ferrante's brother, lasted for over a year.[74] On 3 October 1539, the sale of Guastalla and its territories, both allodial and feudal, was completed for the sum of 22,280 *scudi,* less than a quarter of what Ferrante estimated the cost to be.[75] It was a meager sum due to Guastalla's "miniature nature" as a state.[76] Despite its small stature, its holdings were substantial, consisting of more than 3,000 square meters of fruit-bearing soil, several mills located along the Po, vegetable gardens, and an existing *rocca* with all of its artillery (Fig. 1.11). As a strategic acquisition, Ferrante had no intent to directly govern Guastalla, let alone establish it as a permanent residence.[77] In fact, in the first two years after the purchase, he is noted as being in the city on only two brief occasions.[78] Care of Guastalla and its territories were left to be managed by the Mantuan court. The possession of Guastalla allowed Ferrante the ability to garrison Spanish troops and avoid the pitfalls of billeting. As a military strategy, this makes sense because billeted soldiers were not required to protect or defend the town in which they were housed. Therefore, by establishing a permanent location to house troops he could a place

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there is a neighborhood in Milan named Guastalla as well as the Guastalla Chapel by Pellegrino Tibaldi (1570-1579) in Milan's San Fedele church.

[74] The delay in negotiations was due to a battle for the right to buy Guastalla. It seems that at some point Ludovica promised to sell Guastalla to Rodolfo Gonzaga of Luzzarra yet felt that the people of Guastalla would be better off under the leadership of Ferrante who at the time was Viceroy of Sicily and a high-ranking officer in the Imperial army. There is no explanation as to why she felt this way though, it may be possible that Ludovica had a personal association with Ferrante as she traveled back and forth to Milan where he was stationed for her charitable work. Rodolfo was unwilling to be cut out of the deal so easily, so it appears the Ferrante agreed to sell his castle in Poviglio to Rodolfo. Affò tells us that the sale of the castle was because Poviglio was in the State of Parma, which served the Pope and Ferrante served the Emperor, and that he feared its being taken away. Ireneo Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di guastalla*, vol. 2 (Guastalla: Salvatore Costa e co., 1786), 188. The assessment seems implausible seeing that Ferrante inherited the Castel in 1519 at the death of his father, hence the castle had been in Papal territories for 15 years. Thus, it is more likely that the Castel in Poviglio served as a consolation prize.

[75] "*...meno di un quarto del valore che i Gonzaga avevano stimato inizalmente necessario per l'acquisto del feudo guastallese."* Storchi, *Guastalla*, 19.

[76] Thomas Francis Arnold, "Fortification and Statecraft of the Gonzaga, 1530-1630" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1993), 227. For comparison Pope Clement VII paid 370,000 *scudi* for his freedom after the Sack of Rome.

[77] At the time of purchase Ferrante was viceroy of Sicily and was living lavishly in Messina. Furthermore, he had ties to Mantua, as both his older brothers and mother resided and maintained quarters there.

[78] Storchi, *Guastalla*, 21. The first was at the end of 1539 at least six months after he acquired the town. After another brief visit in April of 1540, he left for several years, entrusting the care of Guastalla and its territories to the court of Mantua.

where the soldiers could return to rather than remain in the field and billet in various locations. An additional benefit may have also been better relations between soldiers and citizens. With Guastalla's proximity to Mirandola, where the French had amassed 6,000 infantry and 300 calvary, and Parma, with whom tensions soon mounted, Guastalla was an ideal place from which to launch an attack or seek retreat.[79] However, in 1539 the defensive capabilities of the city were severely lacking.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Guastalla was not a desirable place to live, with swamplands and marshes covering most of the region. Guastalla's proximity to the Po River made it highly susceptible to flooding prompting the early Guastallese to create an embankment to protect the village. The constant presence of water was such an issue that visitors to Guastalla were just as likely to arrive by boat as they were by horse. The village itself was not much better given that the existing city walls and the *rocca* were in desperate need of repair. [80] In 1540, the *podestá*, Alessandro Donesmondi, informed Ferrante that fallen portions of the wall had needed repair for many years.[81] However, the decision to improve the fortifications was not made until 1541, after Charles V granted Ferrante's request to separate Guastalla from the Duchy of Milan. Ferrante eventually designated 1000 *scudi* annually to the repair of existing fortifications.[82]

Ferrante's detachment of Guastalla from the Duchy of Milan can best be characterized as his desire to have full authority of the town without having to answer to the governor of Milan. This is made clear in a 1541 document detailing Ferrante's request. He states that he wanted the

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[79] Mirandola, who had aligned with the French during the War of Cambrai, remained an ally which helped them to withstand attacks from the imperial army under the leadership of Ferrante Gonzaga, and Pope Julius III, during the siege of the city in 1551.

[80] Guastalla's first enceinte dates to 1052 and by 1370 the city's fortifications were in ruin. Under the rule of the Torelli family the fortifying walls were repaired and enlarged in 1428. The implication is that little attention was given to the walls over the 100-year span from 1428-1538.

[81] Cited in Storchi, A.S.P. *Archivo Gonzaga di Guastalla* b. 42/5 lettera di Alessandro Donesmondi a Ferrante Gonzaga.

[82] Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di guastalla*, 2:210.

right to "*fondar ragione… e può fari di giusitia"* (to establish justice/law... and to enact justice").[83] These rights were at the core of what it meant to have jurisdiction. This is not to suggest that Ferrante was a ruthless tyrant, he understood he had a responsibility to the people of Guastalla, yet he would "take to court" anyone who sought to damage or challenge his jurisdiction.[84] The separation has been interpreted by some scholars as Ferrante's attempt to create a dynastic capital for his branch of the Gonzaga family, like his relative Vespasiano Gonzaga and Sabbioneta. This was not the case. A 1551 letter, in which Ferrante's use of the phrase *"il mio luogo di Guastalla"* (my place/land of Guastalla), seems to be the source of the confusion. One scholar suggests that as the third son with no chance of becoming duke or inheriting any land from his father, Ferrante sought financial security and to seal his legacy with the purchase of Guastalla.[85] Given Guastalla's close location to towns ruled by cadet branches of the House of Gonzaga, including Novellara, Suzzara, and Gonzaga (from which the family name derives), such a theory seems plausible. Yet, at the time of the letter, Ferrante was simultaneously the duke/prince of territories in southern Italy (Ariano Irpino and Molfetta) and the governor of Milan (he became governor in 1546). The notion that Ferrante wanted to establish a capital for himself is misguided, because though Guastalla was released from Milanese oversight, the town was still a part of Charles V's dominion.[86]

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[83] A.S.P., *Archivo Gonzaga di Guastalla* 1541, 29 Agosto.
[84] "*sottoponer' al foro,"*Biblioteca Maldotti di Guastalla, Busta 4, No. 69
[85] Marzio Dall'Acqua, "Il bastone di comando. vita di ferrante gonzaga generale e principe," in *Ferrante Gonzaga: Un principe del rinascimento*, ed. Giuseppe Barbieri and Loredana Olivato (Parma: MUP, 2007), 33.
[86] *"…ritornarla alla qualità di feudo libero, e dipendente dall' Impero…"* Affrò, 2:208.

Fortifying Guastalla

Simonici's characterization of Guastalla as an ideal model in comparison to the plans of military architectural theorists reinforces the importance of defense as a fundamental aspect. By disregarding his tenant regarding geometry and centrality he is, rightfully so, admitting that such planimetric moves are pointless if defense is not fully considered. Along with this, the presence of an authority figure is required to understand the geopolitical position or importance of a city with a larger political jurisdiction. Hence, the development of Guastalla can be viewed as the process of creating the model city: one that is founded on defense and authority rather than notions of harmony and republicanism.

Though acquired for strategic purposes there was no immediate threat or real need to fully refortify the city in 1541.[87] Hence, the early repairs to the medieval walls were made for the benefit of the citizens. Nonetheless, Ferrante was conscious of threats to the broader territory under his jurisdiction. For the repairs Ferrante engaged the Mantuan engineer and collaborator of Giulio Romano, Gabriele Bertazzolo, to oversee the restoration.[88] Bertazzolo was not a military man skilled in fortifications, which according to de Marchi (the treatise writer) was essential. In Mantua, Bertazzolo was considered a "civilian technical expert" and served as superintendent of the walls for the citadel.[89] His work in Guastalla would last roughly six years indicating a lack

[87] Although tensions with Francis I had subsided, the armies of Charles V were engaged in several other battles across Europe and Africa. As one of Charles V's most trusted generals Ferrante Gonzaga was present at many of them. Interestingly, we find him and his family in Sicily in 1543, continuing the fortifications of Messina. In 1546, he was named governor of Milan where he initiated the construction of new city walls, the remnants of which today are known as the Spanish walls.

[88] Nicola Soldini, "La costruzione di Guastalla," *Annali di architettura: rivista del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio*, no. 4/5 (1993): 59. This Gabrielle Bertazollo is not to be confused with the architect/engineer of the same name born in 1570 (likely his grandson) who worked on the Mantuan fortifications at the turn of the 17th century. The Bertazolli were a Mantuan family who served the Gonzagas as engineers for some time.
The dual nature of being an architect and engineer sets up a different understanding of the professions which is significant in how history treats one versus the other. This will be discussed further in the coda of this chapter.

[89] Bertazollo's initial presence in Guastalla occurred at a moment when work on the citadel was suspended. Arnold, "Fortification and Statecraft of the Gonzaga, 1530-1630," 121.

of urgency, money, or both, not to mention Bertazzolo likely traveled back to Mantua when work on its citadel resumed a year later. The six-year process of repair also involved the limited expansion of the city and most importantly the integration of the *rocca* into the walls. This is significant because it would become a signature of the new bastioned fortifications depicted in Domenico Giunti's 1553 plan. The impetus of the new fortifications was Pope Paul III's 1545 transfer of Parma and Piacenza from the papal dominion to the newly created Duchy of Parma and Piacenza with his son, Pier Luigi Farnese, made the duke.[90]

As Duke of Milan, Charles V had a legitimate claim to Parma and Piacenza, which was secured in 1535 with his defeat of the French. Not to mention his daughter Margaret was married to Ottavio Farnese, the pope's younger son and eventual heir of the new duchy. The neutrality of Parma and Piacenza under papal rule did not transfer to the Farnese duchy. The friendly relationship between the House of Farnese and the French posed a threat to Charles' dominion in the region. The short distance between Parma and Guastalla firmly cemented the strategic and military importance of Ferrante's acquisition. In addition, there was growing animosity between Pier Luigi Farnese and Ferrante Gonzaga.[91] Though major steps to modernize the fortifications of Guastalla would not take place for another four years (work initiated by Bertazollo was ongoing) a 1545 letter from a Mantuan statesman, Carlo Malatesta, indicates the thought of improving the city's fortifications was under consideration.

Malatesta, who was also involved in the purchase of Guastalla, explains the fortification's relationship to the city, the territory, and the citizen. The letter states that all are equally bounded and protected by "*fortificatione d'una citta o terra che si faccia per guerra o sosption di guerra a benifito publico, et non per ornamento"* (fortifications of a City or Region created for war or

[90] The conditions of the transfer required the duke, and his successors pay 8000 ducats a year to the Papacy.
[91] For details see Affò, *Istoria Della Cittá e Ducato Di Guastalla*, 2:214.

the suspicion of war and public benefit, and not for ornament).[92] The letter states the surrounding territory is for the public good as well ("*la Ter[r]a la qual si tratta di fortificare a benefito publico),* highlighting that the fortifications were not for the city alone. Malatesta's letter makes clear that there are rights associated with the fortifications, rights which must conform to the orders and customs of Charles V. In concluding, the letter declares that the state of Milan should receive all pertinent information regarding any fortifications*,* underscoring that Guastalla was part of a larger temporal jurisdiction.[93] Malatesta's letter insinuates a change in direction in the work begun under Bertazollo, although the first stone of the new fortification was not laid until 1549. Nonetheless, the events of 1545 were unquestionably the impetus for Guastalla's refortification, justified by mounting tensions and potential threats to its territory.

On 10 September 1547, Pier Luigi Farnese was assassinated in Piacenza by Count Giovanni Anguissola, a *condottiero* who once served the duke.[94] Anguissola and the plot are believed to have been supported by Ferrante Gonzaga and therefore Charles V. [95] A letter from a Spaniard in Rome, written seven days after the assassination, suggests that there existed the belief that the "*emperador ha hecho mata a Pero Lugis*" (the emperor had Pier Luigi killed).[96] Ferrante's occupation the day after Pier Luigi's death gives credence to his involvement in the conspiracy. On 15 September, writing from Piacenza, Ferrante sent notice that those sympathetic to the Farnese duke had three days to leave the city and all the territories surrounding Piacenza.[97] The turmoil after Pier Luigi's death and the uncertainty in Parma meant Guastalla was on high

[92] B.M. Busta 7, No. 45.
[93] Ibid.
[94] More on the death of Pier Luigi Farnese appears in Chapter 3.
[95] Much of the literature indicates Ferrante had a hand in the assassination of Pier Luigi. Charles V's direct involvement is less tenable, though one can deduce that given his desire to combine the duchies of Parma and Piacenza with that of Milan that he had some knowledge of the plot.
[96] B.M. Busta 4, No. 12. The letter also insinuates that the sense of danger rather than revenge was felt in Rome. The author indicates that steps were taken to bring additional arms into the city and to safeguard the Pope.
[97] B.M. Busta 4, No. 16.

alert.[98] Ferrante had desired to strengthen the security of Guastalla and its territories since 1545, though when Ferrante commissioned the new fortifications in 1547 the assassination of the Pope's son certainly was a factor.[99] By 1549 Charles V and Ferrante had come to occupy much of the territory of Parma, the new seat of the duchy. However, they did not lay siege to the city itself, partially out of the desire to avoid a war with the Pope, and possibly to find diplomatic ways to resolve any conflicts.[100] Though there were no immediate clashes or other acts of violence, the dispute over Piacenza and Parma would ultimately lead to the 1551 War of Parma.

The 1547 fortifications were in preparation for defense and part of a strategic move to surround and isolate Parma.[101] The repairs and modifications to the medieval walls, undertaken by Bertazzolo, were simply not sufficient. A contemporary solution was required, one which could not only withstand the attacks of a powerful army but, I contend, large enough to adequately lodge a great number of troops. The new pentagonal walls expanded Guastalla's footprint by 15 acres. With the knowledge that the plan of the urban scheme was developed four years later, it is not surprising that the shape of the walls resembled a citadel rather than a star-shaped *trace italienne.* The architect responsible for the layout of Guastalla's new pentagonal enceinte was Gianbattista Calvi, a pupil of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. In 1547 Calvi was supervising the pentagonal *castello di Piacenza*, (part castle, part citadel) (Fig. 1.12) commissioned by Pier Luigi. With the death of his patron, his services were transferred to

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[98] Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di Guastalla*, 2:220.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Michael Edward Mallett, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 1st ed., Modern Wars in Perspective (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), 246. Though Ottavio Farnese was the rightful heir of the Duchy of Parma his grandfather blocked him from taking control of Parma because he was also the son-in-law of Charles V. Ottavio then turned to Ferrante to ask for support.
[101] "*Non è certo per una fortuita circostanza che l'avvio in grande stile della fortificazione di Guastalla coincide con la congiuntura politica e militare creatasi con l'improvvisa e inconclusa azione voluta da Ferrante. Infatti, una solida ed efficiente predisposizione delle sue difese rientra, in modo tutto coerente, nella strategia d'accerchiamento e d'isolamento di Parma."* Soldini, "La costruzione di Guastalla," 59.

Ferrante Gonzaga.[102] This explains the similarity in the shape of Pier Luigi's *castello* and Ferrante's fortified town. The expanded footprint, in combination with the citadel resemblance, reinforces the idea that Guastalla was intended to be a place to garrison soldiers.[103] It was the militarization of the landscape that ultimately helped shape Guastalla's urban form. [104]

The Plan of Guastalla

In 1553 Domenico Giunti, Ferrante's vassal and architect, designed a new urban scheme for Guastalla. While Giunti was present at the start of the new fortifications in 1549 his role during the intervening four years is unclear. It was likely similar to his role in the fortifications Ferrante commissioned in Messina; there he served as a visual mediator for Ferrante, drawing what Ferrante wanted to be done or recording works in progress.[105] Despite this uncertainty regarding the fortifications, we know for certain that he was solely responsible for the urban

[102] ASP Calvi Giambastista 17. Document indicating that Calvi, at the time of Pier Luigi's death was working for others and was commissioned to fortify Castelguelfo. The document does not make clear the details of the transfer of services to Ferrante.
[103] Martha Pollak, in citing Guastalla as an example of fortified city based on an enlarged citadel plan, also believes that the initial intent was to garrison soldiers. With the later development of the plan those soldiers would reside side by side with the inhabitants. See Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, 163.
[104] Woodward, "Military Landscapes," 43.
[105] Pollak states Giunti "was commissioned to fortify the newly acquired fiefdom in 1549, but he was also responsible for the design of the streets and house," Pollack, 164. This statement implies that Giunti was responsible for the design of the fortifications and the urban plan was secondary. Pollak's statement seems to reveal her awareness of Affò's seminal text on the history of Guastalla. Affò states "*Domenico Giunti Ingegnere, cui non solo era stato commesso ordinar(e) cortine e baloardi, ma eziandio il disporre nuove strade e abitazioni...*" "Domenico Giunti, Engineer was committed not only to direct the [construction of the] curtain wall and the bastions but also the arrangement of the streets and houses…"Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di Guastalla*, 2:223. While the phrasing is similar to Pollak's, Affò's translation reveals that Giunti was not in fact commissioned to fortify the walls, understood through the use of the verb *ordinare* and to some extent the use of *disporre.* While both verbs can mean 'to arrange', *ordinare* in this instance is meant to be understood as, 'to put in order; to direct,' or in other words to supervise. The sense is that Giunti had some experience with fortifications, which he did, but not in the sense that would have made him as knowledgeable as Pollak and others suggest. The confusion seems to be around Giunti's exact role in the Messina fortifications. While Vasari notes that Giunti "*Fu messo a travagliare sopra le muraglie e fortezze di Sicilia*" it is clear that he was not hired for his skills as an architect or engineer. According to Vasari, Ferrante was looking for someone that could draw and put on paper what he was thinking day to day (*un uomo che disegnasse e gli mettesse in carta tutto quello che andava giornalmente pensando*). Hence, Storchi's assertion that Giunti collaborated with Ferramolino da Bergamo, the architect of the fortifications, is inaccurate. See Vasari and Milanesi, *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 7:27; Storchi, *Guastalla*, 26.

layout. We also know that by the time of the plan, the walls were completed as Giunti indicates their length on the drawing (Fig 1.13). Giunti's scheme has been evaluated by several authors who have remarked, as noted earlier, it as being a clear and novel statement of Renaissance planning and urban centrality.[106] However, what often goes unmentioned is Giunti's reconciliation of both the existing site and social conditions.

Like every treatise regarding the city to date, an assessment of that site by the architect is the fundamental driver of the plan. In addition to the preexisting walls, Giunti had to address the *strada vecchia* and the *borgo vecchio* that straddled it. This was the core of the city, or perhaps more precisely the civilian core. Looking at the plan, there would not have been much development in the space to the east of the planned Strada Gonzaga. This area would have likely held soldiers. A pair of letters written in 1551 to Ferrante provides evidence. In the first dated 15 May 1551, the author refers to the soldiers who were repairing earthworks near Parma as "*il Spagnola di Guastalla."*[107] In the second letter, dated 15 September, the author refers to the soldiers as the "*soldati di Guastalla.*"[108] The coexistence of the soldiers and the Guastallese was intended to be one of mutual respect, not the often hostile of violent confrontations between billeted or soldiers and the townspeople. On one occasion a group of soldiers was punished for being disrespectful to the Podestà by being banned from Guastalla.[109] Hence, as de Marchi prescribes in his treatise, Giunti's plan considers the presence of soldiers, which, I argue it, does.

I would first like to briefly comment on the plan's irregularity. What I mean by this is its nonconformity to any preconceived notions of a Renaissance plan, more precisely the lack of

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[106] The novelty of the plan, according to Storchi, is what he identifies is its centrality.
[107] A.S.P. Farnese Estero 253. This reference recognizes Ferrante's Gonzaga as a general of the Spanish army under Charles V.
[108] A.S.P. Farnese Estero b. 253 Letter to Ferrante Gonzaga from Fabricco de Molfetta
[109] A.S.P. "Relatione sopre Guastalla", 8 Maggio 1552. The letter states that the captain felt that the soldiers needed to be given the hand of justice and used as an example

symmetry or geometric regularity. This is largely due to the fact that Giunti was not working with a clean slate and site conditions dictated the arrangement of streets. One can easily detect that the main Piazza is not placed in the center of the town, or at the cross-axis he creates. Civic architectural treatises, from Serlio to di Giorgio, highlight the significance of the main piazza as the heart of the city, physically and symbolically, where all citizens come and participate in the functioning of the city and are surrounded by shops and places of "honorable practices," which themselves are to be handsomely adorned.[110] Even the military architectural treatises speak to a centralized main piazza fronted by the buildings of authority: the church and the main palazzo. As the piazza was already existing, he chose not to relocate it, however, in agreement with ideas outlined in military treatises he called for the church and the palazzo of the podestà, the two seats of authority, to be centrally located. Without the piazza, the prominence of the two major streets is more legible, reminiscent of the Roman Decumanus and Cardo. It also seems to establish a social hierarchy with the upper class (the podestà, the *gentilomni,* and a future *signore*) located on the north side of the city, with the tiny houses of the lower class situated to the south. This may seem insignificant though it is noteworthy that the north side of the city faces the Po River, as was the side least likely to be attacked.

It is Giunti's representation of the housing for the common man that shows what, I see, is an attempt to integrate the soldiers into the fabric of the city. The plan depicts a series of adjoined houses facing the street—the small square within the larger volume I am reading as an entry. Both Stefano Storchi and Nicolo Soldini assert that the plan derives from the *casa a schiera*, or rowhouse, typology. Soldini goes a bit further and connects it to Serlio's drawing for

[110] Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati Di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare*, ed. Corrado Maltese, vol. 1 (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1967), 363.

the house of the poor man (Fig. 1.14).[111] The correlation of the *casa a schiera* to what is shown in the plan, at first glance seems plausible, even though Giunti does not show the division of each house into two residences.[112] A typical *casa a schiera* would be longer than it is wide, as depicted in Serlio's drawings, and in an example provided by Storchi (Fig. 1.15). What causes a pause is the location of what I read as the entry. Located at the center of the house, rather than the edges, Giunit's location of the entry suggests he may not have conceived them as row houses. Using Serlio has a source—as Storchi and Soldini—the houses with central entries are those of the wealthy. However, Giunti notes that the houses are for "*gente bassa."* The notation that the house should be fifteen *braccia* with a short [or equal] depth can be seen as a reference to Filarete's description of a poor man's house: a square of ten to twelve *braccia.*[113] Hence it is curious that Storchi would suggest that Giuniti intended the houses to be *casa a schiera.* The *casa a schiera* seems to reflect current housing in Guastalla, though, we must be reminded that the location of these new homes was once open space for the lodging of soliders.

Storchi and Soldini's use of Serlio as an interlocutor for Giunti is curious. Interestingly, neither thought to compare Serlio's drawing of Polybius' Castrametation (Fig. 1.16) as a walled citadel with the plan of Guastalla.[114] Serlio draws from the writings of Greek Historian Polybius, whose histories on the Roman military were well known in sixteenth-century Italy. Notables such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Pietro Cataneo and Palladio

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[111] Storchi and Soldini's reference to Serlio implies that Giunti was perhaps aware of Serlio's treatises however, this reference is anachronistic. The references both makes are to Serlio's book VI which, according to Vaughn Hart and Peter Hicks was never published. Though the extant manuscripts date from 1547-1549 there is no evidence that Giunti would have had any knowledge of Serlio's work considering Serlio was living and writing in France.
[112] Following Serlio, one house is two adjoined rowhouses.
[113] Filarete and John R Spencer, *Treatise on Architecture; Being the Treatise by Antonio Di Piero Averlino, Known as Filarete.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 150.
[114] For the description see: Polybius, *The Histories*, trans. W. R. Paton, vol. III (London: William Heinemann LTD, 1960).

referenced Polybius in their written work. [115] The presence of Polybius' historical text on the Romans, first published in 1529 in Venice, fits within a humanistic tradition of the early Renaissance. The military content within those texts became of great value as sixteenth-century writers, soldiers and architects sought to revive the glory of Imperial Rome. Despite the differences in geometry of the two walled enclosures, there are similarities in the overall organization. The orderly block layout of tents prescribed by Polybius and developed by Serlio into *loggiamenti* closely resembles the blocks of housing in Giunti's plan. Thinking back to the central entries in the house of the *gente bassa;* a correlation can be made between it the centrally located entry of a tent. Granted, there is no way to be sure if Giunti read Polybius' *Histories,* though the popularity of the Greek historian's work in the Renaissance makes it at least likely. I do not wish to imply that there is a one-to-one correlation between the two, simply that there is a shared formal language that cannot be dismissed. Polybius' hierarchical planning of troops does not give much detail on how the tents were arranged other than to say they were touching. Therefore, one could argue, that within the context of planning a fortified city, Giunti's depiction of closely knitted houses with central entries makes plausible the idea that he was, in essence, making permanent the tents of the soldiers quartered in Guastalla.

The plan of Guastalla illustrates a political-military cultural dynamic common in the Renaissance concept of city planning. According to Giulio Argan, the political-military factor "had particular influence on the perimeter of the city… on the relationship between the city and its surrounding territory, and the architecture of public and private buildings."[116] The relationship of the city to its perimeter and the perimeter to the surrounding territory activates the wall as

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[115] Machiavelli's *Sette libri dell'arte della guerra,* Cataneo's *L'architecttrua alla quale sonosi aggiunti di più il 5,6, 7 ed 8 libro* and Palladio's lost treatise on Polybius. For more on Palladio and Polybius see J. R Hale, "Andrea Palladio, Polybius and Julius Caesar." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977): pp. 240–255.
[116] Argan, *The Renaissance City*, 18.

being both political and martial. The city wall becomes a symbol of war as the city it encloses becomes part of a broader political system.[117] In the case of Guastalla, on one hand the preexisting wall is an independent military apparatus like that of a citadel. Yet as the urban fabric develops with amenities for residents and not merely military protection, the wall loses its independence and instead becomes connected to the city. Said a different way, the city becomes an appendage to the military form as it is nothing more than the occupied space contained within the walls.[118] This is made abundantly clear in Guastalla. In short, we can read the architecture of the wall as being that which establishes territorial identity, while the urban fabric is defined by the arrangement of architectural elements and political dominion the walls represent.

Conclusion

The first half of this chapter examined military architectural treatises developed by military architects/engineers; the second half explored the acquisition and fortification of Guastalla. Both were considered within the context of the Italian Wars and contemporary architectural theories of city planning and fortification building.[119] Guastalla is an interesting case study as Ferrante not only ordered the construction of a new bastioned enceinte but essentially commissioned the refounding of the town to take shape based on the plan of his architect Domenico Giunti. The refortifying and refounding of the city occurred at a point in history when military engineers and their treatises were gaining notice for their design of fortifications, more so than treatises on civic architecture.[120] Giunti's plan represents an attempt

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[117] Argan, 19.
[118] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 359–60.
[119] According to Arnold the skills and knowledge of fortification building was considered a trade secret. Arnold, "Fortification and Statecraft of the Gonzaga, 1530-1630," 55.
[120] J.R. Hale notes that after the second half of the sixteenth century, civil architecture was surpassed by military architecture in both print and prestige. Hale, *Renaissance Fortification*, 25.

to conceive of an urban plan within a new bastioned pentagonal enclosure. Giunti, the architect, has received much of the attention regarding Guastalla and the work commissioned by Ferrante Gonzaga. Calvi, the engineer responsible for the town walls, however, has received little consideration, and rightfully deserves more. The difference between architect and engineer is critical because it seems to establish a modern bias towards those considered architects and the structures they create versus engineers, particularly with respect to fortifications.[121] This will be revisited later in the dissertation, though consider for the moment why Antonio da Sangallo, the Younger is referred to as an architect and not an engineer, although he designed numerous fortifications.[122]

The distinction between sixteen-century architects and engineers is unnecessarily misleading. As mentioned earlier, such a differentiation did not exist, particularly as it relates to construction; this is a modern-day issue. No one had yet to achieve a full comprehension of the strength of materials. Understanding the physical strains and stresses of materials is the foundation of modern engineering and came centuries later. [123] The issue at hand is the conflation with the modern-day understanding of what an engineer does to what a sixteenth-century (architectural) 'engineer' did. What it ultimately boils down to is aesthetic vs technical skills. There was no difference at that time. One can find architects changing the course of rivers. Today this would fall under the heading of a civil engineer. What we see in this anachronistic distinction is the preference for the aesthetic over the technical. In the history of Renaissance architecture, this has had two effects: the relegation of the non-civil architecture of lionized

[121] Hale states the word engineer, when it came to the design and construction of buildings in the sixteenth century, was synonymous with the word architect; they were interchangeable. Hale, 18.
[122] I deeper discussion on this discussion takes place in the epilogue of this dissertation.
[123] In regard to structural design, Parsons notes there was little accurate knowledge in the theory of design. While 'engineers' were aware of stresses in structures they did not fully understand the intensity or meaning of what they experienced. Experience and judgment were the tools by which heavy loads and bearing capacities were determined. William Barclay Parsons, *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 13.

architects to a mere footnote in their *oeuvre,* and the deficient awareness of architects whose work was, primarily, military related. One such architect is Francesco Paciotto, who was influential in the design of Villa Farnese in Caprarola. Architects like Paciotto, (often labeled engineers or military architects) are lost in the wider discussion of Renaissance architecture, underscoring an aesthetic hierarchy between civil architecture and military architecture—a hierarchy that did not exist in the sixteenth century. The architects who constructed churches and palaces were often the ones that built the ramparts around them. Architecture was the art of construction, no matter its function.

The so-called anxiety of modern scholars to distinguish military engineers/architects from civilian architects has had the unwarranted effect of reading fortifications as mere works of military architecture—disregarding them as civic works.[124] Consider that the fundamental nature of an enceinte is to give form to urban/public space. There is an inherent monumentality associated with fortifications. It allows them to be part of a city's political and social hierarchy. They are landmarks created as symbols of man's ideas, aims and actions.[125] This holds especially true for the city of Lucca, whose walls represent(ed) the city's sense of *libertas.* In this regard, it

[124] In commenting on the anxiousness of scholars, Pepper and Adams present the idea of two classes of designers: generalists and specialists. They recognize that many architects engaged in fortification designs. Architects that occasionally designed fortifications were considered generalists and those with extensive experience were seen as specialists. In their summation, Brunelleschi and Michelangelo fall into the former category and Sanmicheli and Antonio da Sangallo the younger fall into the latter. The introduction of the solider-as-designer, in the second half of the sixteenth century seems to complicate the issue. Pepper and Adams are revealing a modern-day bias in terms of our understanding of what it means to be an architect. Because the soldier did not train as an architect, he could not receive the title of architect. However, their military expertise and experience proved far more valuable in the building of fortifications. See Pepper and Adams, *Firearms & Fortifications*, 174–75.

[125] José Luis Sert, Fernand Léger, and Sigfried Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," *Harvard Architecture Review* 4 (1984): 62. The first point states "Monuments are human landmarks which men have created as symbols for their ideals, for their aims their actions. They are intended to outlive the period which originated them and constitute a heritage for future generations, as such, they form a link between the past and the future."

is important to keep in mind that, though commissioned by *signori*, the architects/engineers/superintendents reported to the civilian governments.[126]

The study of fortifications and military architecture is robust but remains a subset of architecture, perhaps generated by the need to differentiate between an architect and an engineer. Such bias has resulted in the exclusion of significant works from the discourse of Renaissance architecture and architectural history as a whole. In this larger context, the fortified city participates in the discussion of the ideal city albeit not the ideal cities that Benevolo argued actually existed, but rather those often highlighted by the treatise plans of Filarete, Francesco di Giorgio and the like.[127] Absent from these discussions are the treatise plans of Cataneo or di Marchi. This absence suggests an unwillingness to accept or identify the purpose of the pochéd outlines of Filarete and di Giorgio's planned cities. The reality remains that fortifications were not mere boundaries for a city but also active symbols of aggression and territorial control. The organization of the city within did not represent utopian republics with communities "aiming bravely at a good life" of social integration, rather, it prescribed an orderly arrangement of existing hierarchies blended with the needs to defend itself and the territory of its ruler.[128]

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[126] Pepper and Adams, *Firearms & Fortifications*, 173. In Guastalla, correspondence indicates that the *Podestà,* Alessandro Donesmondi, was the civic leader in charge of the fortification works.

[127] Leonardo Benevolo wisely states "*la città è considerata un oggetto complesso, inconfrontabile come le singole architetture…*" [the city is considered as a complex object, not comparable to that of single buildings.] Leonardo Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento.* (Bari: Laterza, 1968), 142. This is not what the earliest theorists such as Alberti and di Giorgio were advocating. Both men did of course have preferences as it relates to the enclosure of the city, the circle for Alberti and the rhombus for di Giorgio, however, both understood the walls as simply a defensive outline of the city and not that which defined it. Hence they were not theorizing the "ideal" form of the city but the well-ordered city, or as di Giorgio states "*la città ragion(e).*" Martini, *Trattati Di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare*, 1967, 1:20. However, if one wants to attempt to understand Guastalla as an ideal city it is best to think of it as Benevolo does, where the plan is not produced with abstract perfection but rather, as in this case, the placement of structures within a system. A system, I contend, is defined by the political-military milieu of sixteenth-century Italy.

[128] Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias: Ideal Commonwealths and Social Myths* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1923), 11.

Chapter 2: Architecture of Anticipated Attack

On December 31, 1494, Pope Alexander VI secured himself and his bodyguards inside the Vatican Palace as Charles VIII entered Rome. The king of France was greeted with pomp and a procession befitting his title and welcomed by Roman dignitaries as he entered Piazza del Popolo. Customarily, the pope would have been in the square to meet the monarch but because he was afraid that Charles VIII wanted to depose him for simony –Alexander promised some cardinals positions in the curia in exchange for their vote in the 1492 conclave—he remained on the other side of the Tiber River.[1] The king led a lengthy parade of armed men and dozens of eight-foot-long cannons through the streets of Rome. The sight of the powerful French army and artillery would have caused any Roman to shutter in place, if not flee the city altogether—as many did. Those who remained were subjected to terrifying demands and seizures, as well as the constant threat of murder by the thousands of French and Swiss soldiers who were billeted among them. The violence became so perilous that Alexander VI fled the confines of the Vatican and retreated to Castel Sant'Angelo, the papal fortress. Charles VIII subsequently took up residence in the vacated Vatican. For the next several days, the two leaders resided comfortably, if apprehensively, separated by less than a mile and connected by an overhead walkway, in medieval fortresses.

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[1] The pope had angered Charles VII by not supporting his claims to the Kingdom of Naples. Many Romans had hoped that Charles VII would overthrow Alexander VI and install a new pope. Two of those that hoped for his removal, Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere (1443-1513) and Ascanio Sforza (1455-1505) rode alongside the king as he entered Rome. Troubling as they may have been, the pope was anguished more by the ease with which Charles VIII and his army passed through Italy, particularly the Roman campagna that was controlled by powerful and politically allied barons. The feudal lands of these barons, settled with castles and strongholds, were perceived to be a defensive barrier around Rome, though none of the medieval structures would have withstood the power of the French cannons. This weakness in defense was something that Alexander VI sought to rectify, though only after Charles VIII passed through Rome on his return to France.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century renovations and additions to the Vatican significantly changed its appearance. However, at the time of Charles VIII's sojourn, the Vatican looked more like a fortress than a palace. This included the renovations made by the humanist pope Nicholas V. The correlation of humanist attitudes with Renaissance design might lead us to believe that those renovations would have been in an early *all'antica* style. This chapter questions such a presumption. Fortified structures often appear antithetical to Renaissance architecture, as they do not result in an architecture of "classical forms and perspectival spaces" where proportionality arising from formal standardization is paramount.[2] Instead, fortified buildings of the Renaissance seem to be associated with medieval architecture or, more often, designated as military architecture. This categorization privileges certain types of buildings, such as palazzos and villas while excluding those labeled *castelli*, *fortezze* or *rocche*. Functionally and programmatically, however, there is very little difference between a palazzo and a *castello,* or a villa and a *rocca* other than their label*;* they are all fortified residences of influential noblemen. Typically, the land on which they sat was part of a larger territory, or estate over which they had jurisdiction. The status of the owners and the territorial authority they held is unquestionably the reason these buildings were sturdily secured. This leads us to question why Renaissance architectural history favors for example the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano (Fig. 2.1) over the Rocca di Ostia (Fig. 2.2)? Both are rural retreats or places for *villeggiature*. Rooted in stylistic bias and historical preconceptions, the prejudice has led to the celebration of buildings like the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano or Villa Caprarola and the relative neglect of the Rocca di Ostia or the Rocca Paolina when all the sites were equally defensive.

[2] Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento.*, 6.

This chapter will illustrate how the predisposition towards the palazzo and villa in Renaissance architectural history has obscured the relevance of *castelli* and *rocche*. The predominance of palazzos as a building type in the discipline coincides with the prescribed perception of the Italian Renaissance prince, a distinguished and erudite humanist who ruled benevolently. To this prejudice, we must also add the Italian Renaissance villa. The well-known, and often copied, country residence signified power, privilege, and class, not unlike the castles of the feudal nobility. A few scholars such as James Ackerman have acknowledged this overlap. For instance, in his essay "The Villa as Paradigm," he invites the reader to draw comparisons between the Renaissance villa and medieval feudal castles. He states, without further elaboration, that the first Renaissance villas "took over the vocabulary" of feudal castles with their towers, battlements, and crenellations, citing the Medici villa at Cafaggiolo as an example (Fig. 2.3).[3] He then implies that later, more "modern" and "avant-garde," villas maintained some of that medieval vocabulary. Hence, it is the borrowed architectural language of the fortified feudal castle that acts as a signifier that conveys prerogatives of privilege associated with feudal lords, also referred to as *signori di castelli.*[4] This chapter accepts the premise that many renowned villas and *palazzi* are fortified dwellings. Doing so allows for the inclusion of other fortified dwellings—*castelli* and *rocche*—into a broader discussion. Broadening our view to be more inclusive makes valid the consideration of those structures built, altered, and renovated during the period of the Renaissance, as an example of Renaissance architecture no matter their medieval appearance or fortified function.

[3] James Ackerman, "The Villa as Paradigm," *Perspecta* 22 (1986): 29.
[4] Ibid.

The Ambiguous Medieval Renaissance

In his book on the history of architecture in the Renaissance, Leonardo Benevolo uses the term 'architecture of the Renaissance' rather than 'Renaissance architecture.'[5] He contends that the word 'Renaissance' is ambiguous and is best understood as a cultural movement instead of a historical period while for other scholars, the word 'culture' is ambiguous.[6] In Benevolo's construct the latter would be the study of 'Renaissance architecture.' He further asserts that his approach is a biography of the cultural movement as opposed to a survey of all historical events. The distinction implies a separation of cultural objects from ther environment.[7] Considering the culture of the Renaissance removed from its historical environment seems egregious. Benevolo's view of the Renaissance as a cultural superstructure of artistic and architectural achievement is not invalid as it plays into a romanticized image of the period. However, I maintain that the cultural movement must be situated within its historical context and read against the events that occur in and around the products of the movement: the architecture. In fairness, Benevolo does provide some societal context, though it often seems detached from the architecture.[8] The

[5] In the original Italian, it is '*architettura del Rinascimento,'* which can also be translated as 'Renaissance architecture.' However, by specifying it at as a term with a precise definition, presented in contrast to other meanings, suggests that it should be translated as 'architecture of the Renaissance,' as it is in the English version of his book.

[6] There is agreement that the word 'Renaissance' is problematic and anachronistic. Guido Ruggiero, in advocating for the use of the word '*rinascimento'* admits that it too is fraught with issues. Despite his use of this term, Ruggiero suggests, as most current scholars would agree, that the Renaissance was not rebirth but a renewal, one hinged on a cyclical understanding of time. However, he makes clear that in a 'modern' linear understanding of time that the *Rinascimento* is a period as well as a cultural movement. While the interval of the period shifts from historian to historian, there is a consensus that the Renaissance can be understood as a time frame in which a certain set of cultural developments occurred. See Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Benevolo also admits that his phrase, 'architecture of the Renaissance' is not completely satisfactory because of the ambiguity of the term. Though he does not choose to define it as a historical period he does recognize that there needs to be a chronological interval (a suggested beginning and end) and established 1418-1750 as the appropriate interval. Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento.* Peter Burke considers the word 'culture' ambiguous; he prefers the term "original environment," which he defines as the society of the period. See Peter Burke, *Culture and Society in Renaissance Italy, 1420-1540*, Studies in Cultural History (New York: Scribner, 1972), 18.

[7] Such an approach implies the creation of a narrative rather than the recounting of past occurrences.

[8] One example of this occurs in Chapter 4 on the urban changes of the sixteenth century. In discussing the colonization of the Americas Benevolo provides a general state of the historical background. In one section on the

romanticization of the Italian Renaissance as a period of flourishing art and architecture, created by genius architects and artists, ideas of individualism, and poised princely courts has been challenged for decades. Even the Middle Ages were romanticized.[9] Nonetheless, the image of men with incredible personalities and power persists as the dominant perception of the Italian Renaissance, particularly in architectural history since they are the patrons of the distinguished buildings we study.

Implicit in the characterization of the Renaissance as a cultural movement is the notion that architecture is centered on aesthetic pleasure and experience (taste). [10] This implication leads us to question whether the arbiter of taste is the patron or the historian. The answer to this question is worth debate and will be revisited in the conclusion. Nonetheless, it is the distinction of styles and tastes that have come to inform the identification of Renaissance architecture. Such an approach discounts the medieval roots of Renaissance architecture. Scholarship tells us that there existed continuities between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, such that medievalists might suggest that the fifteenth century (often considered the birth of Renaissance architecture) be considered as the 'late Middle Ages.' Silvia Beltramo reminds us that during the "short" fifteenth century, medieval prototypes, such as fortresses, coexisted with the new models of

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Spanish, he notes differences between the Europeans and the indigenous people of Mexico, stating that these differences had cultural consequences. One such consequence was an inward reflection by the Europeans on their cultural models, including architecture. Benevolo suggests that the dramatic examination of conscience changed European cultural models, insinuating that there was also a change in the architecture. However, he gives no examples of this new culturally combined architecture. He simply states that at a later time the building methods of the natives and the conquistadores fused over time.

[9] The best examples are the heroic view of King Arthur and his court and Disney's conversion of the Middle Ages into a fantasy of the past. Recent scholarship has focuses on identifying a "real" Middle Ages. See Clare A. Simmons, *Medievalism and the Quest for the Real Middle Ages* (London; Portland: F. Cass, 2001).

[10] This is the thesis of Geoffrey Scott's book on the architecture of humanism. The argument is flawed in some respects. The premise that the men of the Renaissance liked to be "surrounded by certain forms of a certain kind," cannot be discounted, however, I would argue that those forms also included fortified structures; they were necessary due to social and political factors. Scott and others tend to discount the importance of these fortified structures. Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism; a Study in the History of Taste* (Read Books Ltd, 2013), 32.

princely palaces.[11] Given the frequent temporal certainty associated with our understanding of the Renaissance, the notion of a hard edge that defines the beginning of one stylistic period and the end of another is misguided. Hence, an examination of the coexistence and interaction of pre-existing medieval structures and Renaissance innovation is warranted.

What follows is a look into the exclusion of certain buildings due to their naming convention, stylistic classification and the mischaracterization of fortified structures as military architecture. The Vatican Palace and the Castel Sant'Angelo are used to illustrate issues with labeling. The Rocca di Ostia serves as an example of a suburban retreat deemed military because of its fortified architectural language, while its contemporary, the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, is an idyllic villa, despite its enceinte and four corner towers. The chapter further explores jurisdiction, authority and power using the Rocca Paolina as a case study. Consistent with its medieval predecessor, there was an inherent and constant fear of violence that dictated the need for security and defense: fear of those more powerful as much as fear of revolt from those with less power. The resulting architecture is one of anticipated attack.

Fortezze, Rocche, Castelli: Building a Language of Architectural Defense

First, it is prudent to clarify some of the terminology that is used within the chapter, in particular *rocca, fortezza* and *castello*. Within Renaissance scholarship these three terms are often used interchangeably. While the first and last words are easily translatable to English, *rocca* can be interpreted as something that is between a fort and a castle, between an architecture of security and an architecture of nobility. The primary definition of *rocca* is stronghold, fortress,

[11] Silvia Beltramo, Flavia Cantatore, and Marco Folin, eds., *A Renaissance Architecture of Power: Princely Palaces in the Italian Quattrocento* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), IX.

or citadel.[12] Hence, one might deduce that *rocca* and *fortezza* are equivalent as Francesco di Giorgio considers them in his treatise, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*. For di Giorgio, the *castello* was not a fortress at all but correlated to the city.[13] In treating the *castello* like a city, he may have been borrowing from Alberti, who stated that the house is like a small city. When Alberti discussed the city wall, he noted the importance of its being "broken" instead of straight for a considerable distance.[14] In a city, the enceinte can be broken by a tower or a bastion.

Nonetheless, one can find structures labeled as a *castello* also called *rocca.* One example of this naming convention is the fortified structure built by Giuliano della Rovere in Ostia; in the literature, it is referred to as both Castello di Giulio II and Rocca di Ostia. The della Rovere *castello/rocca* will be discussed later, though it is essential here to note the possessive noun associated with the given title. In the city of Nepi, we find the same convention with the Rocca di Nepi, which is also called Castello dei Borgia. This naming practice seems to reinforce the idea that the *castello* is an architecture of prestigious families, while the *rocca* is the defensive stronghold of the town. Can they be the same? Does the identification of Rocca di Civita Castellana, which loosely translates to Castle Town, as the Forte Sangallo (after its architect, Antonio da Sangallo, the Elder) complicate things further? Certainly, the argument can be made that the equivalence of *fortezza, rocca, castello* is similar to the interchangeability of house, dwelling and residence. The key point is that they each can be defined as fortified structures, yet referring to the *rocche* and *castelli* of the Renaissance as military architecture, as is often done, is

[12] Definition obtained from Wordreference.com (https://www.wordreference.com/iten/rocca) and Cambridge Dictionary (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/italian-english/rocca).
[13] In volume II of his treatise the third *trattato* is called *Castelli e città.* Di Giorgio understood that the main function of the city and castle is the habitation of man.
[14] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 25. In relating the city to the house Alberti is stating that, like a city, a house should be laid out in a harmonious fashion. The rooms/buildings are the components that make up the house/city and great care should be given to the arrangements of the parts to the whole.

erroneous. They are defensive, certainly, but the distinguishing factor is that many of them are residences meant as a retreat from urban life. The misperception originates in the evolution of the word *rocca*.

The *rocca* derives from the ancient Roman citadel: the Arx. Located on the higher, northern side of Capitoline hill, its location was important as it allowed for early detection of enemy forces, allowing time for citizens to retreat to the Arx. The presence of the Temple of Juno Moneta and the unroofed Auguraculum on the same summit indicates refuge, not defense, as the primary function of a citadel. [15] In describing the origins of the *rocca*, the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616) noted that despite its prominent position it had little or no defensive capability except for a simple wall.[16] In the sixteenth century, the primary function of the Arx was reimagined as the pentagonal-bastioned citadels. When Scamozzi compared the Capitoline Arx to the Acropolis in Athens, he acknowledged them as ancient citadels perched atop rocky outcrops, neither of which had adequate means for fending off intruders, but which served as locations for refuge for the townspeople. [17] In the Middle Ages, the decentralization of government ushered in the feudal system. Wealthy military nobles of landed estates began to fortify hilltop havens with architecture.[18] These feudal lords built castles and fortresses in hilly and mountainous regions either to guard the borders or to establish dominion and jurisdiction.

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[15] The Auguraculum was a temple where ancient Roman augurs (priests) conducted ritual activities and spiritual readings (auspices) were taken.

[16] Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea Della Architettvra Universale*, vol. 1 (Ridgewood: Gregg Press, 1964), 189.

[17] In France, they were called, *roche* (rock). Outside of Italy the hilltop refuges were also called castles. Charles Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26.

[18] It is important to note that the condition upon which the nobles acquired land was based upon military service, and it is perhaps because of the feudal lord's classification as a military noble that the fortifications he built have been classified as military architecture. While this association is applicable to much of the European feudal system, it does not apply so easily in the Italian context mainly because there was no nation so no one central government. Hence, those military nobles/families who maintained imperial fiefs into the late Middle Ages held no allegiance to any central government.

Note that in the Middle Ages there was a distinction between a castle and a fortress/*rocca.* The *rocca* was still considered a place of last defense, like the Arx, underpinned by its location above the castle. It was a place of refuge, only to be used in extreme necessity; the *rocca* was not inhabited in times of peace.[19] Only later in its development did it become a well-armed military seat.

With time, the privitization of government, and agricultural development, the *rocca* subsequently became the center of new villages.[20] Already established as centers of jurisdiction, the once inhospitable fortresses were transformed into more comfortable residences by their wealthy landowners. By the fifteenth century, major nobles and their clans continued to build castles as strategic markers and emblems of territorial jurisdiction, though they also built these castles with the intent of their becoming stately residences, some with elegant courtyards. These fortified residences perched on rocky crags maintained the name *rocca* even though they ceased being places of escape and refuge. As residences they maintained their designation as a castle, given their well-armed character. The sizes of these fortified residences varied, though some of the larger ones appear as though they have risen directly from the rocky landscape, like the Rocca Sinibalda (Fig. 2.4). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *rocche* can be best described as armed and often guarded manors. This is no different than the palazzos described in Chapter 1 as centers or symbols of power and dominion in the city.

Whether labeled *rocca, fortezza,* or *castello,* the residential function of these buildings is often ignored and subordinate to their defensive properties. Being classified as military architecture suggests that they are active only in times of war, that they are functionally inert, and, like the original *rocche,* not utilized in times of peace. These fortified residences were much

[19] Giacomo C. Bascapè and Carlo Perogalli, *Castelli del Lazio* (Milano: Bramante, 1968), 14.
[20] Examples include Rocca Priora, Rocca Canterano and Rocca di Cave. Bascapè and Perogalli, 14.

more than that. They were places that welcomed kings and popes alike. As discussed in chapter one, the Renaissance city is often discussed without mention of its bastioned enceinte. If this is acceptable, a discussion of the Renaissance castle as a residence, devoid of any mention of its fortifying features, should also be acceptable. The choice of some scholars to make a distinction between a residence and a fortified structure is an issue of style.

Palazzo or Castello: Naming Misnomer

In the general study of Italian Renaissance architecture, the word 'castle' is hard to find. Perhaps considered the residential equivalent to the Gothic church, the castle has been classified as medieval architecture.[21] This codification has hindered the acceptance of the idea of a Renaissance castle. Castel Sant'Angelo (Fig. 2.5) is one notable exception. Above, I briefly mentioned how medieval *rocche* and castles were transformed into livable dwellings. A change in the economy, the birth of a wealthy merchant class and their increasing disposable income further transformed these structures into "comfortable and pleasurable palaces," though with less emphasis on military importance.[22] The Roman baronial families that owned these castles are familiar names as humanist patrons—the Colonna, the Orsini and the Savelli, each of which had papal ties.[23] The renovated castles, replete with large windows, arcades, and courtyards featured

[21] In architectural history books, one tends to find castles associated with the medieval period. Marvin Trachtenberg's "Architecture" covers castles, along with fortification and cities, in the chapter of Gothic Architecture, which is part of a larger section that covers the Middle Ages. Michael Fazio et al' "Buildings Across Time" indexes castles with Medieval, Chinese and Roman as subsets—no renaissance. Patrick Nutggens' "The Story of Architecture" follows a similar pattern. His treatments of castles are found in chapters on Chinese, Romanesque and Medieval and Gothic. Spiro Kostoff's seminal survey "A History of Architecture," links the word castle with the Renaissance, however, the examples he provides are French not Italian,

[22] "*palazzi comodi e lieti."* Bascapè and Perogalli, *Castelli Del Lazio*, 4.

[23] I would be remiss not to mention the influence of the papacy and the existence of a feudal-papal patrician body which allowed for the advancement of these families and others through nepotism. Their ability to seize smaller fiefs and give them to family members bolstered the family rather than the papal state. As a 'state-power' the papacy had fortifications and castles, often associated with the defense of its territories.

rooms decorated with paintings, tapestries and valuable furniture, all of which were seen as attenuating the aggressive nature of the castle.[24] The renovations were all consonant with contemporary Renaissance tastes, creating a "happy combination of severity and display."[25] However, despite the numerous monographs on Renaissance palazzos and villas, the castles of the Renaissance have received little attention. The barrier, I contend, is the continuation of viewing *castelli* and *rocche* as merely military architecture, even those without medieval roots.

Castel Sant'Angelo's stature within the history of architecture is not due to its function as a papal fortress alone. The amount of effort and money spent improving the castle's defenses was matched in its transformation into a luxurious residence, one boasting gardens, frescos, and bathrooms with running water. When Pope Alexander VI fled the Vatican, presumably for better protection, he dwelled in comfort.[26] It was, by all accounts a *palazzo in fortezza*. With the later addition of the sixteenth-century pentagonal walled enclosure, one wonders why the castle has not, to my knowledge, been discussed alongside the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, or Sebastiano Serlio's design of the fortified pentagonal "palazzo of a tyrant." It is not as though the medieval citadel was rendered irrelevant during the sixteenth century. [27] It was a papal fortress, with ancient Roman roots, and countless Renaissance architects and artists applied their knowledge, experience, and skills to Sant'Angelo's enduring enhancements.[28] This pedigree has made the

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[24] Marco Folin, "Princes, Towns, Palaces: A Renaissance 'Architectre of Power,'" in *A Renaissance Architecture of Power: Princely Palaces in the Italian Quattrocento*, ed. Silvia Beltramo, Flavia Cantatore, and Marco Folin (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 8.

[25] Hale, *Renaissance Fortification*, 39. What he means by display is ornament.

[26] Alexander VI is noted as having private parties in the castle, in rooms painted by notable artists such as Pinturicchio (who also completed works in the Vatican).

[27] One could reason that if the fortress would have remained in the hands of the Orsini family, or any of the Roman families that sought to obtain power, Castel Sant'Angelo would be lost to obscurity, or at the very least an architectural afterthought. Though, given the patronage and political ambitions of the Orsini, the Colonna and the like, there is the possibility there would be a minor mention of it.

[28] A partial list of artists and architects includes Giuliano da Sangallo, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Bramante, Pinturicchio, Giulio Romano and Bernini.

castle's relevance and importance admissible in Renaissance architectural history. However, most pre-Renaissance architecture with its soberly rigid (unornamented) exterior typically goes undiscussed, despite their internally ornamented Renaissance renovations

Before he entered Rome, Charles VIII lodged in the Orsini castle (now Castello Odescalchi) in Bracciano[29] (Fig. 2.6). From an architectural perspective, there was little difference between the Orsini castle and the Vatican. Our modern-day perception of the Vatican Palace is clouded by Renaissance and Mannerist modifications and additions. In the late fifteenth century, when Constantine's basilica was still standing the image of the Vatican palace-as-fortress was more evident. Begun by Pope Nicholas III in the thirteenth century, the medieval fortified residence was converted into the papal palace by the humanist Pope Nicholas V.[30] Credited with being the first "Renaissance Pope," Nicholas V, who expanded the Vatican with its towers, crenellations, and scarp revetments, continued the architectural language of his papal namesake, despite having Alberti as his architectural advisor. The interiors, however, were lavishly decorated and aligned with the ideology of humanist patronage. Many of the popes that succeeded Nicholas V followed in his footsteps and became notable patrons of art and architecture. Those that sought to expand and enrich the papal palace followed a similar formula: austere fortified exteriors and refined interior spaces displaying frescoes created by renowned artists of the time. The classical exterior of Bramante's Belvedere is one exception. To provide a more concrete example of the formula, consider the Sistine Chapel. The interior with its famed frescos by Michelangelo is in stark contrast to the structure it crowns. The building is a genuine fortress which once quartered soldiers and stored arms and munitions (Fig. 2.7). From this

[29] The Orsini's hosting of Charles VIII was seen as a betrayal by the pope because the Orsini were thought to be allies.
[30] The traditional home of the popes (the bishop of Rome) was the Lateran Palace located at the other end of the city.

perspective, titles or naming conventions do bear weight in perceptions of architecture. Consider, if you will, the ramifications—changes in perceptions, attitudes, and appreciation—if the Vatican and Sant'Angelo were to switch monikers: *Castello Vaticano* and *Palazzo Sant'Angelo.* The absurdity of such a switch exposes problems in our understanding of what constitutes Renaissance architecture.

Villa Madama, A Medici Castle

Differences between medieval and Renaissance architecture are easily discernable but a false dichotomy has arisen between the two, resulting in misinterpretations of the architecture. Fortified structures did not always signal military hostility, but sometimes simply strength and power. In 1983 author Guy Dewez produced a speculative model of Raphael's Villa Madama (Fig. 2.8), based on a drawing by Antonio da Sangallo, the Younger (Fig 2.9). The model is striking. The image of this emblematic Italian Renaissance villa flanked by crenelated walls and fronted by circular towers seems contradictory stylistically. There are no extant texts or drawings that indicate the design of the wall. However, Dewez's speculation of a crenelated wall should not be quickly dismissed under the presumption that it is medieval, and hence, incongruent with the villa. Intended as a *luogo di villeggiatura* for Cardinal Giulio de Medici, security became paramount when he became Pope Clement VII. As a papal *hospitium* the villa needed to be representative of the pope's sovereignty. Thus, the crenelated walls and circular towers, associated with fortified residences answer both needs.[31] If completed as Dewez imagined, as one approached from the Vatican, via the southern road, the view of the two-story-high wall would have likely concealed much of the villa, giving the impression of a medieval fortress

[31] Consider Francesco di Giorgio's assertion that the castle must be at the center, or the head, of the city. It exerts its authority not only with its position and ownership but with the defensive language of its architecture.

rather than a Renaissance villa. There are numerous articles and books on the Villa Madama, each touting its splendor and the brilliance of its plan and decorations, though there is little critical discussion of the towers, which are clearly shown in the plan.[32] Whereas, it has been suggested that the twin towers at the entry were inspired by the ducal palace of Raphael's hometown of Urbino (Fig. 2.10), the slenderness, proximity, and height of the Urbino towers make this unlikely. Perhaps a better source of inspiration might be Naples's Castel Nuovo (Fig. 2.11). Since only half of the villa was completed, much of this is conjecture, yet the salient point remains that medieval architectural language continued into the sixteenth century perhaps due to its inherent characteristics of defense and authority.

It is impossible to know for certain the extent to which the Villa Madama was to be fortified. Though the drawings do not clearly indicate it, the villa surely would have been. Even if Dewez's model is an accurate representation of Raphael's (or Sangallo's) intent, I posit, that the villa and its fortifying walls would not be classified as military architecture. As mentioned above, the labeling of fortified structures as military architecture is problematic and has contributed to the obscurity of significant works of Renaissance architecture. Though fortified, their primary use was residential. Modern scholarship refers to this type of architecture as fortified-villas or *fortezze-palazzi*; however, the fortified part receives more attention. This is not surprising considering that defensive or medieval architectural features challenge the image and common perception of the Italian Renaissance villa.

Let's return to Ackerman's claim that the early Renaissance villas perpetuated the architectural vocabulary of medieval castles, citing the Villa Medici at Cafaggiolo as an

[32] Key texts include: Guy Dewez, *Villa Madama: A Memoir Relating to Raphael's Project* (London: Lund Humphries, 1993); Yvonne Elet, *Architectural Invention in Renaissance Rome: Artists, Humanists, and the Planning of Raphael's Villa Madama* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017); David R. Coffin, "The Plans of the Villa Madama," *The Art Bulletin* 49, no. 2 (1967): 111–22.

example. The implication is that the initial villas were new constructions that reused symbols of feudal castles: towers, battlements, and crenellations. However, this was not the case. Cafaggiolo, as well other Medici villas at Careggi and Trebbio, was an existing castle. At the start of the fifteenth century, there were two types of dwellings in the Tuscan countryside: the garden house and the castle, the latter with an estate worked by farmhands. Tuscan castles were located on high hills and owned by nobles, like the castles in the Roman countryside discussed earlier. Alberti, in his treatise, makes a similar distinction noting that there are two types of country houses: those for agricultural activity and those strictly for pleasure.[33] There is then, a continuity from the fourteenth-century Tuscan castles to the fifteenth-century Renaissance villas. The myth of the Renaissance would lead to the assumption that the license and delight permitted in the use of the ornament became the norm for villas in the mid-to-late fifteenth century. However, throughout the remainder of the century, rural residences showed little indication of *all'antica* inspiration in their form; medieval-styled fortified structures continued to be built.[34] The Villa Giovannina, (Fig. 2.12), for example, in the Bolognese countryside, looks more like a medieval castle than a Renaissance villa. The original villa (it has undergone substantial renovation) was built for Giovanni Bentivoglio, *principe* of Bologna. It was completed in 1504, two years after Bramante's *all'antica* masterpiece, the Tempietto.[35]

The continued construction of fortified villas late into the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century was commonplace, though the villas' lack of acceptance as Renaissance architecture reinforces the stylistic prejudices that have been mentioned in this chapter. I offer for further evidence two buildings under construction in the 1480s: the Villa Medici at Poggio a

[33] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 141.
[34] Philip Ellis Foster, "A Study of Lorenzo de'Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano (Volumes I - III)," *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses* (Ph.D., Yale University, 1976), 208.
[35] The existing structure is the result of sixteenth- and nineteenth -century reconstructions and renovations.

Caiano and the Rocca di Ostia. The former, designed by Giuliano da Sangallo, is perhaps the quintessential Italian villa. The stucco-faced quadrilateral residence set on a podium, became, according to Ackerman, a paradigm for later villas, including Palladio's Villa Rotunda (Fig. 2.13).[36] Though only a third was completed by the untimely death of its owner, Lorenzo de Medici, the completed building has been characterized as a harmonious *all'antica* villa, designed in humanist traditions and fulfilling every requirement Alberti prescribed for the ideal country residence.[37]

There is no debating that Lorenzo's villa is the archetype of what we understand as a Renaissance villa: it signaled the emergence of a new building type. However, we must also understand that when built it was atypical. Humanist ideas of reviving an antique country lifestyle were initially less architectural. The importance of the countryside in humanist thought centered primarily on well-being, quietness, and relaxation—an escape from city life. Early on, places for retreat were not villas, but castles possessed by wealthy landowners. Prior to the construction of the villa at Poggio a Caiano, Medici countryside-humanist pursuits occurred in the castellated villas at Cafaggiolo and Trebbio.[38] It should be noted that although Lorenzo renovated each of these structures there were no significant exterior changes or alterations. The alterations that were made such as the addition of ornament (antique inspired columns, for example), followed Alberti's advice to make beautiful that which was bare and unharmonious. What we can glean from this is that humanist attitudes towards architecture found their way into

[36] Ackerman, "The Villa as Paradigm," 21.
[37] Janet Cox-Rearick, "Themes of Time and Rule at Poggio a Caiano: The Portico Frieze of Lorenzo Il Magnifico," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26, no. 2 (1982): 10.
[38] For details regarding the residence that Lorenzo purchased and renovated see Foster, "A Study of Lorenzo de'Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano (Volumes I - III)," chap. 4.

civic, public architecture more readily than they did into residential architecture. One could question if a villa is more an idea than an architectural prescription.

It has been suggested that the term 'villa' does not apply to the house or *casino* but the entire complex or estate. Villa life was seen as an ordering of nature and architecture.[39] A particular reading of Alberti's discussion on the villa may support this idea. The most important feature of a villa is its ability to provide a convenient and comfortable place of repose in, as Alberti insists, the healthiest part of a healthy region.[40] The country house is simply a structure, one with little architectural importance, and one that can be fortified or not, though its fortification was preferred because it acted as a deterrent. The romanticization of Italian villas has skewed our understanding of the term 'villa' and highlights the dangers architectural historians face in attempting to categorize country houses.[41] This is particularly true for the Villa Madama. Scholars have noted Raphael's attempt to recreate an *all'antica* villa to suit his humanist patron, citing visits to ancient villas and the desire to evoke the lifestyle and the experience of the villa described by Pliny the Younger (61-113 C.E.). In a letter to Gallus, the ancient Roman magistrate describes in detail his villa located near Ostia. It is an affectionate description of the layout of his seaside retreat, highlighting the beauty and good health afforded by the site. Very few details about the architecture are given, though he is keen to note which spaces provide views to the sea, receive the rays of the sun, or protection from the winds. Convenience, comfort, and charm are undoubtedly the essential qualities of Pliny's villas while the architecture is secondary.[42] In other letters where Pliny talks about a villa, his or others, the

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[39] Inge Jackson Reist, "Raphael and the Huamnist Villa," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 3, no. 4 (July 1984): 18.
[40] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, bk. 5:14.
[41] Amanda Lillie, "The Humanist Villa Revisited," in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italhy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, n.d.), 200.
[42] Pliny gives very little description of the interior spaces, though he is eager to note when rooms receive ample sun or those suitable to the winter, for they are "out of the reach of the wind." He speaks of pillars fitted with pipes to

villa is the place where writing, reading and other studious activities take place, a *locus amoenus*. In Villa Madama, Raphael attempted to translate the ancient Roman idea of a villa to meet the architectural interests of his humanist client. Considerable attention is given to the architecture in this regard, with the result being that the architecture is the villa. Instead, the concept of the villa is best described in the letter written by Raphael to Cardinal Giulio de Medici. In the style of Pliny, Raphael takes the reader on a bodily experience where one is encouraged to imagine the pleasures and beauty of the complex: the views, the landscape, and the architecture. The described setting is fundamentally a place for respite and reflection.[43]

Recognizing the villa as more than an architectural object that adheres to a particular stylistic or architectural language expands the perception of what constitutes the villa as a type. Earlier I used the term 'castellated-villas' to describe the Medici villas at Cafaggiolo and Trebbio, which may seem to be a contradiction, however, the castle can be considered the first architectural structure connected to the idea of the villa. Medieval castellated features survived into the Renaissance, and at times were combined with classical features.[44] Castellated features project a sense of defense, so it is not surprising that Renaissance patrons of architecture consciously continued this medieval ornament with the real threat of attack from mercenaries or political rivals.[45] Hence, fortified structures should not stand in contrast to the bucolic perception of villa life. Such awareness allows the historian to shed the constraints of Renaissance

keep the rooms at healthy temperatures, and draws attention to the exercise ground where the spray of the sea can be felt and the ground is soft and yielding to the bare feet.

[43] For more on the letter see Elet, *Architectural Invention in Renaissance Rome,* chapter 1.

[44] As mentioned earlier this typically took the form of the addition of loggias with Ionic columns, like those at Villa Medici Careggi, designed by Michelozzo. Howard Saalman has suggested that the juxtaposition of Gothic and classical forms was characteristic of Michelozzo. See Howard Saalman, "The Palazzo Comunale in Montepulciano: An Unknown Work by Michelozzo," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 28, no. 1/2 (1965): 9.

[45] My use of the word 'ornament' is intentional. When Alberti discusses the planning of walls and towers he notes that the cornices act as ornament. What he means by cornice is the upper portion of the tower (the ledge) that extends beyond the face of the tower, supported by corbeled bricks and mounted by merlons.

prejudices and speak fluidly about fortified villas, bringing into the discourse those buildings at the fringes or simply characterized as military architecture, and acknowledging the defensive features of popular Renaissance villas. Accepting that the Villa Madama may have had crenelated walls and circular towers should not diminish our appreciation of it but rather should enhance it. Recognition of the defensive features of Renaissance villas allows for a reassessment of structures like Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano. Its isolated position on a hill and surrounded by bastioned towers opens it up for interpretation as a castle or *rocca*.[46]

Rocca as Villa[47]

The medieval typology of noble buildings (castles) persisted into the Renaissance though slightly modified. In the Po Valley, there are sixteenth-century country retreats (for pleasure) that have military features, such as towers and turrets, that are more decorative than functional.[48] In this way, there is a direct line from the medieval castle to the Italian Renaissance villa. In *Italian Villas and Gardens* the authors include two renovated castles located in the Roman Campagna: Villa Giustiniani in Bassano (Fig. 2.14) and Villa Orsini in Pitigliano (Fig. 2.15). While the inclusion of these castles in a book on Renaissance villas supports my argument, the fact that there is a picture of Villa Giustiniani and not one of Villa Orsini highlights the residual stylistic bias. The renovations of Villa Giustiniani were more extensive than those of the Villa Orsini,

[46] From Emanuele Repetti's account, Charles V, upon a visit possibly to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Margaret and Alessandro de Medici, noted that the walls were too strong for a '*attadino*.' Foster translated '*attadino*' as *cittadino* or private citizen, though that could not have been the case since he is the one that put Alessandro in power. I surmise the intended word is *contadino* or farmer. This is more likely given the agricultural history of the estate. See: Foster, "A Study of Lorenzo de'Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano (Volumes I - III)," 264.
[47] The following section is not meant to suggest that villa typology is the same throughout Italy, nor are they all associated with dynastic or territorial control aided my military force—as the word '*rocca'* may suggest.
[48] See Alberto Faliva, ed., *Ville del Rinascimento padano: i bastioni, il portico e la fattoria = the bastions, the portico and the farmyard,* (Milano: Electa, 2010).

such that the medieval castle is no longer recognizable.[49] On the other hand, there is no mistaking the Villa/Palazzo Orsini as a castle. Following this line of stylistic bias and selective inclusion, I return to Benevolo's distinction of the Renaissance as a cultural movement rather than a historical period. Disregarding the latter hinders the ability to study change and progress, factors key in making distinctions. The outlined progression from castle to villa illustrates the confluence of typologies.

When reinserted into the historical context it is evident that the *rocca/castello* as a residence of military nobility did not change with the end of feudalism. The feudal lords of the Middle Ages became the military nobles of the Renaissance, otherwise known as barons and *condottieri*. Though many moved into the city, others renovated existing castles or built new *rocche.* Architectural treatises of the period, most notably Francesco di Giorgio's, prescribed a new architectural language for these structures which required updated defensive capabilities. In essence, di Giorgio's designs are a modernization of the castles of the military noble— a modernization that responded to innovations in weaponry. Stylistically, the crenelated buildings in Martini's treatise have more in common with their medieval predecessors, though they establish the foundation for the fortified country houses prescribed by Sebastiano Serlio in Book VI of his treatise. While Serlio's Renaissance-style, pentagonal planned 'House for the Tyrant Prince' (Fig 2.16), also referred to as a fortress, is frequently discussed in relation to the Villa Farnese Caprarola, the surrounding fortifications often go unnoticed. Enclosed with a bastioned curtain wall, the villa sits in a wide dry moat. This, I posit, is drawn from di Giorgio's *rocca*

[49] The original castle was built in the thirteenth century as the seat of a small fief for the Anguillara family. The fief was acquired in 1595 by the Giustiniani family who were responsible for the Renaissance-style changes. An extensive garden was added to the castle/palazzo with a casino (small house). This casino is also called *rocca.* See Paul van der Ree, Gerrit. Smienk, and Clemens M. Steenbergen, *Italian Villas and Gardens* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992), 171.

designs, in particular the pentagonal option (Fig 2.17).[50] The aim of such a design, be it the classically skinned villas of Serlio or the crenelated castles of di Giorgio, is the protection of the *signori*. Whether it was a military noble, baron, prince, tyrant, cardinal, or even pope what is clear is that these structures were residences, places of respite. However, their status required a particular level of defense, not only for themselves but also for the territory whose seat was the *rocca* (fortified villa).

Earlier, I noted that the word *rocca*, and the architecture associated with it in the sixteenth century, is often called a fortified-villa or *fortezza-palazzo*. This, I sustain, is an unwillingness to recognize these structures for what they are: castles. A 'fortified villa' seems to be a more acceptable title in the Renaissance architectural history lexicon. Without question castle architecture forms part of the medieval architectural imagery, but the desire to create a clean break between medieval and Renaissance architecture suggests that the castle no longer existed or did not belong to the Renaissance imaginary. One should consider the *rocca* as nothing more than the sixteenth-century modernization of the castle, revamped to meet the current defensive needs.[51]

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[50] There are numerous options for the design of *rocche,* many of which assume the traditional hilltop *rocca* location. The pentagonal option, di Giorgio notes, is when the fort is vulnerable to attack "*da le macchine"* from all sides, which suggests a countryside location. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di Architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. Corrado Maltese, vol. 2 (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1967), 477.
The comparison I am making is not one-to-one, though they do share the concept of enclosing the main fortress/residence with a curtain wall and situating it in a dry moat.

[51] Francesco di Giorgio attests to this: in the *Fortezze* chapter he is essentially outlining new and modern forms of *rocche e castella.* Francesco di Giorgio Martini and Corrado Maltese, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, vol. 1 (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1967), 6.

The Case for Ostia

In 1483 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was bestowed the bishopric of Ostia, the "most important bishopric of the regions around Rome."[52] As one of ancient Rome's original colonies founded in the 4th century B.C.E., it developed from a castrum into the main port-city of Rome, Ostia held great economic and commercial significance.[53] After the founding of Portus, present-day Fiumicino, and the construction of a larger harbor, Ostia became a town for wealthy traders and merchants, essentially a suburb of Portus. The decline of Ostia's importance spared it from the numerous attacks that befell Portus, although by the fifth century it was on the verge of collapse. After the attack by the Saracens in the ninth century, the city was completely abandoned. In response, Pope Gregory IV built a small hamlet to the east of the ruined Ostia, likely to protect the burial site of Sant'Aurea and the valuable salt pans. Originally named Gregoriopolis (now Ostia Antica), the small, fortified village is where Cardinal della Rovere built his countryside retreat along the banks of the Tiber River.

Most architectural historians would not characterize the Rocca di Ostia as a countryside retreat. However, given its location—a short distance from the theoretical location of Pliny's Laurentine villa—and the size of the hamlet it could not be anything else. Any notions of defensive importance were due to its proximity to Rome and protection of the nearby salt pans. The early inhabitants of Gregoriopolis were those who worked the salt pans. Nonetheless, della Rovere's castle was not unlike any of the other *castelli* or *rocche* that dotted the Roman countryside. It perhaps also functioned as a citadel for the village since the original one had fallen into disrepair. Its primary role was as a residence; one that housed Roman dignitaries,

[52] Christine Shaw, *Julius II, The Warrior Pope* (Oxford; Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), 48. Ostia was one of the first seven suburbicarian dioceses, reserved for the members of the highest order of Catholic cardinals, the cardinal bishops, whose jurisdiction was subject only to the pope.
[53] In addition, Ostia was a center for the storage of grain, which was the major staple of the Roman diet.

including the pope, and was richly decorated with frescos. A respite for those traveling to or from Rome. Its strategic location and architectural language have unfortunately resulted in the classification of *Castello di Giulio* as military architecture. The *castello* shares the same architectural language as the fortified exterior of the aforementioned Sistine Chapel—both designed by Baccio Pontelli, who was also responsible for the classically inspired cathedral of S. Aurea adjacent to the *castello*.

This classification or designation of a structure as military architecture simply because of its crenelated articulation and castle appearance is flawed. In the case of Rocca di Ostia, some have praised it for its innovative conception[54] of how its "plastic forms" represent the progress of military architecture, though such statements prove that the authors are not properly reading the architecture. [55] The form of the building is nothing more than a direct response to the constraints of the site: an existing tower, which he incorporated, and the existing parish church, not to mention the Tiber River (Fig. 2.18). These three factors determined the form of the building, not military principles or techniques. The overreaching and predetermination of these structures as military architecture detracts from the architecture's true function.

If we are to compare the Rocca di Ostia with the Rocca Galliera in Bologna (Fig. 2.19), built by Pope Julius II 25 years later, there is a discernible difference in function. The latter is the only one of the two that can rightfully be labeled as military architecture. Built in 1508, the Rocca Galliera was intended to house armed forces in defense of the pope's authority. [56] The

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[54] Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento.*, 155.
[55] de la Croix, *Military Considerations in City Planning: Fortifications.*, 40.
[56] The same year that Cardinal della Rovere was granted the bishopric of Ostia he was also given the bishopric of Bologna. In 1508, as pope, he led an army into Bologna to reclaim the city from the Bentivoglio and return it to the papal states. As a demonstration of his papal dominion, he rebuilt a rocca at the Porta Galliera. Like its five predecessors the Rocca Galliera was later destroyed. For a thorough account of the Rocca Galliera see Giancarlo Benevolo, *Il Castello di Porta Galliera: fonti sulla fortezza papale di Bologna, 1330-1511* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2006).

castello in Ostia was like Lorenzo di Medici's villa in Poggio a Caiano in its conception more than that of the Rocca Galliera. As Christine Shaw has noted, the Rocca di Ostia became one of the cardinal's favorite residences, a place where he loved to relax, fish and hunt.[57] It was a place to which he would escape when the pressures of Rome became stressful. In 1493 it became an actual place of refuge as he fled Rome to escape the wrath of Pope Alexander VI. Nonetheless, the *castello/rocca* should be seen more as a country residence than a fortress. If it were part of a larger estate crafted for humanist pursuits, perhaps, an argument could be made that the *castello/rocca* should be considered a villa.

It is the perception of a defensive architectural language associated with the words *castello* and *rocca* that seems to prevent such buildings from being considered villas. Though, what of villas that have defensive features? The bastioned towers at Poggio a Caiano, (Fig. 2.20), as well as the towers at Villa Madama, have not precluded them from being villas or conversely, resulted in their being called *castelli.* The notable distinction is found in the difference between perimeter defense and architectural defense. The latter is where the building anticipates the attack. In the case of the former, the defensive wall with its battlements and crenellations indicates that the owner of the residence behind the wall was of a higher class and possessed a certain amount of power. For Alberti, this man would be a tyrant; a benevolent prince would not need walls. However, what Alberti describes as the residence of a tyrant—a fortress that resembles the apartment of a fine prince located on a hill for security[58]—is, on one hand, a castle, and on the other, a Renaissance villa. Two exemplary instances, already discussed, are the Villa Medici a Poggio a Caiano and Palladio's Villa Rotunda in Vicenza. Both are located on

[57] Shaw, *Julius II, The Warrior Pope*, 48.
[58] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 122.

hilltops, enclosed by walls and set back on all sides from all other buildings, contrary to Alberti's description of a villa, which he stated should be at the base of mountains.

The discrepancy highlights the tension between theory and the application of architecture. Those who built villas required a certain level of protection and security, illustrating the dangers and threat of violence. There was fear that Lorenzo di Medici could easily be killed at his estate at Poggio a Caiano because it had yet to be fortified.[59] However, Lorenzo and his family resided in a renovated fortress for years before construction began on his villa. Hence, the location of Lorenzo's villa was in line with the extant castles of the region. Another example of borrowing is the Rocca Pisana, or Villa Pisani (Fig. 2.21), by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Located on the crown of a hill near the town of Lonigo in the Veneto, the Villa Rotonda-inspired country retreat sits atop the remains of a demolished *rocca*—hence its name—overlooking the owner's landholdings. The Villa Pisani highlights the naming convention issues discussed earlier.[60] Conceivably, an argument for correlation between (the idea of) the villa and the *rocca* can be made. At a fundamental level, both can be viewed as country retreats of nobility. Even the most ornate villas *were* built as signs of authoritarian power and jurisdiction.

Civita Castellana

On his campaign to reclaim the cities of Bologna and Perugia, Pope Julius II stopped in the small town Civita Castellana. During his two-day stay, he lodged delightedly in the *rocca* built by Pope Alexander VI, currently known as the Forte Sangallo (Fig. 2.22). He spent one day admiring the structure ordering repairs and commissioning new work from Bramante, who had

[59] Foster, "A Study of Lorenzo de'Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano (Volumes I - III)," 70.
[60] Another example is the Villa Caprarola. If built to the original intentions and design it would undoubtedly be known as Rocca Caprarola or Rocca Farnese.

accompanied him. The renovations ordered by Julius II were representative of the new Roman *all'antica* style of architecture, a style initiated by Bramante, though it is worth noting that the existing Borgia fort was not devoid of classical decorum. The thought of a classically styled fort seems strange, though Pope Alexander did not commission a fort but a *palazzo*.[61] He entrusted a pair of architects to work on the project Perino da Caravaggio and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder.[62] Antonio had established himself as a skilled military architect having worked on the refortification of Castel Sant'Angelo for Alexander VI, yet he was also a competent civic architect. As part of Alexander's papal defensive strategies and dynastic desire, there was a need for the structure to also work as a fortification; hence the result is more than a *fortezza-palazzo*. It is, as historian Maurizi Gargano noted, a "*fortezza-in-forma-di-palazzo."*

The Borgia *rocca* is indeed a fortress in the form of a palazzo, a hybrid. Sangallo's court of honor (Fig. 2.23) is comparable in style and sensibility to any other courtyard of the period, such as the Palazzo di Venezia (Fig. 2.24), The courtyard's sense of monumentality comes from its adherence to classical architecture—Ionic over Doric orders—and the ingenuity of dissociating the entablatures with the short floor-to-floor heights. This maneuver allows the court to be higher and feel grander. Combined with the elegant loggia, sizable papal apartments lined with frescos, the building is a proper palazzo, even though there are rooms dedicated to housing soldiers. Nonetheless, the ordered columns and architraves in the octagonal tower, with its own courtyard, indicate that splendor came before defense.

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[61] The pope actually commissioned two, one for Civita Castellana and one for Nepi. Maurizio Gargano, "La rocca di Civita Castellana e un cortile all'antica: Alessandro VI e Antonio da Sangallo Il Vecchio," in *Le Rocche Alessandrine e La rocca di Civita Castellana: Atti del convegno (Viterbo 19-20 Marzo 2001)*, ed. Myriam Chiabò and Maurizio Gargano (Saggi: Archivio di Stato Saggi, 2003), 67–88.

[62] There is not a lot of accessible information on Perino da Caravaggio, but he is mentioned in the presence of notable architects such as the Sangallo brothers and Raphael.

In discussing the Rocca di Civita Castellana, Christoph Frommel describes it as an extraordinary synthesis between a *rocca* and *palazzo.* The hybridity suggested by Frommel's description and the phrase *fortezza-in-forma-di-palazzo* basically designates a castle. Here, unlike the castellated villas discussed earlier, the Forte Sangallo (its current name) is a true representation of an *all'antica* castle. Though styled in *all'antica* fashion its form and composition make its medieval Italian castle roots easily discernible.[63] It is, I suggest, a reimagined and modernized interpretation of the castle. In considering Rocca di Civita Castellana as a castle, we must recognize that its residential function and its defensive role are fundamental to its identity. As noted earlier, the feudal military nobles were also the social elite. In Renaissance Italy there was no change; the *condottiere* and the *signore* were one and the same. In this construct, the pope should be included. Even if not a soldier by trade, the pope's desire for territorial sovereignty was as strong as, if not stronger than, that of the military princes of Italian communes. Such desire demanded the establishment or acquisition (even if by force) of forts, castles, and citadels. Scattered throughout the countryside, these buildings were unlike the villas intended for rest and humanistic pursuits. Rather, they served as sentinels of power and jurisdiction. As seats of power and authority, it would have been only fitting that the architecture be of appropriate taste and comfort—like a palazzo. Hence, when Shaw tells us that Pope Julius enjoyed visiting the forts in papal territories, the visits were more than inspections of military architecture; they were also the enjoyment of well-appointed palaces.[64]

One may question to what extent the so-called *rocche,* such as Rocca di Civita Castellana or the Rocca Paolina in Perugia (Fig 2.25), were built solely for military purposes. The

[63] The Castello d'Este in Ferrara and the Castello di San Giorgio in Mantua are what I consider as predecessors. The only real difference between these two and Rocca di Civita Castellan is the change from tall towers to low bastions.
[64] Shaw, *Julius II, The Warrior Pope*, 152.

construction efforts of the Rocca di Civita Castellana were part of Pope Alexander VI's attempt to strengthen the defense towns along the main access to Rome. He did not want a reprise of the French's effortless passage into the city. Broadly seen as an act of bolstering papal defense, the first renovations and improvements, however, were made to places under his personal lordship (lands owned before he became pope). The Borgia pope (like those before him) conducted himself more like a secular *signore* than the head of the church, which resembled an absolute monarchy.[65] It was not until Charles VIII returned to Paris that Pope Alexander VI began a larger campaign to renew papal defenses. Starting with the buildings that belonged to the Borgia family it was clear that his intentions were less about papal state protection than dynastic investiture. One does not build forts to leave as an inheritance; one builds castles.

As a point of contrast, forts and fortresses are genuine works of military architecture. They serve no other purpose than to be a guarded outpost, located along important routes to defend against, or at least impede the advance of attackers. While castles were also intended to function in this way, their duality as a palace indicates that the defense of family was more important than the defense of the state. Originally, fortresses and large castle estates that served as fortresses were able to garrison large numbers of men needed to control the countryside. As the towns around them grew in size and population the need for offensive control of the countryside was no longer necessary. Hence, the castle's role as a fortress diminished and primarily became a fortified residence. This is not to suggest that the castles or *rocche* were without armed protection; many had dedicated spaces for in-house soldiers yet the number of spaces was small. The Rocca di Civita Castellana, for example, had several *allogi* dedicated to

[65] Giovanni Pesiri and Stefania Tarquini, "Aree strategiche e attenzioni alessandrine," in *Le Rocche Alessandrine e La rocca di civita castellana: Atti del convegno (Viterbo 19-20 Marzo 2001)*, ed. Myriam Chiabò and Maurizio Gargano (Saggi: Archivio di Stato Saggi, 2003), 26.

soldiers with adjacent stables, though too few to house enough soldiers to launch an offensive (Fig 2.26). In the years between 1480-1503, there were 15 soldiers (called *paghe*) at the Rocca.[66]

The inherent military inclination associated with architecture labeled *rocca, castello, forte* is compounded by the confusion of their commutability (Rocca di Civita Castellana, Castello di Borgia, Forte Sangallo). Based on what has been discussed thus far, many of these buildings—particularly those built in the late fourteenth century and afterward—are more palatial than martial. Even in the scholarship, there is equivocation around how to refer to these buildings, such that scholars attempt to have it both ways by calling them palace-fortresses. In my opinion it is simpler to refer to these large, fortified residences of the noblest of men as castles though even this word is fraught with misconceptions.[67] In the case of the Borgia castles in Civita Castellana and Nepi, scholars acknowledge that both were conceived as papal residences, to which the pope could escape, presumably to avoid attacks from the Roman citizenry. Defining them as a fortified place of refuge would make *rocca* an appropriate title, though we have to remember that at this time there was an understood difference between *rocca* and castle.[68] For example, historian Cherubino Ghirardacci, in discussing the construction of the Castello di Galliera in Bologna, states that the papal legate ordered that the "*rocca del castello"* be supplied with items (artillery, munitions, gun powder, flour, salt, oil, etc…) taken from the

[66] Nico Ottaviani and Maria Grazia, *Rocche e fortificazioni nello stato della chiesa*, vol. 13, Università degli Studi di Perugia. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Pubblicazioni (Napoli, 2004).
[67] History comprises words just as it does architecture. The association of the word castle with anything medieval or feudal has tinged it with military meanings. This is especially true in the Italian context. There is a distinct lore or appreciation of the English castle, one associated with chivalry and royalty. The French word *château*, which stems from the word castle, has a much more pretentious association as a large, elegant house of a wealthy individual.
[68] Earlier in the chapter I noted that Francesco di Giorgio distinguished between castles and forts/*rocche.*

palace of Giovanni Bentivoglio.[69] The '*rocca'* was likely the *mastio* that rose above the residential core of the castle. The list of supplies taken from the palace matches closely with those prescribed by Francesco di Giorgio for the *torri principali* of a *fortezza*: grain, wine, oil, salt, ammunition, etc...[70] Hence, *rocca* was clearly understood in terms of its historical connotation: a place of last defense. But unlike the *Arx,* the early modern *rocca* was not for the masses; it was only for the *signore di castello* and his family.[71]

Rocche Papali: Images of Power and Oppression

The one constant between a castle as a residential architecture palace and the fort as military architecture is the control of land. Warfare is about the control of land. The forts (and even cities) built on conquered land symbolize that control. When Pope Julius II decided to rebuild the Rocca di Galliera in 1508 and the adjacent citadel, he intended it as a sign of papal authority and territorial jurisdiction.[72] Similarly, the 1540 construction of the Rocca Paolina in Perugia by Pope Paul III was a definitive display of his power as pope. Both structures were the result of papal conquests and the ousting of defiant oligarchical families: the Bentivoglio and the Baglioni. Thus far, consideration has been given to the residential aspect of *rocche, fortezze,* and *castelli*, while tempering any military-political significance. However, it would be disingenuous

[69] "*... il legato animosamente faceva fornire la rocca del castello che era alla porta di Galliera d'artigli[e]ria i et di munitione, togliendo frumento, arme polvere, farina, oglio, aceto, sale e altre cose simili del Palazzo di Giovanni Bentivoglio.."*Cherubino Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna: parte terza* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1932), 367.
[70] "*..grano, vino, aceto, sale, carne salta e olio... salnitro, solfo e carbone.*" Martini, *Trattati Di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare*, 1967, 2:442.
[71] In other instances, when the Pope or member of his family was not present at the *rocca* or castle, there was an appointed *castellano della rocca* who would act as a papal governor of the commune. For those *rocche* in papal control, the *castellano della rocca* would change with a change in pope, the position, at times, went to a family member. Lucrezia Borgia's status as Castellana of the Rocca di Nepi is a good example.
[72] Given the previous section on the difference between a castle and a *rocca* the Castello/*Rocca* di Galliera can be considered an exception to the rule. Though it is noted as having a residential component the pope had no interest in making it into a papal residence. He and subsequent popes typically stayed in the Palazzo del Comune.

to ignore completely any relationship between architectures of jurisdiction and the violence (or threat thereof) associated with gaining control of the land.

The Papal States were created in 756 with the so-called 'Donation of Pepin.' In that year the Frankish King Pepin—protector of Rome—defeated the Lombards at Pavia. As a result, the Lombards were required to transfer the possession of territories (Ravenna, Rimini, and Urbino to name a few) to the papal republic. Thus, the transfer of control allowed the popes to expand their temporal powers for the first time beyond Rome: they were now worldly princes in addition to being Vicars of Christ. As such, they were obligated to defend their territory against attack, even if it required taking up secular arms. Ecclesiastical issues notwithstanding, as a head of state the pope needed to display a sense of strength, particularly in these times where respect and honor came through physical force.

Pope Julius II held the conviction that his strength as a secular ruler correlated to his ability to enforce his spiritual authority. Military campaigns initiated by a pope could be validated as 'just' if they were seen as righting a wrong or retrieving something that had been taken. Julius II's campaign against Bologna and Perugia found justification in the latter; Paul III's 1535 triumphal entrance into Perugia was justified by the former.[73]

Both popes were well within their right as temporal rulers to take offensive action against the local despotic leaders. The praise that each received as they triumphantly entered the city suggests that the citizens felt better about papal authority; however, those feelings did not last long and both cities later rebelled against it. As temporal leaders and noted patrons of architecture, Julius and Paul commissioned the construction or renovation of several

[73] In 1534 Rodolfo Baglioni murdered the vice-legate of Perugia. Upon hearing the news, the pope ordered that troops be sent to Perugia, to avenge the death of the vice-legate. A new vice-legate was installed on the first of January. The pope arrived in Perugia nine months later.

fortifications in papal territories. Hence, the construction of the Rocca Galliera and the Rocca Paolina would appear to be reasonable yet upon further consideration, both are examples of the use of architecture as a statement of subjugation. Constructed soon after successful military campaigns that crushed challenges to papal authority, the *rocche* were more like the *fortezze* and *rocche* discussed above; they were not just markers of territorial control, nor were they simply fortified residences. These structures were intended to convey a decisive message of deterrence and dominance, highlighted by their location and size. The paradox is that the architecture became representative of the same oppression and tyranny that the popes fought to combat.

In discussing the Rocca Paolina, Alberto Grohman uses the phrase "*la fortezza immagine di potere e di oppressione.*"[74] The intention to demolish the oligarchical power of the Baglioni is made manifest by raising the palazzo on the razed palaces of the Baglioni. The absolute power of the papacy was thus made apparent. It was not just the Baglioni that drew the ire of the Pope; the entire city had rebelled against him and his imposed salt tax. For their insurrection, the citizens were compelled to build a physical form of his victory. It was a humiliating act of submission, which proved to be a scourge to the Perugini for centuries. The palazzo portion was a "brutal" architectural intervention, placed within an existing urban environment that created an inhospitable space, which encouraged animosity towards the papacy (and the Farnese), violence, and its ultimate destruction.[75] Because of its urban setting, unlike many of the *rocche* previously

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[74] Alberto Grohmann, *Perugia* (Roma: Laterza, 1981), 91.

[75] Rita Chiacchella, "Per una reinterpretazione della 'guerra del sale' e della costruzione della Rocca Paolina in Perugia," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 145, no. 1 (531) (1987): 11. The *rocca* consisted of two parts - a fortified palazzo on the Landone hill and a more traditional fortress located in the landscape - connected by a massive corridor. The inherent dichotomy in both raises the question whether the *rocca* was meant to defend the Perugini or the Farnese. Even though its construction was seen as an act by the pope, most scholars accept that the palazzo was intended for the Pier Luigi Farnese, the pope's son and captain of the papal army. According to authors, Paolo Camerieri and Fabio Palombaro it was Pier Luigi who ordered the construction of the palazzo as he was the one to meet with Antonio upon his arrival. See Paolo Camerieri, Antonio da Sangallo, and Fabio Palombaro, *Progetto e realizzazione della Rocca Paolina di Perugia: una macchina architettonica di Antonio da Sangallo, il Giovane* (Perugia: Era Nuova, 2002), 10. Though there were subsequent changes that resulted in the structure being more fort-like than

discussed, its size, formal austerity and contextual contrast contributed to the feeling of subordination (Fig. 2.27). In other words, the monumentality of the palazzo underscored class distinctions, exclusivity, and social control. In this case, the connotations of the word 'monumentality' are negative, evoking smallness, awe (fear), and might.

Conclusions

The subject of this chapter has been the problem of segregating "so-called" military architecture from the broader discourse of Renaissance architectural history. The neglect of buildings like the Forte Sangallo or the, now ruined, Forte dei Borgia in Nepi, (Fig. 2.28) indicates a disregard for the political-military milieu of Renaissance Italy. It is a blatant indifference to a crucial aspect of society that moreover hinders the appreciation of (all) architecture. Architecture is evidence of a historical past. The fort and the palace come from the same history wherein the exclusion of one results in the partial suppression of that history.

I return to the question I proposed above regarding the arbiter of taste. The reason for posing these questions was to critically think about how we understand Renaissance architecture, particularly which (type of) buildings receive acclaim. The chapter has illustrated that many of the structures referred to as castles or forts are not too dissimilar from the famed palazzos typically studied. This omission is more than a question of typology or classification—it is squarely one of taste. At a broad level taste refers to the judgment of an object's aesthetic virtue. Hence, it seems that decisions on what gets included in the general discourse are the whims of architectural historians. Inflammatory as this claim may be, it is clear to me that the narrative of the *all'antica* architecture of the Renaissance—Benevolo's phrase—has superseded the

palazzo-like, the intention of it being a palace can be seen as a means to expand Farnese dynastic authority. At this point Pier Luigi had not yet become Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Perhaps Perugia was intended as an intermediate step between the Duchies of Nepi and Castro and Parma and Piacenza.

consideration of other examples of Renaissance architecture. The (mis)classification of some buildings as military architecture aids in this obfuscation. The preconception of a palazzo as an unfortified (or at the very least defenseless) princely residence ignores the fortified appearance of early palazzos such as the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence or the Palazzo Venezia in Rome. Their rusticated façades find their roots in medieval castles, where, according to Ackerman, rustication implied military and public functions.[76] The fact remains that the Renaissance patron commissioned some buildings in an *all'antica* style and some without. Their dutiful architects designed and built buildings in an *all'antica* style and some without. If, as historians, we can speak about the magnificence of the former, we should be able to speak about the monumentality of the latter.

[76] Ackerman, "The Villa as Paradigm," 29.

Chapter 3: Power and Punishment

On February 24, 1530, Pope Clement VII and Charles V, King of Spain, stood in an opening on the second floor of the Palazzo dei Signori (now the Palazzo Comunale) in Bologna. From their elevated position (Fig. 3.1), they could view the throng of people gathered in the secured piazza below, each there to witness an event of great historical significance. The unlikely pair's descent from a bridge constructed for the event marked the commencement of Charles V's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. Framed by the Palazzo del Podestà to their left and the cathedral of San Petronio to their right, the two leaders landed on an elevated platform in the Piazza Maggiore, surrounded by Italian dignitaries and foreign ambassadors, armed, and dressed in white. As its name suggests, the Piazza Maggiore was the heart of Bologna in the sixteenth century (Fig. 3.2) and remains so to this day. Like many central piazzas of the time, it was a fundamental element of urban life, where rituals were performed, identities created, and political and social positions defined.[1] The space of the piazza and the facades of the surrounding buildings created a powerful scenography appropriate for any formal ceremony, even those of worldly importance. Formal as it may have been, it was also a festive occasion, evidenced by the fountain of flowing wine and intoxicated individuals.[2] But it soon turned tragic. Moments after Charles V landed in the square, portions of the bridge collapsed, killing many. Though stunned, the Pope and Emperor, along with their retinues, entered the cathedral where a lengthy liturgy

[1] Georgia Clarke, "The Emperor's Hat: City, Space, and Identity in Contemporary Accounts of Charles V's Entry into Bologna in 1529," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16, no. 1/2 (2013): 197.
[2] In addition to the wine, which flowed both red and white, there was the roasting of an entire ox stuffed with chickens, hens, and other animals and distribution of bread to the masses. In all aspects, this was a *festa* that marked the culmination of three months of peace talks between the Pope and the Emperor that sought to bring a change and progress to the Italian Wars that had by that time ravaged the Italian peninsula for more than three decades.

preceded the crowning of Charles V (Fig. 3.3) in what was transformed into a de facto St. Peter's Basilica.[3] Outside, the Piazza Maggiore had changed from a space of celebration to a more familiar space of death.

As a space of rituals and civic identity, the piazza boasts a prominent position in the history of events. Such events, however, are often absent from the architectural history of those spaces, especially those that involve punishment, violence and death. The responsibility of the architectural historian has been to recount the history of the built environment—buildings and spaces. However, this approach often treats the architecture as detached from the historical events that further define them. By contrast, this chapter seeks to locate the architecture of the Piazza in relation to the historical events it hosted. The focus here is not the major historical events such as the coronation of Charles V, but instead the quotidian events such as the rituals involved in the execution of justice.

This chapter explores the common practice of public executions as moralistic demonstrations of justice in Renaissance piazzas, further examining the ramifications of the production and historical reading of those spaces. Bologna serves as the primary case study in the spatially defining acts of sanctioned violent punishment inflicted under the guise of justice.[4] Though public executions were considered legal and justifiable, the power wielded by those in charge gives reason to question whether public punishments were acts of justice or revenge. Piazzas, as spaces of justified violence, contradict their conventionally accepted use as spaces for

[3] Konrad Eisenbichler, "Charles V in Bologna: The Self-Fashioning of a Man and a City," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 4 (December 1, 1999): 434. Eisenbichler notes Charles V initially had concerns with not being crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Rome, as ritual dictated. Although those concerns were dismissed, there was the "need to reinforce sites directly involved with the coronation ceremony into symbolic representations of their counterparts in Rome." This included decorating Bologna's cathedral to resemble the still-under-construction St. Peter's Basilica.
[4] Public executions occurred in practically every city across the peninsula; my choice of Bologna and Rome has more to do with the relationship of the papacy to both cities. As illustrated by the coronation of Charles V, Bologna was a major city within the papal states and had been for centuries.

social and civic engagement. German art historian Wolfgang Lotz (1912-1981) noted that the Piazza Maggiore, like other Italian piazzas, was an institution of the commune, a symbol of the city's freedom. [5] It is an observation that speaks to its dual nature: the piazza as an instrument of political authority and a place of civic identity. Characterized as a space where people collectively participate in social activities in a manner reflective of proper cultural and ethical correctness, the piazza is, more importantly, a stage to display power.[6] The civic significance is often misconstrued as defining a place of jovial or pleasant experiences, though just as it was a place for social encounters it was also a place of conflict and pain.

In many instances, piazzas are framed by monumental buildings—buildings that reinforce the semblance of power. One may then question the role architecture plays in defining or shaping 'proper' behaviors. The functions of the buildings, monumental or not, surrounding the Piazza Maggiore certainly impart their own set of meanings: the Palazzo del Podestà (Fig. 3.4) as the political-executive authority; Palazzo Comunale (Fig. 3.5), as the civic authority; and San Petronio as the spiritual authority. The authoritative and jurisdictional signifiers in the architecture are crucial to the production of the space of the piazza, though, as the chapter will illustrate, equally defining are the activities that take place within them.

Lotz also noted that the three buildings, combined, represented the seat of "*giustiza*."[7] His comment refers to the fact that in the late medieval and early modern times courts (and jails) were located in the Palazzo Comunale and Palazzo del Podestà.[8] Lotz's mention of justice,

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[5] "*...un'istituzione del Comune, [e] un simbolo della libertá cittadina."* Wolfgang Lotz, "I simboli religiosi e del potere," in *La Piazza Maggiore di Bologna: storia, arte, costume*, ed. Giancarlo Roversi, trans. G. Scattone (Bologna: Anibali, 1984), 125.

[6] This summation is more complicated than it initially appears. A further unpacking of this statement will occur later in this chapter. Fabia Zanasi, "Un teatro per ogni rappresentazione," in *La Piazza Maggiore di Bologna: storia, arte, costume*, ed. Giancarlo Roversi (Bologna: Anibali, 1984), 177.

[7] Lotz, "I simboli religiosi e del potere," 125.

[8] The civic court was in the Palazzo del Podestà and the criminal courts in the Palazzo del Comunale.

combined with the presence of political authority, alludes to a type of public space that sanctions a particular kind of violence, one best understood by the shared etymology of the Italian word for justice (*giustizia*) and the word to execute justice/put to death (*giustizare*). In Bologna, Rome, and other Italian Renaissance cities, wrongdoers were often hanged from the front façade of monumental buildings, like the Palazzo del Podestà or the Palazzo dei Senatori on Rome's Campidoglio.

The chapter also reconsiders the role of architecture in the execution of justice, particularly in instances when victims are hanged from buildings, the façade acting as a threshold between the scene and obscene. It raises the question of how architecture aids in the determination of legitimacy. Author David Riches argues that the legitimacy of violence depends on one's position as either performer, victim, or witness.[9] In considering the legitimacy of public executions in a city's main piazza, architecture should be added to the triad of performer, victim, and witness, particularly when the condemned hangs on display like meat in a *macellaria*. In Bologna, executions routinely took place from the *ringhiera*—the central window of the Palazzo del Podestà. It was the culmination of a ritual that commanded the attention of the entire city: a ritual which began in front of the cathedral of San Petronio, where a small mass was held, then paraded around the piazza where citizens became, willingly and unwillingly, participants in *la scena della crudeltà* (the scene of cruelty).[10] The cruelty of public executions sat at the intersection of power and symbolic deterrence, and in Bologna, it was accentuated by the Palazzo's active role in the ritual. The architecture makes the relation between viewer and victim

[9] David Riches, "The Phenomenon of Violence," in *The Anthropology of Violence*, ed. David Riches (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1986).
[10] Dino Mengozzi, "Dalla morte confortata al berretto in aria. Ideologie e rituali delle pubbliche esecuzioni a Bologna fra XVIII e XIX secolo," in *Una società violenta: morte pubblica e brigantaggio nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea*, ed. Daniele Angelini and Dino Mengozzi, Società e cultura 13 (Manduria: Placaita, 1996), 166. See also, Mario Fanti, *Confraternite e città a Bologna nel medioevo e nell'età moderna*, Italia sacra (Herder editrice e libreria) 65 (Roma: Herder, 2001), 170.

more manifest. The image of the condemned framed in the open window of the palazzo had the potential to lead to a reconsideration of the victim's character, thereby assigning attributes of morality to the architecture. The intent, however, was for the architecture to provide the appearance of legitimacy.

The cruelty of executions, were intended as displays of power by the leading authority (prince or papal legate), and meant to deter and prevent future crimes. [11] They were not always successful. To achieve this goal, The ritual of executions aimed to increase the number of people to witness the enactment of justice.[12] However, if the public was meant to recognize the execution of an individual as a display of authoritative power, one could argue that the pursuit of justice was a minor concern. This does not negate the fact that most executions were penalties for heinous crimes, though because violence is defined by the laws that those in power create, the power that the prince or legate holds is not the right to execute but the right to judge. The populace that inhabits the space of the piazza is not a mere bystander—it is an active participant in the rituals of justice and public punishment. The populace as witness is no longer a spectator at a sporting event of torture but an audience member at a real-life Renaissance morality play.[13]

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[11] In addition to instilling fear, deterrence should stir emotions of suffering and grief, which assist in forming particular behaviors and social hierarchies. Fear, suffering and grief fall into what Barbara Rosenwein refers to as performative emotions Barbara Rosenwein, "The Place of Renaissance Italy in the History of Emotions," in *Emotions, Passions, and Power in Renaissance Italy: Proceedings of the International Conference Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze, 5-8 May 2012*, ed. Fabrizio Ricciardelli and Andrea Zorzi, Renaissance History, Art and Culture (Amsterdam: University Press, 2015), 5.

[12] Nicholas Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," in *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 125.

[13] Morality plays are best described as didactic dramas aimed at encouraging repentance and confession where the characters exemplifying vice lead the protagonist into sin, thus setting him or her up to reap the rewards of ultimate repentance; they also stress mercy and forgiveness of sins. Morality plays are usually thought to be motivated by the social and ecclesiastical purpose of urging spectators to confess their transgressions, hence, to be actively engaged in the staging of examples of virtuous behavior. See Claire Sponsler, "Mischievous Governance," in *Drama and Resistance*, NED-New edition, vol. 10, Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 75–103.

Chapter 1 discussed how military treatises bring to light the relationship between the justice system and state control. In medieval and early modern Italian communes, criminal justice played a major role in the growth of the state; it was an instrument of governance.[14] Thus, the notion of a separate, unbiased, judicial branch did not wholly exist, particularly given the influence of rich urban and oligarchical families such as the Medici of Florence or the Bentivoglio of Bologna. The power and influence of the papal legate in Bologna, particularly after the 1508 overthrow of the Bentivoglio cannot be ignored; he was equally powerful. In either scenario, the increased intervention in dealing with law and order created a system geared to protect the hegemony of the state, rather than to preserve the right to due process.[15] The indivisible, if not reciprocal, relationship between the government, princely families, and the pope might have quelled political violence, as Lauro Martines suggests, although, the ways in which power and authority were demonstrated call into consideration the legitimacy of certain forms of justice.[16] The notion that architecture is a form of power is fathomable, but that power can be called into question. In Renaissance Italy, the architecture of power often has an adjacent piazza where the power the architecture symbolized could be on full display.

Renaissance piazzas are complicated places; the beauty of the encompassing facades masks the terrors of its usage. Richard Ingersoll noted the spaces and architecture of the Renaissance can be better interpreted through an understanding of social rituals.[17] To better, or perhaps fully, understand the space of Renaissance piazzas, the ritual of executions deserves the

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[14] Sarah Rubin Blanshei, *Violence and Justice in Bologna, 1250-1700*, (London: Lexington Books, 2018), xxii.
[15] Blanshei, xxii.
[16] Lauro Martines, *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 14. In Bologna, for example, the overthrow of the Bentivoglio by Pope Julius II was not welcomed by everyone. The executions of Bentivoglio allies and sympathizers highlight papal influence in the criminal justice system. Furthermore, it validates government's (princely/papal) role in making laws and defining what breaks those laws but the appropriate punishment as well.
[17] Richard Ingersoll, "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome" (Phd Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 3.

same consideration as the rituals of carnival, papal processions, and coronations. In fact, the routine and frequency of capital and corporal punishments suggest that the social character and spatial production of the Renaissance piazza are constituted by the state's ability to enact justice and, by extension, violence—all tinged with themes of justification, legitimacy, and morality.

To unravel the complexity of Renaissance piazzas, they first must be understood as lived spaces of history, using the work of Henri Lefebvre as an interlocutor. The historical events that occur in these spaces are more influential in the understanding of that space than the architecture that frames it. In the case of Bologna and the Piazza Maggiore, the violence associated with the Bentivoglio family, along with the ritual of capital punishment, infuses the piazza with power. The building from which men are hanged, and left on display, acts as a backdrop to scenes where contemporary notions of virtue, free will, and fate play out—nowhere more striking than two executions involving Pier Luigi Farnese that will be discussed later.

Palazzo e Piazza

In the fall of 1508, Salvadore Salano killed 28 people, one of whom was a woman eight months pregnant. For this crime, he was sentenced to death by hanging. On 14 October, Salano was led to the central window on the second floor of the Piazza del Podestà. Flanked by a comforter and the executioner he stood upon the railing, the *ringhiera* del *Podestà,* practically eye-to-eye with Michelangelo's bronze statue of Pope Julius II, which was perched in its niche above the doors of San Petronio—where it can be interpreted as a symbol of spiritual judgment. After he was pushed over the edge of the *ringhiera* the noose broke and Salano fell to the Piazza, likely thinking his life was spared.[18] Since neither the noose nor the fall killed him, he was

[18] In most instances when an execution went wrong, such as the noose breaking or the guillotine malfunctioning, the mishap was seen as an act of God and the victim was typically spared.

returned to the *ringhiera* and hanged again. The noose broke for a second time and again he fell to the piazza. Whether it was from the noose or the fall, he was dead as he lay in the Piazza Maggiore. Yet for a third time, his corpse was taken up to the *ringhiera* to reenact and reinforce the rites of execution and justice. Salano's body stayed suspended on the façade of the Palazzo until late into the evening.

This account, along with similar tales of public execution, is recorded in Bologna's *Catologo di giustizia* (Catalog of Justice).[19] The documenting of such events may seem macabre, particularly given the fact that there is no mention of trials or convictions.[20] The absence of notification or decision of conviction indicates that, more than anything else, execution (of justice) was paramount. As Nicholas Tepresta notes, it was even more important than verifying that the correct person was killed.[21] In the presence of the comforter, Salano was likely made to accept his punishment and recognize his death as justice; in the highly religious society of sixteenth-century Bologna, his salvation depended on it. Purportedly, this strengthened the legitimacy of the authority that condemned him.[22] Within this context of justice, authority, and legitimacy the backdrop before which this occurs is not completely innocuous: the architecture, the Palazzo del Podestà, participates in the determination of legitimacy and authority.

Built in the thirteenth century, the Palazzo del Podestà was renovated in the sixteenth century to reflect the (re)emerging architectural language of ancient Rome. The superimposed arcades and the stacked transition from engaged column to pilaster are thought to be inspired by the Roman Colosseum (Fig. 3.6).[23] Since its construction, it has commanded an imposing

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[19] Public executions and other punishments can also be found in chronicles from the period.
[20] The *tribunale del torrone,* which judicated criminal cases, was not established until 1530.
[21] Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," 122.
[22] Donata Mancini, "Giustizia in piazza: Appunti sulle esecuzioni capitali in Piazza Maggiore a Bologna durante l'Età Moderna," *Il Carrobbio: Rivista di studi Bolognesi*, no. 11 (1985): 148.
[23] Tuttle, "Anali di architettura," 48.

presence on the Piazza Maggiore, the new classical façade providing dignity and eloquence to the medieval square. Originally, the building served as the residence of the city magistrate and a place for communal gatherings. Before the renovation, merchant stands occupied the base of the medieval palazzo making it and the piazza an integral part of communal life. The removal of the stalls and the façade facelift signaled a change in the appearance and aura of the piazza. Richard Tuttle proclaimed that the palazzo:

> generated an active and reciprocal relationship between the open square and its framing architecture, controlling or rationalizing space by force of plan and geometry…[24]

As the chief building in the heart of Bologna, the Palazzo del Podestà had ceased being a true communal (for the people) building by the end of the fifteenth century. With its renovation, presided over by Giovanni II Bentivoglio (Fig. 3.7), Bernardo Sassoni, and Pirro Malvezzi, the palazzo became associated with noble patronage and Bologna's architectural entrance into the humanistic ideals of classical decorum. Though overseen in conjunction with two others, it was Giovanni who commanded that the new façade be *all'antica*. His efforts to improve the city were not wholly altruistic. His political and cultural aspirations were made manifest in the renovated structure as he sought to raise the standing of the Bentivoglio family. [25]

As a *condottiero* Giovanni's military service brought money and status to the city and with his commitment to enriching the city he was intent on raising the status of the House of Bentivoglio to the same level as other notable families, such as the Medici, the d'Este, and the Sforzas (into which he married). Giovanni II, like other contemporary *condottieri,* fashioned himself a Renaissance prince, bringing humanist ideas of decorum to Bologna. As Georgia Clarke illustrated, Giovanni II was responsible for an *all'antica* refashioning of Bologna, in

[24] Tuttle, 49.
[25] Tuttle, 48.

which civic architectural works were undertaken, not for the benefit of the Bentivoglio but the citizens of Bologna.[26] The renovated Palazzo del Podestà represented Bologna's transformation from a medieval *comune* into a Renaissance city-state. While it might have indeed had a "profound impact" on the Piazza Maggiore, it is not solely the architecture that gives the piazza significance.[27] Fundamental to the relationship of the piazza and the architecture that fronts it is an understanding that the piazza, more than anything, is the seat of government. As highlighted in Chapter 1, the planning of any new city required that the palazzos (podestà or signori) be on the main piazza. It is also worth repeating that the authors of the treatises discussed in Chapter 1 indicated that spaces for the administration of justice should be in the main palazzo or have a dedicated *palazzo di giustizia*. In existing cities like Bologna, the creation of a piazza, achieved by demolishing existing structures, represented governmental jurisdictional authority. The "islands of open space" carved out of the thicket of medieval urban fabric were monumental feats of public infrastructure.[28] The effort and money required for such an undertaking represented the power of the political institution. Although considered places of everyday life and center of commercial activity, piazzas were not created for purely communal purposes. The fronting palazzos, where political power was exercised and justice administered, gave the piazza a particular socio-political meaning. Consider that public assemblies in the piazza were in full view of those in power. Hence, the piazza was a regulated space. The public piazza was the most symbolically charged urban space of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

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[26] Georgia Clarke, "Magnificence and the City: Giovanni II Bentivoglio and Architecture in Fifteenth-Century Bologna," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999): 397–411.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Hendrik Dey, "From 'Street' to 'Piazza': Urban Politics, Public Ceremony, and the Redefinition of *Platea* in Communal Italy and Beyond," *Speculum* 91, no. 4 (October 2016): 920.

In his discussion on justice and public spaces in Rome, Guido Rebecchini uses Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space to suggest that architecture and justice create representations of space that express clear messages of hegemonic control.[29] His argument rests on the notion that the architecture has symbolic value. In other words, architecture is a construction that establishes certain relations based on social practices, which are the rituals and events of the everyday. Rebecchini establishes a relationship between the architecture, the abstract set of signs it attempts to convey, and the subject (the citizen). When Henri Lefebvre (1901-1999) states that during the Renaissance the representation of space dominated representational space, he is arguing that Renaissance space is one of prescribed perspectives: dedicated or oriented views. [30] The focus here is the subject in the space and his/her relationship to the events in the space rather than just the objects (the architecture). Rebecchini argues the latter. Lefebvre's statement does not mean that the architecture is without symbolic value but simply that it must be read in conjunction with the prescribed views associated with the regulated events of the Renaissance piazza. What follows is an examination of Lefebvre's theory with the Piazza Maggiore as the object of inquiry.

Conceived vs Lived Public Space: Representations of History

Tuttle, in his seminal essay on Piazza Maggiore, traces its evolution over 180 years, connecting new urban planning interventions with three phases of Bologna's political development (communal, *signorial,* and papal) noting the delicate balance of civic needs and political ambitions for each phase. Tuttle's essay focuses on the piazza during the late fifteenth

[29] Guido Rebecchini, "Rituals of Justice and the Construction of Space in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16, no. 1/2 (2013): 159.
[30] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.* (Oxford: New York: Blackwell, 1991), 40.

and early sixteenth centuries, the height of the Renaissance. He notes that the medieval foundations of the space predetermined its Renaissance political and civic character, further stating that the sizeable dimension (60 x 115 meters) was an expression of the city's political aspirations. Moreover, the fact that the piazza began construction shortly after the erection of a new set of walls indicates the city's economic strength, and establishes the piazza and the wall as infrastructure projects. Perhaps this is why Tuttle argues that the architectural significance of the Piazza Maggiore began almost a century later with the erection of the Basilica of San Petronio. In his account, the architectural improvements of the fifteenth and sixteenth century "sought to mold and restyle representational space" through the construction or remodeling of the architecture.[31] He is suggesting that works like Galeazzo Alessi's columnar portal on the façade of the Palazzo Comunale, framing the statue of Pope Gregory XIII (Fig. 3.8), symbolized the status of the papacy. In his use of the phrase 'representational space,' Tuttle, like Rebecchini, is borrowing spatial concepts and theories from Lefebvre's theory on "the production of space," although his interpretation of representational space does not hold true to Lefebvre's definition.

In his influential book, "The Production of Space," Lefebvre lays out three means of creating or conceptualizing space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. The latter two are of the most importance here. Lefebvre defines the representation of space, or 'conceived' space, as being tied to the means of creation and the order in which those means impose 'frontal' relationships. This is the ordered space of design where the hegemonic impulses of those with power manifest themselves through the architecture. Conceived space is a space where the user is silent. Representational space, or 'lived' space, according to Lefebvre, embodies imagery linked to the underground side of social life: the beggars, prostitutes, gypsies,

[31] Tuttle, 39.

and thieves, each of which coexisted with aristocrats, veiled women, monks, and priests.[32] 'Lived' space is the space of the users; it is fluid and dynamic. 'Lived' space is a space of memory and history—the space of the everyday. It is not a two-dimensional, uninhabited, and static 'conceived' space found in a drawing. With this understanding, Tuttle's essay treats the piazza more like a conceived space (representation of) rather than a lived space (representational). The architectural projects he discusses, including Giovanni Bentivoglio's reconstruction of the Palazzo del Podestà, do not embody the coded symbolism Lefebvre says is inherent in representational space. The signs of political power and wealth are clear. Tuttle's analysis of the Piazza Maggiore fits squarely in Lefebvre's description of 'representation of space,' which he characterizes as the dominant space of society. It is a space where people are subordinate to a certain conceived relationship between the architecture and themselves.[33] Furthermore, the chronological political development of the Piazza Maggiore that Tuttle outlines is a prototypical example of the 'representation of space.' Conceived spaces, like that of the Piazza Maggiore, are formed by way of architecture, not as specific buildings, per se, but spaces with embedded meanings and established societal hierarchies. The establishment of order is primarily a spatial act and not merely social or political. Order is a condition of power and authority; with power and authority comes violence. Hence, an ordered space is a violent space.

Tuttle's essay documents the history of the Piazza as a space determined and defined by those who conceived and formed it: those with political power. It treats the Piazza as a byproduct of the architecture that surrounds it, thereby making a space charged with political, religious, and to a lesser extent, economic undertones. Tuttle further characterizes the Piazza Maggiore as "a

[32] Lefebvre, 33.
[33] Lefebvre, 39; 41.

gateway to power."[34] The essay, however, fails to consider the users of the space, doing so would have led to the reading of the Piazza Maggiore as a representational space inhabited by a variety of people whose relationship to each other is made ever-present in the piazza. It is a space, that no matter status, one understood it was worth fighting and dying for. Understanding the interconnectedness of space and its inhabitants offers new interpretations. It calls for the historian to reconsider the piazza as a space defined by the rituals that take place within it, thereby recognizing that the piazza is where memories are made, and history created.

To characterize the Piazza Maggiore as lived space or a conceived space only is somewhat disingenuous; it is not an either-or scenario. In many ways, the knowledge of conceived space is key to the rituals of lived space. With the architectural improvements and the corresponding changes in political structure, the piazza becomes a space in which power is meant to be read. According to Lefebvre, the piazza becomes a dominant form of space—one that is inherently violent by nature. Consider that to maintain power, wealth, and authority, certain obstacles must be eliminated, often by using force. Conversely, it becomes a space against which violence is directed—covertly or blatantly—against power.[35] Through violence one moves from the abstract space of representation to the absolute space of the representational.[36]

The Space of History: The Space of Violence

The commune of Bologna received its imperial charter in 1116 but was ceded to the Papal States in 1247. The Bolognese arranged a power structure with the papacy that ensured

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[34] Tuttle, 44.
[35] Lefebvre, 280.
[36] Tuttle gives us a glimpse of this when he asserts that piazzas were arenas of civil unrest and armed protest. Tuttle, 44.

their sovereign rights and allowed them to govern themselves, all the while being cognizant of the papacy's overarching authority. Within a context of factional conflicts, (typical of most Italian communes), Giovanni I Bentivoglio declared himself *signore* in 1401. This was short-lived as he was assassinated the following year. The threat of a growing Bentivoglio hegemony resulted in the assassination of Giovanni I's son, Anton Galeazzo (1385-1435), and grandson, Annibale I (1415-1445), both with the backing of the papacy.[37] In 1446, Sante Bentivoglio, cousin of Annibale and friend of Cosimo de' Medici, was brought to Bologna and given the title *Gonfaloniere di Giustizia,* effectively becoming Signore of Bologna. A constitution was drafted in 1447 dictating that power was to be shared by the papacy through a legate and a local oligarchical body. The Bentivogli were designated papal vicars. The "quasi-signoral" power the family held since 1438 was now cemented.[38] Despite this, and unlike other despotic rulers, the Bentivogli authority was not singular; it was shared with other aristocratic families, many of whom were also members of the *sedici* (the senate). Sante is credited with bringing political stability to fifteenth-century Bologna, though it is Giovanni II Bentivoglio, son of Annibale, who is recognized as the most significant early-modern *signore* of Bologna. Nonetheless, the history of the Bentivoglio is not without episodes of violence, violence which often found resolution in the space of the Piazza Maggiore and numerous bodies hung from the Palazzo del Podestà—all in the pursuit of justice.

In June 1445, Annibale Bentivoglio, to whom control of the city had been given two years earlier, was assassinated after leaving a christening at the Cathedral of San Pietro.

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[37] Anton Galeazzo assumed power in 1420, was overthrown and became a condottiero. Upon returning to Bologna in December 1435, he was murdered by papal officials. Annibale's murderers enjoyed support from Pope Eugene IV, who wanted to retaliate against Annibale for his leadership in a revolt against papal control in 1438.
[38] Nicholas Terpstra, "Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: Historical and Scholarly Contexts," *Renaissance Studies* 13, no. 4 (1999): 390.

Annibale's attendance at the christening was intended to be a sign of peace between his family and a competing family: the Canetoli. However, the invitation to be the child's godfather was a ruse. Upon exiting the church, Annibale "recognized his impending death" as armed men surrounded him.[39] Rather than accept this as his fate, he drew his sword and charged towards his enemy, ultimately being killed by Baldassare Canetoli. The attempted overthrow of Bentivoglio authority in Bologna was "bloodily repressed" by bentivogliesche supporters.[40] They then gathered in the Piazza Maggiore, fortifying it with random pieces of wood, carts, and anything else they could find, effectively turning the piazza into a secure fortress.[41] Conspirators, including Battista Canetoli, brother of Baldassare, were later hacked to pieces and dragged into the piazza; his heart was cut from his body and thrown onto a pyre. The next day his remains were fed to the pigs. Other conspirators also met their end in the piazza: a farmer from Piacenza, already imprisoned, was hacked to pieces, and thrown into the piazza from the Palazzo del Podestà; another was bound by his feet, dragged to the piazza, and hung from the gallows upside down, where his heart was torn out and his hands severed from his arms. While these acts are gruesome, they were, in fifteenth-century Bologna, conventional acts of justice.

In 1488, Jeronimo Malvezzi, along with others, conspired to kill Giovanni II in a desire to quell what they believed was Bentivogli tyranny. The seriousness of their intent is evidenced by their attempt to involve Lorenzo de' Medici.[42] Although Lorenzo declined to intervene, the

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[39] "*...comprese la sua vicina morte*" Ghirardacci, *Della historia di Bologna*, 103.

[40] During his time as the head of the Bolognese government, Sante's status was equal to that of the other oligarchical families. However, in 1474 Giovanni II was granted a permanent seat by Pope Paul II, a decree that was quasi-hereditary as the same privilege was later awarded to his eldest son. The elevation of the status of the Bentivogli, and the possibility of tyranny, was perhaps the initial act that sparked attacks from two of the Bentivogli's closest allies: the Malvezzi and the Marescotti.

[41] Sara Cucini, "Contra Ribaldo Proditores: From Factional Conflict to Political Crime in Renaissance Bologna," in *Violence and Justice in Bologna, 1200-1700*, ed. Sarah Rubin Blanshei (London: Lexington Books, 2018), 126.

[42] In considering killing Giovanni II, Jeromino and his brother Giovanni consulted a man of "*gran consiglio*" who warned that the plot was dangerous, and success would depend on the assistance of some powerful prince without whose presence the populace would be left "*confusato e attonito"* (confused and amazed) after the murder of

Malvezzi persisted. The plot was to kill Giovanni and his entire family while they sat for dinner, "*senza strepito*" (without a sound), then gather in the Piazza Maggiore.[43] Recall that in the aftermath of the assassination of Annibale Bentivoglio, supporters gathered and fortified the Piazza Maggiore. They did not occupy the Palazzo del Comunale or the deteriorating Palazzo del Podestà but secured the open space. In both instances, there was an understanding that the piazza was more than a mere 'gateway to power,' it was the space of power. Perhaps not a power of authority or dominion but one exerted through a certain civic and social identity. This bonding of identities is what defines the lived/representational space of the piazza. It is what Lefebvre would also classify as an absolute space, which he describes as being historical and arising from the bonds formed by members of a community, further stating that absolute space is the "guardian of civic unity." [44] Given perceptions of Renaissance piazzas as communal spaces, this notion of a space of civic unity is logical, though the idea that the piazza is "above all" a space of death is not as easily digestible.[45]

When we look at the history of the events of the Piazza Maggiore, in particular the events connected to the assassination of Annibale Bentivoglio and the planned assassination of Giovanni II, we see that death does not have to occur in the piazza. In both instances, the

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Giovanni II. With this powerful prince's backing, it would be easy to seize the piazza. The man of great council, Giovanni Battista Refrigerio, suggested that Lorenzo de' Medici was the *"meglio e piu opportuno prencipe ricorrere."* The Malvezzi brothers in fact traveled to Florence to speak with Lorenzo, who declined, stating that Giovanni was loved. Ghirardacci, 248.

[43] Ghirardacci, 249.

[44] Lefebvre, 235. While Lefebvre is working in Hegelian and Kantian notions of production, the term "absolute" is less the all-encompassing absolute of Kant and more the parts-to-the-whole fundamentalism of Hegel. In other words, the absolute can only be understood through the parts—connections and relationships—that comprise it. Hence, social, and civic relations are those parts that produce a concept of absolute space. However, it would be ill-advised to think of those relationships as solely positive (neighbor-friend) bonds, dismissing the contentious (neighbor-enemy) ones. During the early modern period, the latter often resulted in death. The idea that absolute space is principally a space of death is, I believe, an exaggeration. However, the violence and death associated with public piazzas in the Renaissance are part of what makes them whole, or absolute. To omit this aspect, as Renaissance architectural historians sometimes do, is a failure to fully understand the history of the space

[45] Ibid.

violence and death (or threat thereof) called for the seizing of the Piazza Maggiore. In the Malvezzi plot, it was clear that the piazza was significant. Later, as the plan was to come to fruition, twenty-five armed men were to be staged at the *salario* (salt warehouse) to take the piazza, though only after word of Giovanni II's death had spread. Because the Piazza Maggiore can be viewed as a gateway of power, as Tuttle noted, the Malvezzi wanted to immediately install a member of an allied family in Giovanni II's vacated seat after his death. On the other hand, the lived/social experience of the Piazza Maggiore suggests that the piazza was a place of power, a place to command, a place in which authority can be claimed and exercised, even if only for a moment, as a result of some violent, usually fatal, event.

The citizen's seizure and fortification of the Piazza Maggiore allow for a reading of the piazza as a permeable space of interaction, with the potential of becoming an impenetrable space of power. If we understand the Piazza Maggiore or any early modern piazza in this way, the view of the piazza as a space of friction is clear. Such a view also asserts that the piazza was, at times, a space that prohibited access by others, typically opponents. The inaccessibility of a piazza counters its perception as the quintessential social space of the early-modern city. As Alberti notes in his discussion of the city, the piazza, or large square, is needed as a marketplace and a place of play for the youth.[46] Fabia Zanasi, in her essay on the Piazza Maggiore, entitled *Un teatro per ogni rappresentazione,* considers the piazza as a "psychological refuge of the community... responsible for fulfilling the multiplicity of collectively experienced social

[46] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 116. The reader may ask why these activities are not included in the discussion regarding production/reading of the space of the piazza. The response is that these actions were not civic rituals performed in the same way that executions were. Additionally, when the merchants were removed from the Piazza Maggiore, the piazza no longer served as the routine space of shopping. These functions, I would say, recognize the piazza as a space of the everyday, and while memorable events of the everyday take place, those events are not always historical.

tasks."[47] Notwithstanding such palatable representations of piazzas as a space for collective gathering, the piazza as a social space has a duality that it cannot escape; it is both a field of action and a basis of action.[48] The former sees the socially collective space of the piazza, whereas the latter sees the piazza as a place to direct certain energies. I contend it is the latter that designates the piazza as a place associated with violence and death. Alberti also notes that the piazza is crucial in times of war where, when under siege by an adversary, timber, grain, and other commodities can be stockpiled. In 1501, as Bologna prepared for a possible attack by Cesare Borgia, 6,000 men, some of whom were freed prisoners, were sent to guard the Piazza Maggiore.

The accounts outlined here are only a fraction of the violent acts that took place in Bologna's Piazza Maggiore. Our learned historical perception of the piazza as a space of social togetherness and civic unity in a general sense is not misguided but instead utterly misleading. The violence, the executions, decapitations, dismemberments, and the like, are part and parcel of civic life. The Piazza Maggiore was the place in which the "*popolo"* could physically participate in the violence of justice/punishment without reprisal. Since piazzas are spaces of everyday activities, they belong to the users of that space. The users are also, particularly in the accounts above, subjects of history, thereby making the piazza a space of history. What becomes apparent in these tales is that there was a recognition that the Piazza Maggiore was a place to display

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[47] "*rifugio psicologico della collettività...preposto ad assolvere i molteplici compiti sociali esperiti collettivamente."* Zanasi, "Un teatro per ogni rappresentazione," 177.

[48] Lefebvre 191. Lefebvre argues that social spaces have dichotomous identities: field of action/basis of action; actual (given)/potential and quantitative/qualitative, further noting that social space may be represented one way though show itself in another. In my reading of the violent events that occur in early-modern piazzas, the represented aspects of a social space are the field of action, the actual and the quantitative aspects. These are the aspects that speak to the history of space, while their counterparts lend themselves to seeing social space as a space of history.

one's authority, be it judicial or personal. In either case, with the help of the Palazzo del Podestà, the executions were above all deemed legitimate punishments for atrocious transgressions.

Giustizia(re): (to execute) Justice

Given the claims made thus far about justice, punishment, and executions, perhaps a deeper discussion is warranted, particularly if we accept the events of the Bentivoglio conspiracies as vendettas. Executions as part of the justice system are not unfamiliar to modern society. Many countries today still practice some form of capital punishment. In Bologna, there were four forms of execution: hanging, beheading, quartering, and burning; hanging was the most common and the least dignified. The brutality of these forms of execution in conjunction with their being carried out in the most public of ways evidences a significant difference between then and now. Public executions were visible forms of judicial punishment. As punishment, executions, like torture, centered on the infliction of pain. Pain and justice went hand in hand. Non-lethal forms of punishment included flogging, *la tortura della corda* (this involved being hung from the wrist while one's hands were behind one's back), and even the simple act of being ridiculed, each of which was done in public; in Bologna, usually taking place in the Piazza Maggiore.[49] Punishment and pain were meant to be a deterrent, as were executions, though they became tools of the Bolognese authorities, which suggests that justice was not always blind. The conviction and execution of those involved in the Malvezzi conspiracy best exemplify this form of justice. Justice was often linked to political partisanship, hence the execution of those

[49] *La tortura della corda* once took place in the Piazza Maggiore then moved to a less public space behind the Palazzo del Podestà. See, Mancini, "Giustizia in piazza: appunti sulle esecuzioni capitali in piazza maggiore a bologna durante l'età moderna."

involved in the Malvezzi conspiracy is best characterized by Nicholas Terpstra's phrase: "partisan judicial vendettas."[50]

The conspiracies against Giovanni Bentivoglio and the administration of justice (*giustiziare*) involved judicial responses to a crime, a crime that required a definition that would make the punishment suitable. The political connotations are not difficult to decipher; partisan struggles were ordinary political practices in early modern Bologna. In the episodes above, there were legal (authorized) killings and vendetta (unauthorized) killings all in the name of justice even though the crimes did not result in death, nor did they lead to violence. The crime was the

[50] Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," 125. Terpstra's phrase is telling. It speaks to components of the justice system that are in some way contradictory to the concept of justice. Vendettas, however articulate early modern social and political relationships: morally they were ambiguous, even if socially and legally they were legitimate. Vendettas were a self-help remedy, an accepted form of dispute resolution, in which social and political tensions (sometimes in tandem) were violently resolved, though within cultural or traditional norms. In communes, such as Florence, vendettas were regulated by statutory law, while in others the practice of revenge killings was not sanctioned by judges or jurists. Vendettas did not enjoy legal sanction in all of Italy. Gregory Roberts states that even if communes did not explicitly outlaw vendettas, they did not automatically accept them as rightful retribution of interpersonal violence. See Gregory G. Roberts, "Vendetta, Violence and Police Power in Thirteenth-Century Bologna," in *Violence and Justice in Bologna, 1200-1700*, ed. Sarah Rubin Blanshei (London: Lexington Books, 2018). Communes also recognized the positive aspects of vendettas. They were seen as a self-regulating form of conflict resolution, one meant to limit violence rather than provoke or authorize it. This position reasoned that "the mere moment of retaliation" restored the equilibrium of offenses. In other words, once the retaliatory action occurred, the dispute was resolved, unlike the persistent animosity associated with a feud. See Andrea Zorzi, "Consigliare alla vendetta, consigliare alla giustizia. pratiche e culture politiche nell'italia comunale," *archivio storico italiano* 170, no. 2 (632) (2012): 147. This is what occurred after the killing of Annibale. If the Malvezzi were successful in their plan to assassinate Giovanni II, any subsequent violent and deadly attacks by the members of the Bentivoglio family would have been defensible, if not legitimate. However, they used, if not politicized, the justice system to carry out a personal vendetta.

The emphasis on vendettas is to illustrate an often-overlooked aspect of justice. Andrea Zorzi tells us that from the perspective of justice vendettas are contextualized through social relationships, which at their core are established by notions of friendship, enmity, and the societal modes of conflict. See Andrea Zorzi, "la cultura della vendetta nel conflitto politico in età comunale," in *La storie e la memoria*, ed. Roberto Della Donne (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2002), 135–70. Enmity, of course, was more likely to lead to conflict, though it is also prudent to look at the resolution of these conflicts as the execution of justice. Mario Sbriccoli (qtd in Zorzi) noted the major purpose of justice is to "*rendere ragione o dare soddisfazione*" (justify or satisfy).[50] He further stated that the perceived plurality of early-modern justice (peaceful or violent), in fact, validates its singularity. Justice can manifest itself in several ways, including compensation, the levying of a penalty, though at its most fundamental level justice is the righting of a wrong. Given this premise, the problem with determining and enacting justice often lies in the establishment of the wrong. Crimes are violations of the laws, laws that are deemed necessary to govern and resolve conflicts. Here, the dialectical relationship between violence and justice becomes evident. Violence is an act of criminality, though it is an abstract concept without an understanding of the laws that define it. Justice, which hinges on the same laws, is an act of retribution, the administration of punishment meant to satisfactorily restore a sense of communal and moral wellbeing, ultimately restoring the balance of power—with the scale tipping toward those who determine the nature of criminal actions.

threat of the destabilization of the state, a crime, apparently, punishable by death. The jostling for power of Bologna, from the end of the fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, suggests that executions as justice were almost obligatory to Bolognese society. In the mid-sixteenth century, the number of executions rose on average fivefold from the last decades of the fifteenth century.[51] Terpstra astutely recognizes that public executions were state rituals aimed at creating the appearance of judicial legitimacy, the legal righting of a wrong.[52] Yet, he also notes that those that were executed were just a fraction of those sentenced to death.[53] Rituals of justice sought to give the appearance of judicial power and legitimacy. The public execution of justice is the ideal ritual to aid in examining this issue, particularly when the architecture is intimately involved because the users of the space are the true determinants of legitimacy.

In 1508 Pope Julius II overthrew the Bentivoglio regime and reclaimed Bologna under papal jurisdiction. The pope and his legates established the *Tribunale del Torrone,* which, as Colin Rose notes, allowed the papal legate to increase the "power and reach" of the papacy into the criminal justice system.[54] While the tribunal tried and executed all types of criminals, the executions of those that threatened the state were fundamental in representing papal authority. Such a display raises the all-important question of legitimacy and justification. As noted above, the determination of justice and legitimacy are subjective: the victim and the judge (the state)

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[51] As to not overgrandize this rise in numbers it should be made clear those legally condemned to death by execution during the reign of Giovanni II were on average three people. Between 1540 and 1600 the average was approximately 30 executions annually.

[52] Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," 125. Scholars have commented on the ritualistic nature of public executions in the sense that they were an exercise of power. By noting that there is a judicial process in this ritual allows space for the consideration that the execution is justified and legitimate. The ceremonial procession of the convicted to the scaffold, gallows or *ringhiera* was one part judicial and one part religious, the latter dealing with the criminal's eternal fate rather than the crime. See Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy" and Kathleen Falvey, "Scaffold & Stage: Comforting Rituals & Dramatic Traditions" in *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy.*

[53] Ibid.

[54] Colin Rose, "Violence and Centralization of Criminal Justice," in *Violence and Justice in Bologna: 1250-1700*, ed. Sarah Blanshei (Lanham: Lexington Books, n.d.), 101.

will certainly have opposite views yet the citizen as witness may not be so singular in their view. The spectacle of execution is well documented and debated, though any acknowledgment of the gathered citizens discounts their participation in this ritual of violence and their role in defining the space of the piazza. The equating of the spectacle of executions to that of a sporting event or theatrical performance (a popular refrain) does not fully consider the role of the viewer/witness. Unlike horse races or jousting events that occurred in the Piazza Maggiore during the popular *Festa Della Porchetta,* the perceived enactment of justice was not meant to entertain.[55] From the perspective of the state, executions were meant to be "didactic, cathartic, and compensatory;" justification was explained through the protection of social order.[56] As one sixteenth-century Bolognese nobleman noted (qtd. in Mancini), executions were meant to instill the fear of punishment into the common man: "*se non è tenuto in molto timore della pena non è possibile governarlo*."[57] The compensatory component served to illustrate the state/government's ability to see that a crime against the state did not go unpunished. In this way, the state could claim justification and legitimacy for its acts. However, this view of justification and legitimacy is one-sided as it is presented from the lofty view of the *ringhiera.*[58]

[55] For more on the *Festa della Porchetta* see Zanasi, "Un teatro per ogni rappresentazione."
[56] Terpstra, "Theory into Practice: Executions, Comforting and Comforters in Renaissance Italy," 125.
[57] Mancini, "Giustizia in Piazza: appunti sulle esecuzioni capitali in piazza maggiore a Bologna durante l'età moderna.," n.d., 144.
[58] I have mostly dealt with executions that took place from the Palazzo del Podestà; however, executions took place in several places in Bologna, including the Mercato at the edge of town and in other smaller piazzas throughout the city. In either case, it is more likely that the execution was justified. Outsiders and heretics were executed on gallows erected in Piazza Maggiore. In these lower-profile crimes (with low-profile criminals) the question of legitimacy does not seem to be raised except those that happen in the piazza are meant to draw a crowd, to teach a lesson to religious zealots or those from the countryside.

The Scene and Ob-Seen

The view of a condemned man flanked by comforters and judicial authorities framed within the window opening signals the dramatic conclusion of a judicial ritual. The moment the condemned is ushered to step upon the railing, he is elevated, literally and symbolically. The condemned man stood perched on the railing awaiting his end, the acceptance of his fate. At this moment it is worth considering the elevated view of the victim and the upward gaze of the gathered crowd. In the latter, the Palazzo del Podestà served as scenography to an act in which (perceived) justice took place. In the former, the space of the piazza was in full view and, hence, was the proper place from which to interrogate the piazza as something more than a communal place for banal social gatherings. In those moments the Piazza Maggiore became a space of violence, a space for moral judgment, and a space in which the fragility of man became apparent.[59]

Within the context of the early modern judicial system, corporal punishment and execution may be considered the fate of wrongdoers. Such a position brings to light an interesting dichotomy in the Renaissance understanding of fortune and its connection with *virtù*. Conversely, fortune belongs to fate and providence. In an ordered Christian worldview, fortune was of little consequence as the combination of man's free will and God's law governed all. The piazza is the ideal place for both to be on display as it is commanded by both civic and religious authority. In a 1561 drawing of the Campidoglio (Fig. 3.9) a man is shown hanging by his wrist from the piano nobile of the Palazzo dei Senatori. In the background, and within the man's view, is the church of Santa Maria d'Aracoeli. Laundry is seen drying on a wall separating the church

[59] The notion of fragility rests in the belief that man is unavoidably wicked, a belief closely associated with Renaissance ideas of free will and chance. See Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries*, Trans. By Eric Nicholson. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990) 153.

from the piazza. In the middle ground are the citizens presumably going about their daily lives, unphased by the man, likely screaming in pain, suspended two stories above the ground. Even if the man was hanged to death, the disposition of the people would likely have been the same. In the case of the trice-hanged man in Bologna, his body remained suspended from the Palazzo del Podestà for hours as people passed through the Piazza Maggiore, like grotesque ornamentation. This is the space of the everyday, the lived space of the sixteenth-century Italian citizen. It is a space where piety and pain coexist, but not equally—pain and punishment supersede piety.

In July 1537, a group of Roman soldiers became openly insolent and unruly, committing random acts of violence throughout Rome. The specific details of the offensive behavior are not known, though the acts of violence were egregious enough that Pope Paul III called for the soldiers to be hanged immediately. The order was carried out by the newly installed Captain-General of the Papal Army, Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's eldest son. The execution of the soldiers was punishment for their acts of violence. However, it was a punishment detached from any notions of official or legal justice; rather, it was punishment for challenging the Pope's hegemony.[60] On this occasion, the punishment was twofold: the *banderaro* (standard-bearer) of this group was suspended from a window of Palazzo Farnese (Fig. 3.10) while Pier Luigi dined. The display of the culprit's body against the backdrop of a building that represented Papal authority arguably was both a sign of public vengeance and a display of the absolutist ambitions of the Farnese.[61] Yet, what is often lost in discussions of the Palazzo's history is its role in the communication of these perceptions. Read alongside the acts of punishment, architecture's

[60] Rebecchini would characterize this as justice. He notes that rituals of executions often extended beyond judicial administration and leans towards private forms of justice such as vendettas. Without the details of the alleged crimes of the soldiers, it is difficult to gauge if the punishment was justice for those affected by the violence or punishment for having offended the pope in a way that challenged his authority in Rome. In the latter scenario the hangings can be classified as vendetta killings.
[61] Rebecchini 2013, 171.

impact on society—its contribution, positively or negatively, to the quotidian life of society—comes into view, and in turn, exposes architecture's moral culpability. In a letter to the Duke of Mantua, Federico Gonzaga, Fabrizio Pelligrini details the events that occurred at the palazzo, noting that it was so shocking that everyone walked around with their heads down; we can easily imagine those passing in front of the palazzo hanging their heads even lower.[62]

The Palazzo Farnese, located near Rome's Campo dei Fiori, was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the future Pope Paul III, in 1514 with Antonio da Sangallo the Younger as the architect. Considered an exemplar of Renaissance architecture, it required the efforts of four of the leading architects of the period, covering more than seven decades of construction. It was conceived as the center of the House of Farnese's expanding dominion in central Italy. Though commissioned by the Cardinal, the palazzo was to consist of two separate residences for his sons: Pier Luigi and Ranuccio. Construction began in 1515 but was halted in 1527 due to the Sack of Rome.[63] Work resumed in 1534, after Alessandro's elevation to pope. Despite the change in Alessandro's title, the Palazzo retained its original purpose, although, with Ranuccio's death in 1529, the palazzo belonged entirely to Pier Luigi. While it did not become a papal residence, its association with the pope was unavoidable. Although the promotion from cardinal to pope did not affect the initial intent and function of the project, it did, however, result in transformations to the architecture. Sangallo deemed the original design befitting of a cardinal but not a pope. It needed to reflect both papal and Farnese power; the palace needed to be enlarged.

[62] See Appendix in (Rebecchini 2013)
[63] During the Sack of Rome, Pier Luigi is said to have participated in the looting, hiding his plunder in the unfinished palazzo.

The most significant aspect of the architectural modifications was the creation of the piazza in front of the palazzo. Like many other renaissance piazzas, it was inscribed into the urban fabric by acquiring and demolishing existing structures. To Tafuri, this was an act of arrogance.[64] The palazzo's immense mass and the perfection of its façade demanded a space where it could be viewed in full *perspectiva* (Fig. 3.11), unlike the nearby Palazzo Cancelleria whose façade can only be fully seen obliquely (Fig. 3.12). The Via Baullari that connects the piazza to Campo dei Fiori accentuates this visually and spatially. As one moves down the via from the architecturally undefined space of the Campo, an ideal perspective is created, with the entry door as the vanishing point. That view is shattered when one enters the Piazza Farnese and the weight and power of the Palazzo can be felt; this is the arrogance that Tafuri is referring to. Farnese arrogance was also manifested through the actions of Pier Luigi, who had a reputation as a ruthless and amoral mercenary.[65] The history of the Palazzo, as a work of architecture, is well documented; however, it often excludes the palazzo's presence in historical events.

The episode of the *banderaro*'s ill-fated corpse affixed to the façade of the Palazzo Farnese thrusts architecture into a position of moral accountability and legitimacy. The façade became the physical mediator of what is right and what is wrong; what is legitimate and what is an abuse of power. The Palazzo Farnese was the private residence of the son of the pope, captain-general of the papal army. Architecturally, it was an emblem of sixteenth-century Roman

[64] Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance : Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 176.

[65] The power and authority given to Pier Luigi by his papal father seemed only to embolden his scandalous behavior. Three months after the stand-bearer incident, Pier Luigi allegedly violently sexually assaulted a young bishop in the coastal city of Fano. The young priest later died. The account was so scandalous that news of it reached England giving rise to the perception of Pier Luigi as a monster. For the English account of the 'rape at Fano' see George B. Parks, "The Pier Luigi Farnese Scandal: An English Report," *Renaissance News* 15, no. 3 (1962): 193–200.

nobility, even in its incomplete state.[66] Contemporary Romans arguably understood the architecture as representative of the social and political status of the House of Farnese. However, the display of the deceased soldier outside Pier Luigi's dining room was a punishment as a symbol of deterrence, and a display of Pier Luigi's wickedness. The architecture was not a means to depersonalize the power to punish, it enforced it.[67] It was nothing short of a billboard advertising Pier Luigi's power, a power so intense that in a 1593 map of Rome the piazza is labeled *Piazza del Duca* (Fig. 3.13). The use of the building in this way, I argue, had negative social implications, evidenced by the guarded behavior of the people, making the architecture morally accountable.

Moral accountability allows for an ethical judgment of the architecture, a judgment that is separate from its architectural significance and aesthetic assessment.[68] The moral judgment of the Palazzo Farnese stems from its use as a scene for punishment. Though this was one instance in the history of the Palazzo, it is an event that contemporary Romans likely found morally reprehensible. The display of a corpse outside the room in which one dines was shocking, if not distasteful, enough that Pelligrini mentioned it in his letter. It is a reversal of the view of the seen/scene and the obscene, whereby the obscene spectacle of personal punishment is juxtaposed with the spectacle of dining. In Renaissance Italy, dining was a ritual that required a high level of

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[66] The exact status of construction in 1537 is not entirely clear though it is widely accepted that by 1546 and the death of Antonio da Sangallo the front portion had been completed up to the second floor and a model of Michelangelo's redesigned cornice was in production.

[67] Robin Evans. *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[68] Christopher Baumberger holds that a work of architecture can be ethically flawed due to its aesthetic traits, be they flaws or merits. I maintain that the architectural aesthetics produce one set of assessments or judgments, which are detached from the function of the building. The assessment of an ethically flawed architecture depends solely on the use or purpose of the architecture. See Christopher Baumberger, "The Ethical Criticism of Architecture: In Defense of Moderate Moralism," *Architecture Philosophy* 1:2 (2015), 179-197. In other words, because architecture can be praised it can also be blamed. Judgements made of the architecture's blameworthiness are tied to its responsibility, one ascribed through social practices and cultural norms. In the attribution of blame or accountability, it is not just the actor that is being judged but also the event. The moral quality of the event (public punishments/executions) is inseparable from the architecture with which it is so closely associated.

decorum and behavior, a point that Federico Gonzaga would have understood and the reason why Pelligrini included the story in his letter. In the absence of an identifiable act of justice, the *banderaro* episode obfuscates any discussion of the determination of legitimacy. The legitimacy of the capital punishment of the soldiers for their acts of violence is difficult to ascertain; however, Pier Luigi's dreadful abuse of power reads as unjust. A decade later, when Pier Luigi's body was hung from the window of his *castello* in Piacenza, the issue of legitimacy was just the opposite.

Pope Paul III bestowed upon his son numerous indulgences. He invested Pier Luigi first with the Duchy of Castro and later the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, after divesting the two cities from papal control, for the sole purpose of expanding the Farnese territorial dominion. This move was contested by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who claimed he had the rights to the cities.[69] The Pope's dismissal of the emperor could have led to war. Although it did not, a plot for the emperor to regain control of Parma and Piacenza was conceived. Ferrante Gonzaga (brother of Federico) along with several Piacenzian counts, angered with Pier Luigi's tyrannical behavior and oppression, devised a plan to assassinate the duke and reclaim both cities in the name of Charles V and the Spanish Kingdom. On September 10, 1547, a group of men confronted Pier Luigi as he prepared to leave his *castello* that morning. His attempt to flee into the safety of his citadel was unsuccessful and he was stabbed to death.[70] His corpse was then hung out a window, on display for the people gathered in the space of the citadel as they sarcastically chanted "*Duca,*" in celebration of his demise.[71]

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[69] Before becoming papal cities, Parma and Piacenza were once part of the Duchy of Milan. Charles V defeated the French and claimed jurisdiction of Milan and all its territories. Hence, when the cities were divested from papal rule, he felt that they should be returned to the Duchy of Milan.

[70] The *castello* of Pier Luigi was more of a citadel than a traditional castle. It would have been comparable to the Fortezza da Basso in Florence. Both were designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.

[71] Ireneo Affò and Pompeo Litta, *Vita di Pierluigi Farnese, primo duca di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla, marchese di Novara* (Milano: P.E. Giusti, 1821), 181.

The bloody corpse of Pier Luigi hanging from the window of his castle is both ironic and a form of the other (poetic) justice. For the citizens of Piacenza, the Duke's punishment by death was justice for the oppression that he had inflicted upon them; for them, the punishment was indeed legitimate. It was the fate of a man who was bested by Fortune. The architecture aids in this perception because it presents a scene that suggests that this was fate.[72] Pier Luigi's *castello* (Fig. 1.12) was not a palace like the one his father built in Rome or the one his son built a decade later across town. This was not the residence of princely ruler but a tyrant. It was a variation of Serlio's house of a tyrant. It highlights the notion that men bring upon themselves their demise through the pursuit of vice or the degradation of their status or office.[73] The acts of oppression, abuse, and wickedness on the part of Pier Luigi merited the punishment. To some viewers, it was God-given justice. For the executioners, their position on the legitimacy of the punishment was the same as the citizens that gathered in the Piazza Maggiore. In a way, this dematerialized the boundary between executioner and viewer. Hence, the façade of the duke's fortified residence did not present itself as a mere background for power and authority, rather it represented a form of social justice.

Conclusion

The forms of violence and civil unrest described in this chapter were not uncommon in Italian Renaissance piazzas—or in the streets for that matter—nor were the coronations or ceremonial receptions. Yet, it is often the acknowledgment of the latter that the piazza becomes

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[72] The Renaissance preoccupation with fate and fortune stands opposite notions of free will and virtue. The relinquishing of free will and the leaving of things to the unpredictable turns of Lady Fortuna were in one sense equated to evil and temptation. In theory the virtuous man, a man of power and intelligence could combat the maliciousness of Fortune, but the unpredictability of fortune suggested that one should avoid her rather than confront her, for if wronged fortune will seek her own justice.

[73] Robert T Taylor, *Renaissance Concepts of Fortune in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe,* Thesis, Montana State University (1951), 11.

associated, primarily in establishing a location or place. While these celebratory events contribute to the history of the space, they are ephemeral, like the ornamented architecture built for them. They are not the events or rituals of the everyday. The practically quotidian acts of public executions in Bologna, on the other hand, are. The rituals of the everyday are what constitute the Lefebvrian lived space. Viewing the Renaissance piazza as a 'lived space', more than 'conceived space', informs us of its true character and meaning. The reading of any Renaissance piazza as merely a 'conceived space' is limiting. The Campidoglio is a prime example. Much, if not all, of its historical analysis and critique, deals with Michelangelo's plan. Though, as we have seen, in 1593 very little of the scheme was constructed. Given the fluidity of the Renaissance's end date, the completion of the Campidoglio can be classified as a Renaissance piazza, but so can the piazza before its Michelangelo-designed renovation. It, like numerous other piazzas, was a space of justice and ceremony. The inability to take Charles V to the top of the Capitoline Hill in 1535 prompted Pope Paul III's decision to improve it. Our understanding and appreciation of the piazza cannot solely be based on the classical screened buildings that front it.

A new approach is required, one that understands the piazza as a space where history and rituals take place; a space where the users are more influential than the architect. Hence, the space of the piazza should be interpreted or interrogated through the social rituals performed in it, including the violent ones. Can we know about a thing without understanding the life within or surrounding it? While this chapter focused on the violence in the piazza, it is not the only determinate. However, the frequency in which violence occurred, as well as the contemporary knowledge that the public square was a place to fight for or defend, necessitates its inclusion in the history of architecture.

Conclusion

> The Renaissance is dead. The decline of the aura of the Renaissance is now complete. We should not mourn the death but embrace the ability to dissect, displace and discover anew what its demise has allowed. The Renaissance prejudice has given way to the acceptance of a problematic Renaissance.[1]

In 1512 Antonio Savorgnan was murdered as he attempted to leave mass in Villach, Austria. The previous year, the Italian *condottiero* and factional leader of Udine had fled to Austria, responsible for the brutal massacres of his castellan rivals in Udine. In 1511, allied artisan and peasant militiamen, backed by Savorgnan, pillaged the palaces of Udinese nobles aligned with the Della Torre family. Pillage soon turned to carnage. The Della Torre and their allies were dragged, trampled, stoned, dismembered, and left for dead—their bodies food for wild dogs and pigs.[2] The gruesome events of that day are known as *Crudele Giovedi Grasso* (Cruel Fat Thursday). As discussed in the preceding chapters, factional disputes, vendetta killings, hangings, and all other forms of violence, were not uncommon for the time. The violent attacks and slaughter of people often capture our attention, but what about the architecture? It, too, came under attack. The castles of Friulian noblemen were sacked and burned, not for any violent offenses (or defense for that matter) but their significance as symbols of these families' power. The Savorgnan palace was razed decades later for similar reasons.

After a deadly fight in Padua during carnival in 1549, Tristano Savorgnan, a relative from a cadet branch of the family, ambushed and murdered members of the Della Torre and Colloredo families in Venice's Grand Canal. The ruthless attack drew parallels to 1511. The murderous transgressions of the Savorgnans could no longer go overlooked and unpunished. Tristano was

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[1] Author
[2] Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta in Renaissance Italy*, 1998, 9.

spared the fate of his distant cousin but was banned from all Venetian territories. The castles and feudal holdings of the family were confiscated by the governing body, The Council of Ten. The Council ordered the palace in Udine to be razed. Demolition, rather than confiscation, was warranted because the building would have simultaneously symbolized Savorgnan dominance and stood as a reminder of *Crudele Giovedi Grasso*. For years afterward, the space of the demolished palace was referred to as the 'plaza of the ruins.' Eventually, the ruined site was converted into a space for public use, though it lacked the commercial and communal viability typically associated with public piazzas. Located at the rear of the church of San Francesco, which was once the private church of the Savorgnan, it was a functionless space. With its creation, the now named Piazza Venerio, erased the physical memories of both Carnevale cruelties. However, in 1989 interest in the area led to an archaeological excavation that unearthed the remains of Antonio's palazzo. The excavation revealed that the palazzo was built in several phases. Rooms containing fine furnishings were arranged around a cobblestone courtyard. The archaeological evidence presumably speaks to the venerable presence and prestige of the Savorgnan family and offers a different lens from which to understand architecture's history. It does not appear that the remains were preserved at the site, though the memory of the house remains, the footprint, in dark-colored stone, inscribed within the grey and white gridded paving of the Piazza (Fig. 4.1).

The architecture, or the trace thereof, acts as a reminder or marker of the horrific historical event of 1511. While the occurrence of violent events was not uncommon in the Renaissance, their association with architecture is. The study of architectural history, as a practice, records and interprets the architecture of a given period, and has tended to arrange these periods into aesthetic categories or styles. This purely formalist approach can however limit the

history of architecture. Even more than with art, architecture embodies many cultural perspectives and its historical context more fully, thus requiring various sources of information. In the Renaissance, the lure of Humanism hangs heavy over Renaissance architecture. Themes of ornament, courtly manners, and the antique are common tropes. There is no debate that these cultural characteristics are fundamental to our understanding of Renaissance architecture, but they were not the only culturally defining elements. The disregard of any aspect of Renaissance culture and society results in a biased narrative. This dissertation has worked to disrupt this strand and elaborate a richer, more accurate narrative.

No longer can Renaissance architectural history be told solely through the lens of humanistic culture. It requires the acceptance of Renaissance culture that was complicated: one of constant conflict and discord between lifestyles, acquired attitudes, and everyday events.[3] Architecture can no longer be seen as autonomous from the gritty side of culture that led to various scales of violence. A condition of its timelessness or at least its durability, architecture sometimes transcends its local time and circumstances as if its historical context is optional in appreciating it—particularly in the Renaissance. If history is then, in its simplest terms, the telling of significant events, architecture becomes extricated because it is an event of a different nature. The event of architecture is the materialization of built form and space spanning years, sometimes decades, not always connected to meaningful social happenings. Conversely, significant events become detached from architectural history because they are not seen as acts that contribute to architecture. While I am challenging the traditional, problematic narrative, I am not advocating for a revisionist one where the architecture becomes secondary to other factors,

[3] Manfredo. Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 22.

be it political or economic.[4] Instead, I propose an inclusive narrative wherein the cultural context bears equal weight in the discussion of the architectural products.

The words 'biased' and 'inclusive' infer an omission. In the historical narrative, the omission is the exclusion of evidence, which has occurred often to create an ordered and coherent narrative. In architectural history, this narrative can take two forms: style or authorial (architect).[5] The stylistic narrative orders architecture according to aesthetic categories and the narrative of the architect orders architecture linearly across the career of the architect. Both forms practically invite the exclusion of facts that do not aid the story the author wishes to convey. The process of exclusion supports the premise of a Renaissance prejudice; one might go as far as to say it is a suppression of history. I will return to this shortly. An inclusive narrative is simply the acceptance of all facts, evidence, and conditions of history and architecture.

Architecture belongs to history: it is molded by the events that led to its creation and simultaneously a product of its time. An inclusive narrative of Renaissance architectural history includes the violent context, accepts that war and destruction are inseparable from princely court society, and rejects the disenfranchisement of so-called military architecture. This fuller, more comprehensive, approach to Renaissance architectural history does not demand an end to stylistic or authorial narratives; both methods are still valid. Rather, it frees the historian of the burden of exclusion. With such freedom, the historian is permitted to speculate more and escape the confines of periodization. The latter is closely associated with the narrative of style. The former is already rooted in historical investigations and indeed are the suppositions necessary to study the past. The increased wonderings and questioning that I am advocating are not misguided

[4] Nicola Camerlenghi, "The *Longue Durée* and the Life of Buildings," in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, ed. Robert Bork, William W Clark, and Abby McGhee (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 12.
[5] Dana. Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London: Routledge, 2002), 2.

musings but further insistences on the questions of "What if" or "How might." For example, how might an architect's fortification projects be seen as an extension of their 'civic' projects? What if we studied Peruzzi's work at the Rocca Sinibalda in relation to the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne? There is not much difference in the design problem: both projects called for a new palace design to fit within existing building fabrics with challenging constraints. This kind of question is not possible in the traditional narrative. The Rocca does not fit stylistically since it belongs to a typology deemed undeserving or variant for comparison.

In the introduction, I hinted at speculative "what if" concerning Bramante's arrival in Rome. I noted how the 1499 French invasion was crucial to the history of Renaissance architecture. But "what if" the invasion did not occur, or, at the very least, Ludovico Sforza was able to defend Milan? Though it is no way to know for certain, Bramante would probably have remained in Milan. If he remained in Milan whom would Pope Julius commission to rebuild St. Peter's Basilica? Giuliano da Sangallo, the architect that accompanied him to France and renovated the della Rovere palazzo in Savona, or Baccio Pontelli, the architect of his retreat in Ostia? In my opinion, it would be the former. Granted, this is perhaps a futile speculative exercise, however, it highlights how significant events of the past (even violent ones) impact architectural history. I believe the conscious exclusion of certain historical events from the history of Renaissance architecture has hindered our understanding of architecture's true place in history. However, because these omissions exist, the opportunity for new speculations on architecture, history, and the Renaissance is possible.

Let us return to the notion of a suppressed history. Most scholars would likely agree, the telling of the past is contingent upon the time in which it is studied. The Renaissance has been re-evaluated, re-imagined, and re-interpreted, to a point where it is no longer clear exactly what

the Renaissance is (not was) or when it occurred. The thin line between naming the period the 'Renaissance' or the 'Early-modern' further complicates this.[6] The conflation of the terms has confoundingly established, for some, the Renaissance as the beginning of modernity. How can the Renaissance, which symbolizes a return, also represent the progress and newness that the modern embodies? This notion of Renaissance modernity has been dismissed by numerous scholars, including Payne and William Bouwsma. Bouwsma was also critical of the progressive historical view that linked the Renaissance to contemporary man.[7] Despite this, the legacy of the Renaissance remains ever-present in Western culture. It looms so large that it has defined who "we" (western society) are and are not.[8] It is no wonder that the popular narrative of the Renaissance favors splendor and genius over violence and mayhem. A civilized society cannot be associated with a past of ritualized murder: hangings, vendetta killings, and deadly riots—no matter how much it may mirror their own. Because this present-past connection is less historical and more representative of our own society's preferences, it is a suppression of the truth rather than an exclusion of facts.

The remedy is in remembering. Peter Burke believes a historian should be, what he calls, a "rememberancer:" a custodian of the memory of public events. [9] While this may seem to apply only to the social historian, it applies to the architectural historian as well. The historian (all historians) must access the past according to the representations and remembrances of a given

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[6] In the introduction to an edited volume on Renaissance and Baroque architecture, Alina Payne addresses this problem. In short, she recognizes the limits in using the term 'Renaissance' in the broadening (geographically) research of architecture from 1400-1700. While the term 'early-modern' may solve that problem, she notes that it is not universally accepted. It tends to negate the cultural and historical heritage commonly associated with the Renaissance. See Alina Payne, *The Companions to the History of Architecture*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave, vol. 1 (Chichester; Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2017).
[7] William J. Bouwsma, "Eclipse of the Renaissance," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (1998): 115.
[8] Catherine Fletcher, *The Beauty and the Terror: The Italian Renaissance and the Rise of the West* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 11–12.
[9] Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford; New York: B. Blackwell, 1989), 97.

social group, treating memory as the social history of remembering. [10] As nebulous as this may sound, what is being asked of the historian is to allow the social remembrances and representations to act as a critique of customary historical evidence. It demands of the architectural historian in particular to consider the actions of the collective society, not just the actions of the patrons, artists, leaders, and thinkers—the elite. The acts (social rituals) are as important as the architecture and architectural spaces, which have been the primary focus. Rituals are a form of remembering. They are what the community deems as memorable—even if it is unpleasant or regrettable. These uneasy facts should be protected; protected from suppression or exclusion in favor of a conflict-free narrative. Embracing such an approach permits the Renaissance architectural historian the freedom to widen their gaze and take note of the (un)forgettable messiness of history or anything contradictory to the traditional narrative. Bringing to the fore facts, actions, and evidence that others would like to forget or ignore enhances not only our understanding of architecture but its place in history as well. This is the duty of the architectural historian, no matter how challenging the task is.

[10] Burke, 100. Burke describes this as acknowledging the fact that memories are malleable and attempting to understand how and by whom memories are shaped.

Appendix: Guastalla and the Italian Wars

During the sixty-five years of the Italian Wars, virtually no part of the Italian peninsula was spared its violence, particularly in the north. While many places may not have been sieged or attacked, they suffered the consequences of war, nonetheless. Be it the billeting of foreign soldiers or the depletion of resources as soldiers moved through their territory, small towns like Guastalla felt the pains of war: the abandonment of the countryside, famine, and even plague.[1] The sieges, sacks, billeting, and constant troop movement created a deadly cycle of plunder and assault.[2] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italian military construction engineers, known as *guastatori* (destroyers) attacked civilian populations by destroying agricultural resources such as grapevines and flowering trees, thereby crippling a region's agriculture for years.[3] In the fifteenth century, rural communities bore the brunt of economic and social strains of armies as they moved through the countryside; the soldiers were commonly accompanied by women, children, and servants who seized grain, crops, and other goods from the peasants. The soldiers and their entourages caused constant havoc in the landscape, including mass murder, leaving paths of devastation and depopulation across the peninsula.[4]

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[1] Armies could be as large as 60,000 troops, not including their entourages. Transportation of artillery required logistical ingenuity, the transportation of food to feed such a large mass of people was virtually impossible, hence soldiers, et al, were expected to live off the land. When quantities were insufficient forging parties were formed to seize whatever they needed from peasants in the countryside. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 54. For a more detailed account of the impact of war on civilians see J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), 179–208 and Bowd, *RENAISSANCE MASS MURDER*.

[2] Bowd, *Renaissance Mass Murder*, 79.

[3] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 56. Ruff uses the term "pioneers" instead of engineers. Even though a pioneer in military terms is an engineer, my decision to replace the word is for ease of understanding. The term *guastatore,* translates to pioneer as well as sapper (Follet Zanichelli Italian-English Dictionary). By definition, a sapper is a military specialist in the field of fortification work and/or a military demolition specialist. Ruff mentions that the *guastatori* were also responsible for building forts.

[4] Bowd, *Renaissance Mass Murder*. Bowd states the most intense period of violence during the Italian Wars occurred between 1508-1517, noting that 1512 was particularly brutal as Brescia, Ravenna and Prato all were sacked within the span of six months, killing thousands of inhabitants. The civilian massacres, he claims, were part of the normal course of warfare, dictated by a strategy of terror and a desire for revenge or punishment.

Guastalla, like much of northern Italy, was not immune to the violence of campaigning armies; it too suffered from the quartering of Imperial troops: an infestation of the country, according to historian Ireneo Affò (1741-1797).[5] At various times during the Italian Wars, Guastalla housed French, German, and Spanish and troops. As early as 1510, fifty French lances were garrisoned in Guastalla, likely because of the Marquis of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga II's service to the French King Louis XII. Furthermore, it appears that the Count of Guastalla, Achille Torelli (father of Countess Ludovica) served in the French army at the behest of the King.[6] Under the protection of France and its allies of the League of Cambrai, there was little need for protection. This changed when, in opposition to the French, Pope Julius II broke from the league. The Pope's subsequent formation of the Holy League with Venice and Spain concerned the Guastallese. The Pope's attack on Mirandola, located 37km to the east, called for French troops to be summoned from across the region, including Parma, the Veneto, and Guastalla.[7] This left Guastalla unprotected and vulnerable to sack. In late 1511 it was. The Venetians, led by the future doge, Andrea Gritti *Proveditor dell'Armata,* accompanied by three hundred men-at-arms, one thousand cavalry, and one thousand infantry, sacked Guastalla.[8]

The region of the Po, from Piacenza to Ferrara, was particularly tempestuous during the early stage of the War of the League of Cognac (1526-1530).[9] In 1526 Spanish and German troops swarmed the cities and territories of Guastalla, Reggio, Carpi, and Correggio.[10] In 1527

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[5] "*Fu intanto assegnato in Guastalla il quartiere a nuove truppe."*Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di Guastalla*, 2:151.
[6] "*Il Conte Achille militando pel re andò al campo...*" Affò, 2:128.
[7] Mirandola would eventually fall to the Pope's forces in January of 1511.
[8] Francesco Guicciardini, *The History of Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 345.
There is some dispute regarding the sack. According to Affó, Guastalla was not completely sacked but merely raided, suggesting there were not incidents of mass murder. See Affò, *Istoria della città e ducato di Guastalla*, 2:129.
[9] The League of Cognac, formed in 1526, comprised of France, Venice, the Papal States, the Duchy of Milan, and Florence. The intent of this "Holy League" was to force Charles V out of Italy.
[10] These troops would go on to sack Rome in May of 1527.

the Venetians sacked nearby Novelarra and Bagnolo, raiding homes and farms for provisions. The "arbitrary looting and violence" seems to have been typical behavior for the acquisition of supplies and other necessities; if they could not get what they wanted, men, women, and children were taken as prisoners or even tortured.[11] Guastalla was likely a victim of some of these same atrocities. As German troops passed through the marquisate of Mantua on their way to engage with Spanish troops in Piacenza, they would have undoubtedly passed through Guastallese territories. As Michael Mallet notes, imperial soldiers behaved "less like an imperial army and more like a fourteenth-century mercenary company," implying that soldiers considered the enemy to be the opposing ruler and his army but all his subjects as well, making everyone vulnerable to looting and attack.[12]

The presence of imperial troops in and around Guastalla seemed to be constant. In 1525, soon after the Battle of Pavia, Charles V sent a troop of cavalry to Guastalla to head off any possible attacks from the French allied territories of Ferrara and Carpi. In 1531, troops were again in Guastalla at the behest of Charles V, though on this occasion it was a troop of troublesome Spanish cavalry and men at arms, requesting payment from the countess.[13] The Guastallese were often required to pay the imposing soldiers (*cinque soldi* for infantry and *dieci soldi* for cavalry). The payments did not ensure their safety as the Guastallese were also subjected to incredible atrocities, including murder. However, as Affò notes, the Guastallese often retaliated in kind.[14] The poor villagers, who had been at the mercy of the movement of the

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[11] Salomoni, *Guastalla e le comunità della bassa nel tardo Medioevo*, 36.
[12] Mallett, *The Italian Wars, 1494-1559*, 159.
[13] The leader of the cavalry, Diego Perez, upon introducing himself to the Countess Torelli, requested 200 *scudi* as repayment for goods stolen in 1525 when the Guastallese retaliated against Spanish troops. Affò seems to indicate that during this period of troop occupation the Guastallese engaged in violent acts of outrage or revenge. He implies that killings and robberies were perpetrated by both sides. Affò states that the violence was tit for tat: "…*rendevano sovente loro pan per focaccia, onde uccisioni e simili disordini…"* See Affò 2:151-152.
[14] Affò, *Istoria della cittá e ducato di Guastalla*, 2:151–52. Such fees proved to be burdensome. In 1526 the presence of Spanish troops required the *Communità* to sell much of their land near the Po in order to, according to

Spanish army were continuously afflicted and oppressed, so much so that they completely abandoned the countryside.[15] Hence, when Ferrante Gonzaga arrived in November of 1535, he found the area desolate. One wonders why Ferrante would later want to purchase such a desolate area even if he knew the abandoned countryside was ideal for the lodging of soldiers and cavalry. As early as 1532, before he had any connection to Guastalla, Ferrante sent a company of light cavalry to "*terra di Guastalla*" to lodge.[16]

Affò, support "*queste genti."* Affò, 2:156. Affò's use of the word people/*genti* suggests that it was more than just the soldiers, supporting the fact that there was a bandwagon of other individuals following the troops.

[15] Salomoni notes that Guastalla and all its territory had been at the mercy of the Spanish army and their movements since Ludovica inherited the county from her father. See: Salomoni, *Guastalla e le comunità della bassa nel tardo medioevo*, 94.

[16] B.M. Busta 4, No. 1

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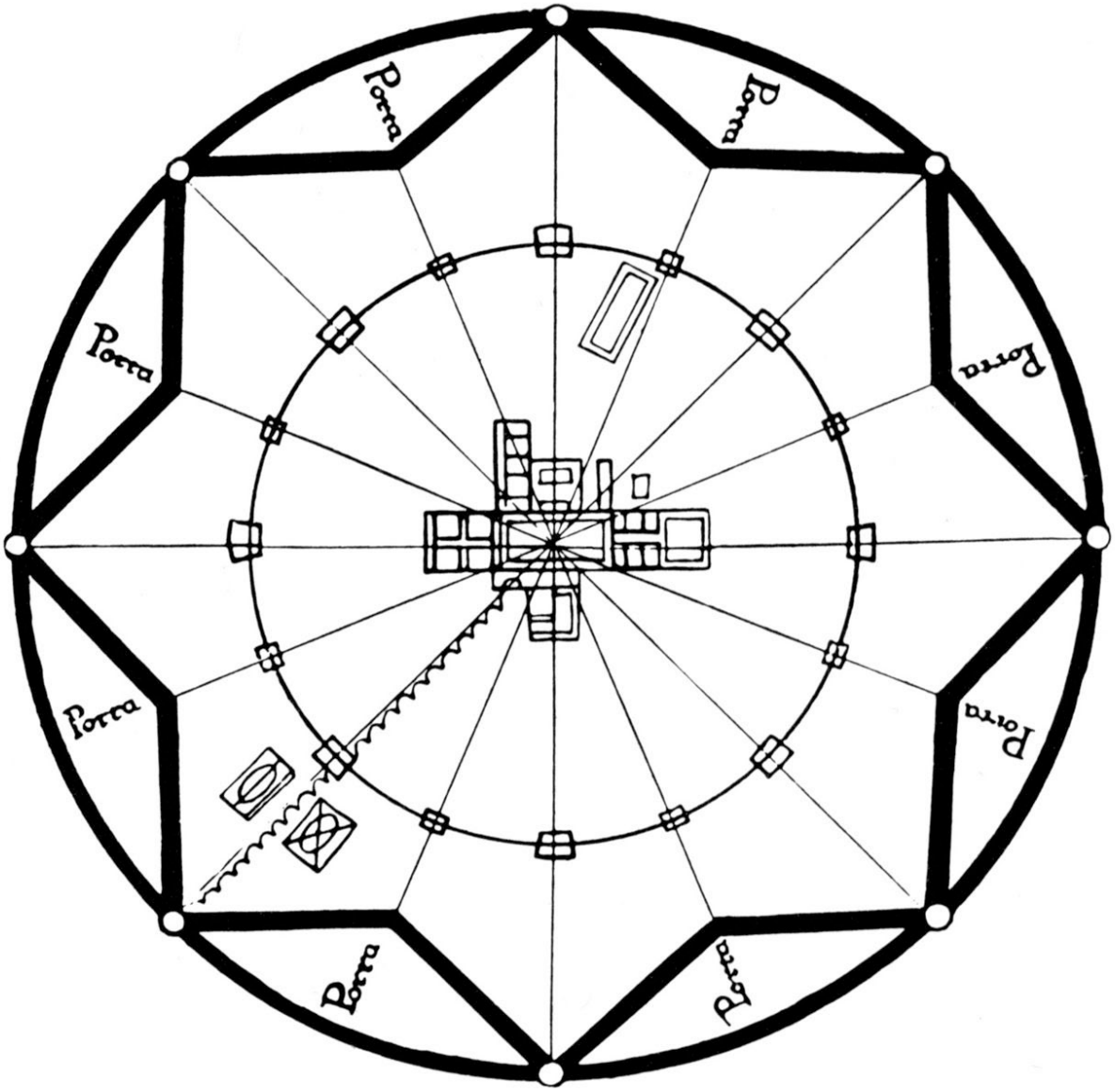

Fig. 1.1: Filarete. Plan of Sforzinda[1]

[1] "Sforzinda," in *Wikipedia*, June 19, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sforzinda&oldid=1029383114.

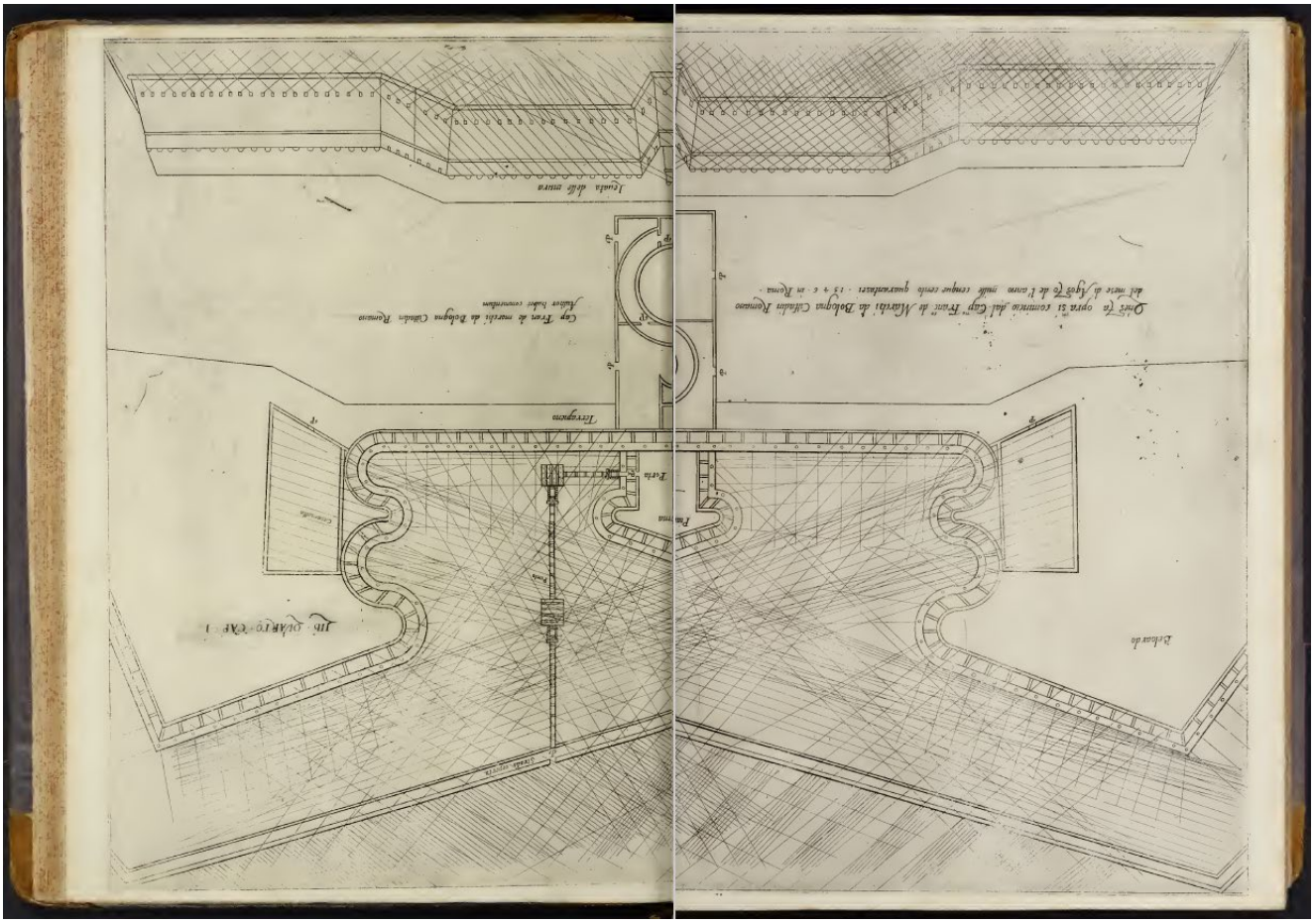

Fig. 1.2: Francesco de' Marchi. *Pianta d'una Cortina Delle architettura militare*[2]

[2] Marchi, *Della architettura militare, del capitano Francesco de' Marchi Bolognese, gentil'huomo Romano*.

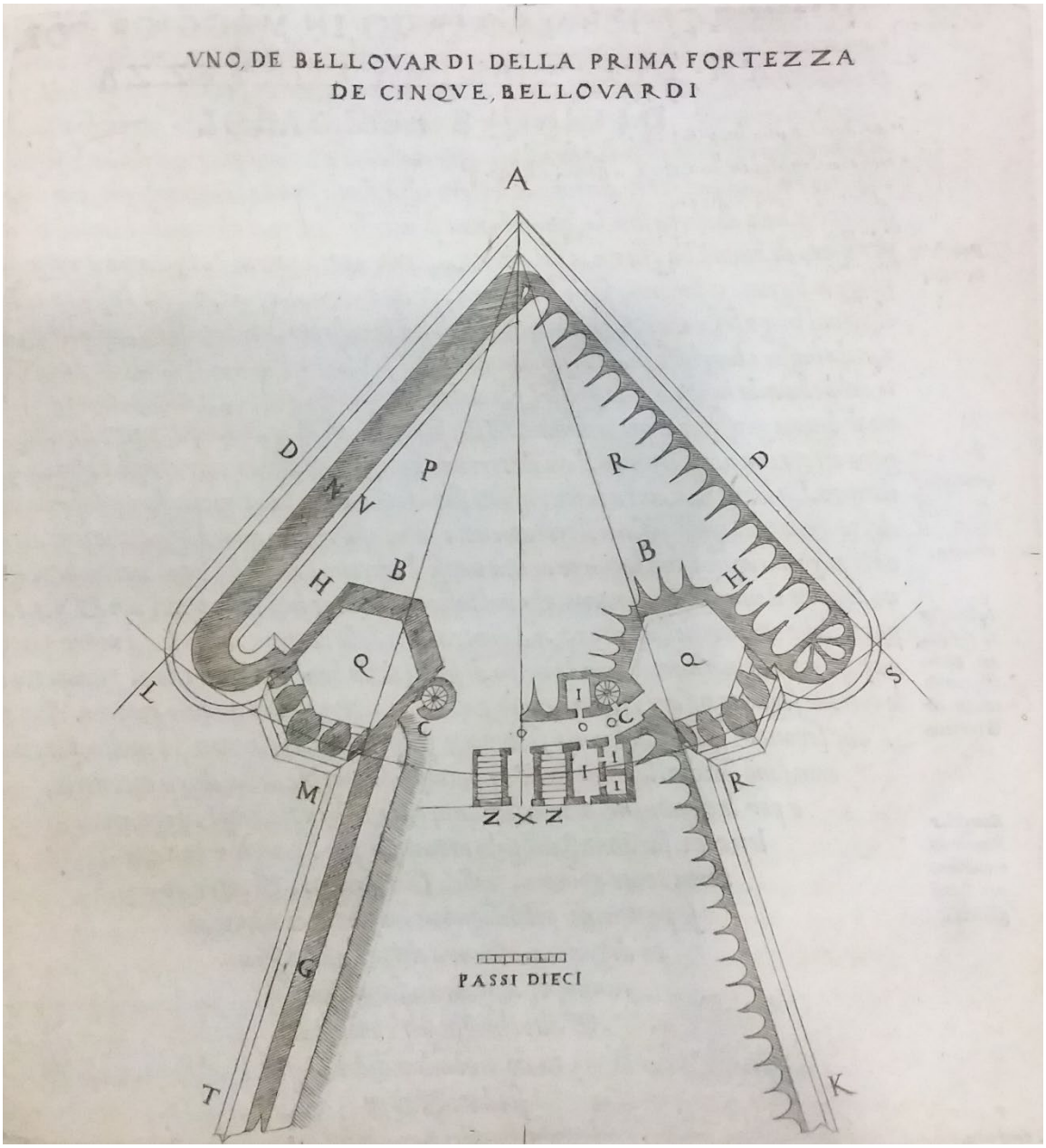

Fig. 1.3: *Uno de bellouardi della prima fortezza de cinque, bellouardi*[3]

[3] Alghisi, *Delle fortificationi di m. Galasso Alghisi de Carpi ... Libri tre*.

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chi de baluardi de gli anguli. & se ben paresse, che tai baluardi di maggior fronte potessero esser urtati dalle botte, che uscissero da i fianchi di quelli de gli anguli; io nondimeno tengo, che tal fronte sia piu utile. perche se a tai tre baluardi di maggior fronte segnati di lettera, o, fusse dalla batteria nimica leuata parte della lor fronte; sera nondimeno tal rottura scoperta & difesa molto meglio da i fianchi di quelli de gli anguli, che non sarebbono gli altri di minor fronte. Lo spatio tra le case & le mura si è lassato di canne trentatre. delle quali canne diciasette seruiranno al terrapieno, facendone salire la metà dolce dolce; & l'altra metà resterà per il piano del detto suo terrapieno. & l'altre canne sedici di spatio saranno stradone tra le case & il terrapieno; nel quale, bisognando, si potrebbe fare una ritirata. La piazza principale si è lassata longa canne sessant'otto, & larga cinquanta. il piano delle case si dimostra in questo disegno piu alto del fondo del fosso braccia sei. il qual fosso se bene in questa non si dimostra, ci si debbe nondimeno comprendere, essendo massime in piano la città. le altre piazze, le strade, gli spatii per gli edificii si troueranno col compasso, proportionandole alle misure già dette.

Fig. 1.4: Pietro Cataneo. Plan of Hexagonal City[4]

[4] Cataneo, *I Qvattro primi libri di architettvra di Pietro Cataneo Senese*.

Fig. 1.5: Francesco Torelli. Pianta di Guastalla come si ritrovava l'anno 1689 avanti che fosse Demolita dai Spagnuoli[5]

[5] Fondo Mappe e Disengi B.M.G

Fig. 1.6: Ferrante Gonzaga Conquering Envy[6]
Piazza Mazzini, Guastalla

[6] Photo by Author

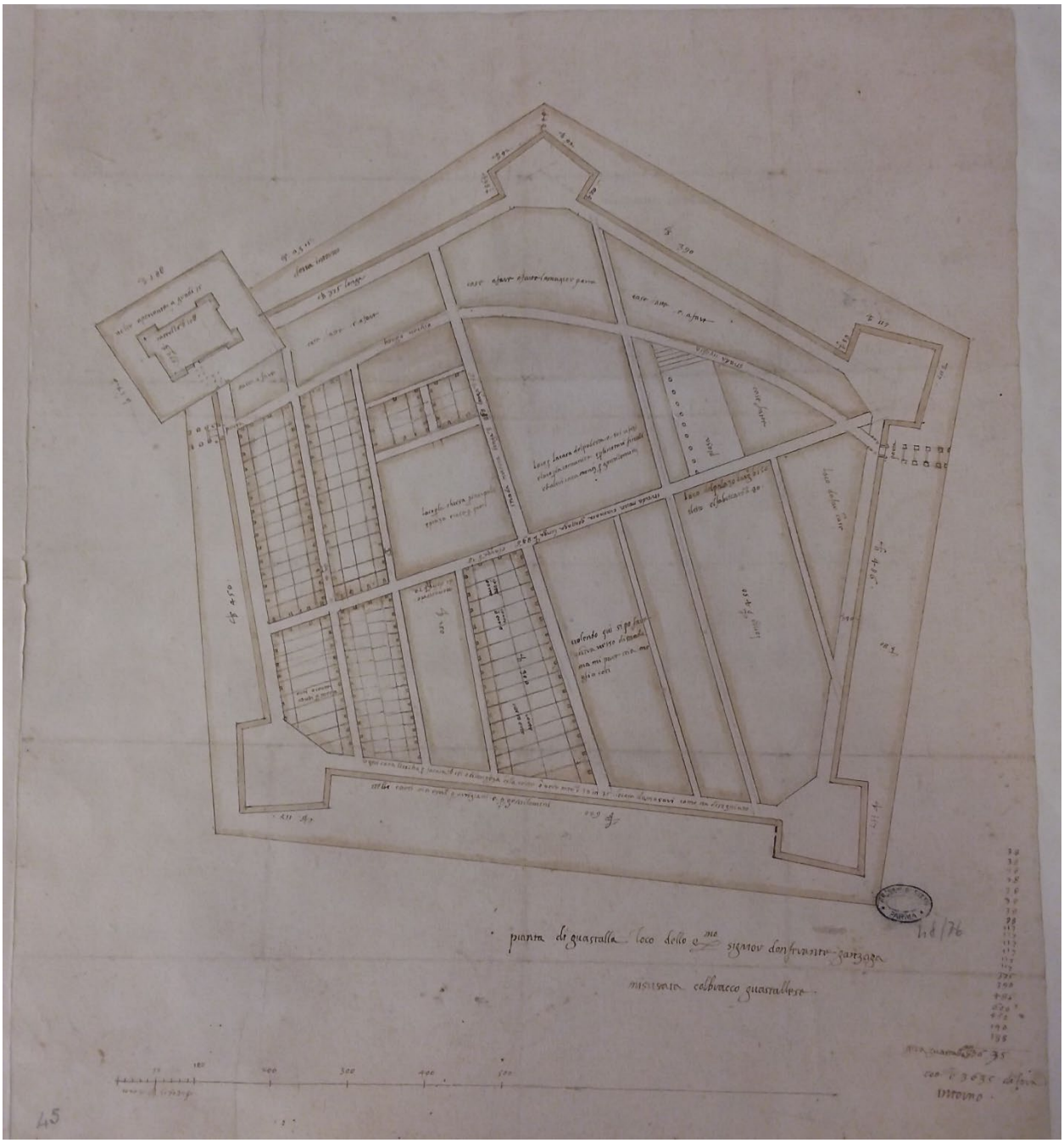

Fig. 1.7: 1553 Plan of Guastalla[7]
The main cross axial streets are aligned to the cardinal directions

[7] A.S.P Fondi Mappe e Designi Sol 48 no 76

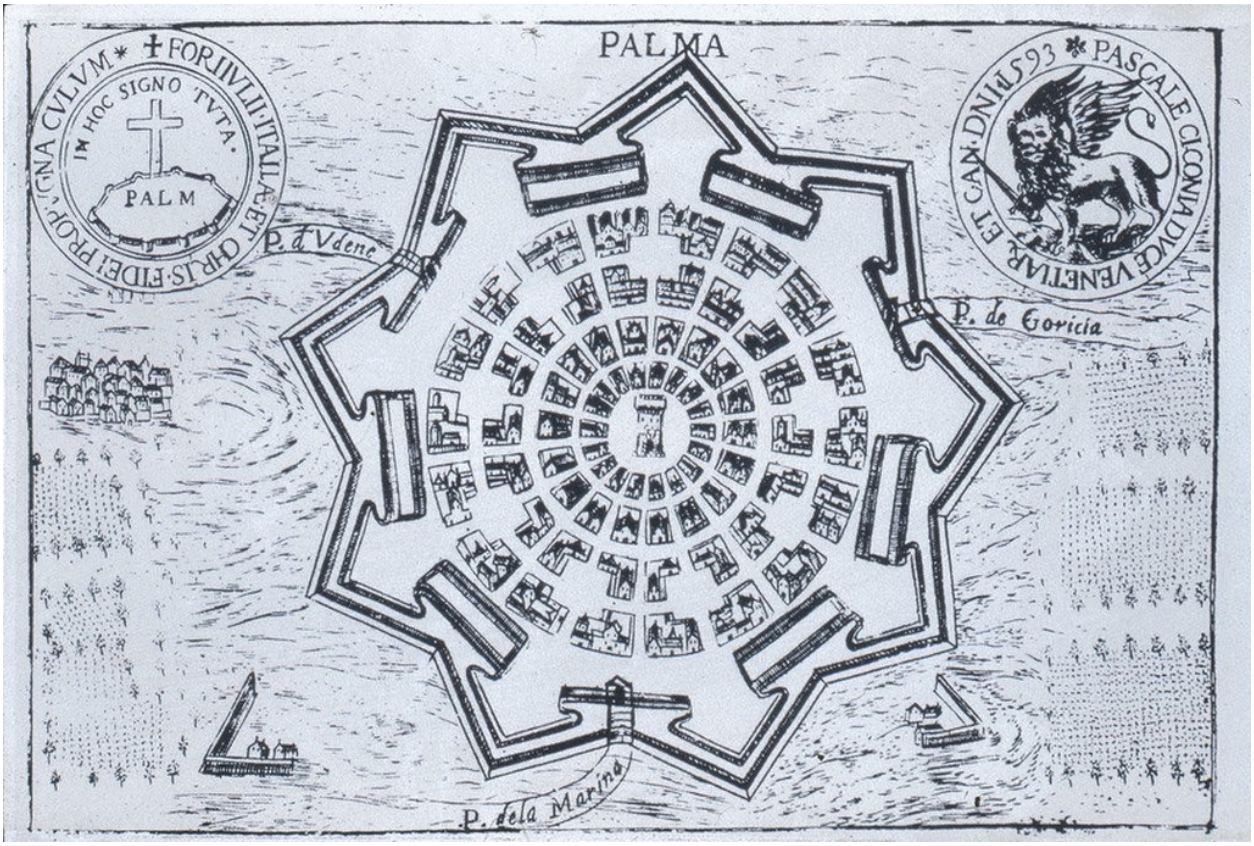

Fig. 1.8: 1559 Plan of Palmanova[8]

[8] *Palmanova: Schematic Plan*, 1599, 1599, https://doi.org/10.2307/artstor.13908443.

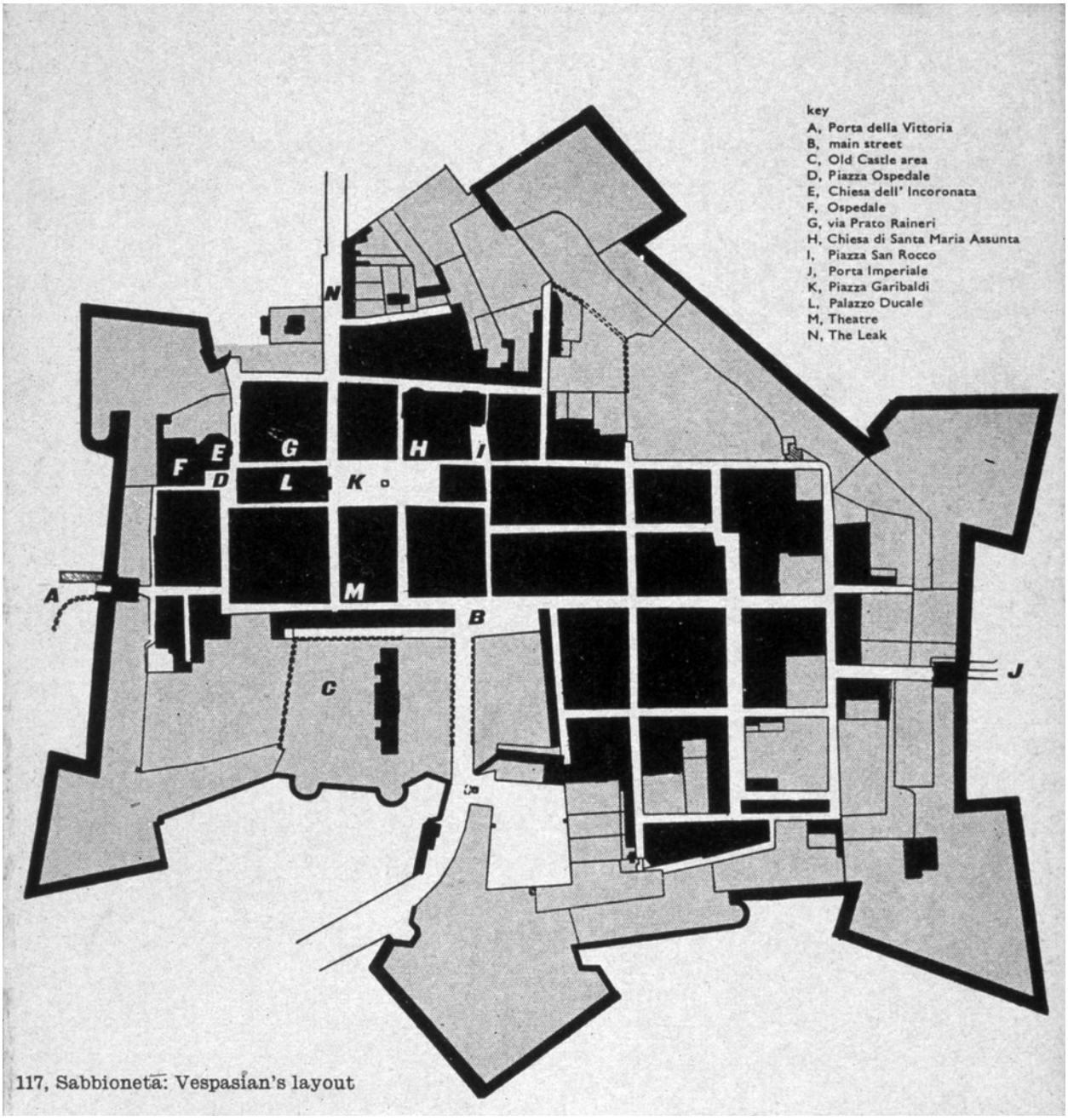

Fig. 1.9: Plan of Sabbioneta[9]

[9] *Sabbioneta: Plan of City*, accessed October 21, 2021, https://doi.org/10.2307/artstor.13892230.

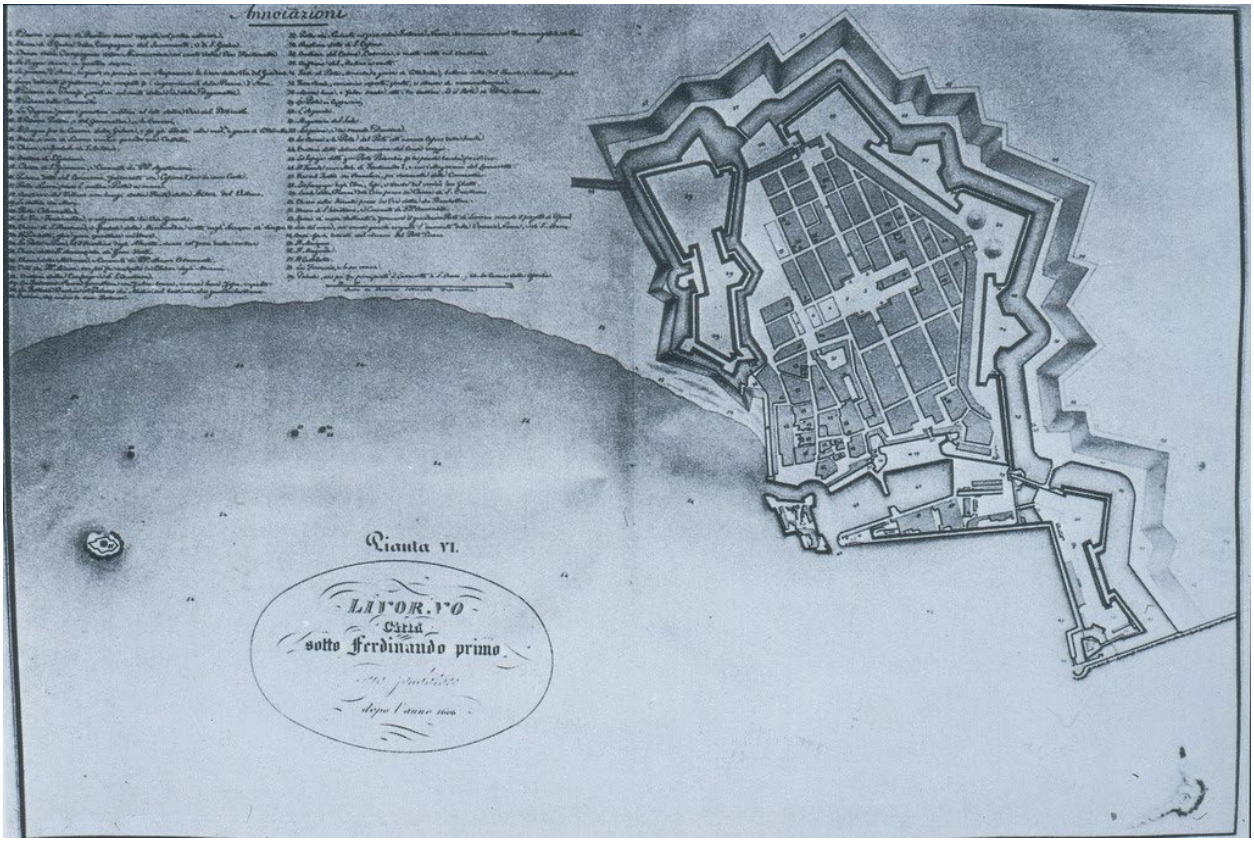

Fig. 1.10: 1606 Plan of Livorno[10]

[10] Denise Ulivieri, "Fortezza Vecchia in Livorno," *Nexus Network Journal* 16, no. 3 (December 1, 2014): 675–97, https://doi.org/10.1007/s00004-014-0203-y.

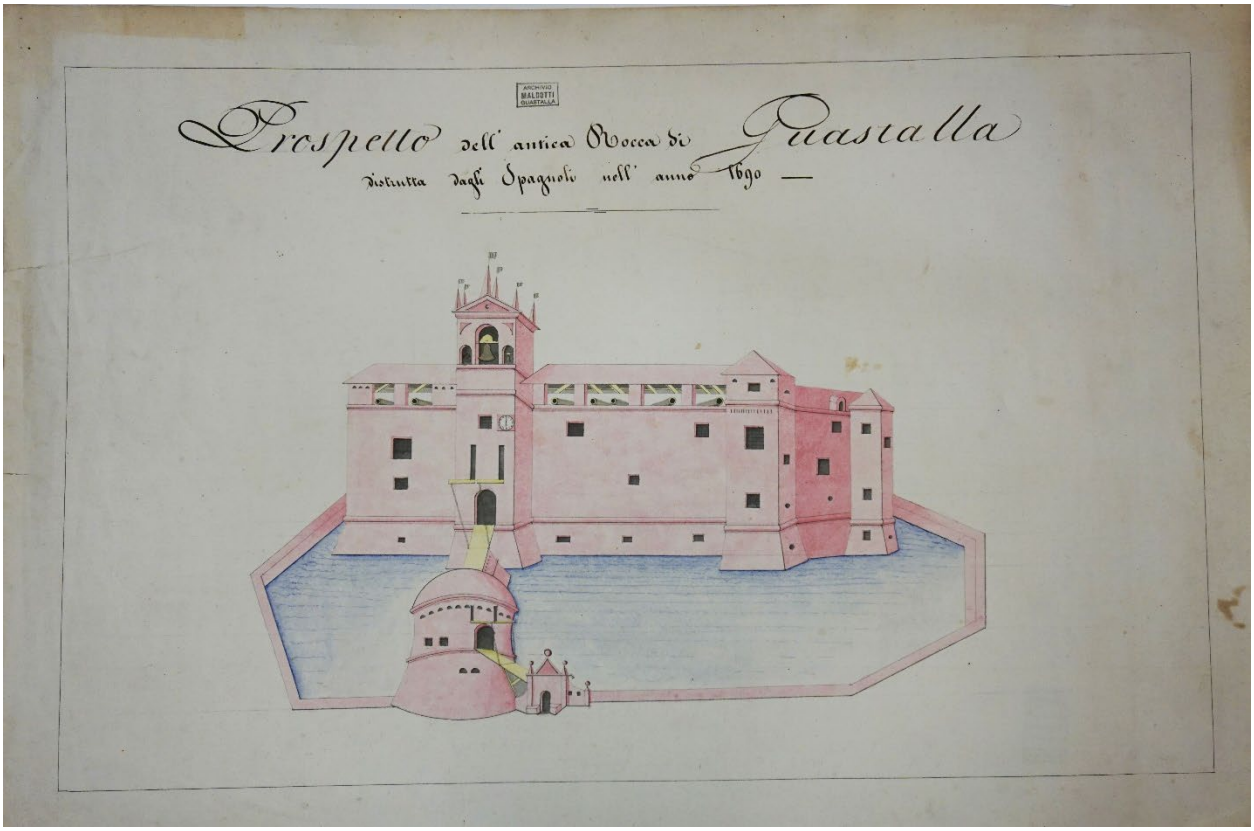

Fig. 1.11: Rocca di Guastalla[11]

[11] Biblioteca Maldotti, Guastalla

Fig. 1.12: *Pianta di Piacenza*[12]
Enlarged view of *Citte di Piacenza e Guastalla*
Citadel/Castel at left.

[12] Fondo Mappe e Disegni B.M.G

Fig. 1.13: Enlarged Plan of Guastalla [13]

[13] Fondi Mappe e Designi Sol 48 no 76 A.S.P

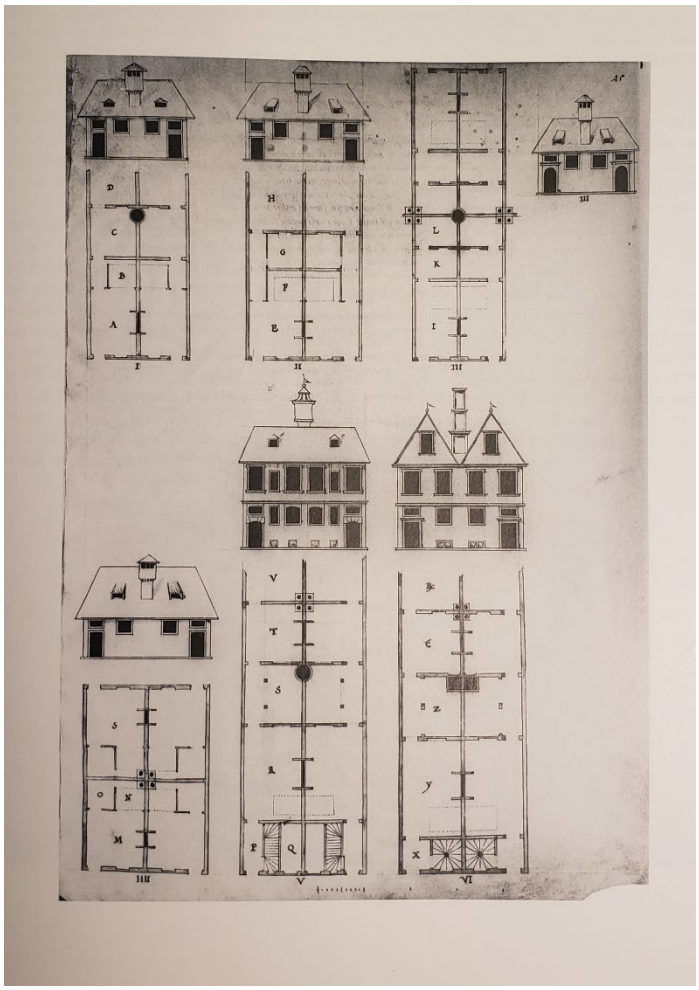

Fig. 1.14: Habitations within Cities, of all Ranks of Men.[14]
Sebastiano Serlio
The houses for the poorest man are labeled I and IIII

[14] Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture : Books I-V of Tutte l'opere d'architettura et Prospetiva'*, trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, vol. II (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001).

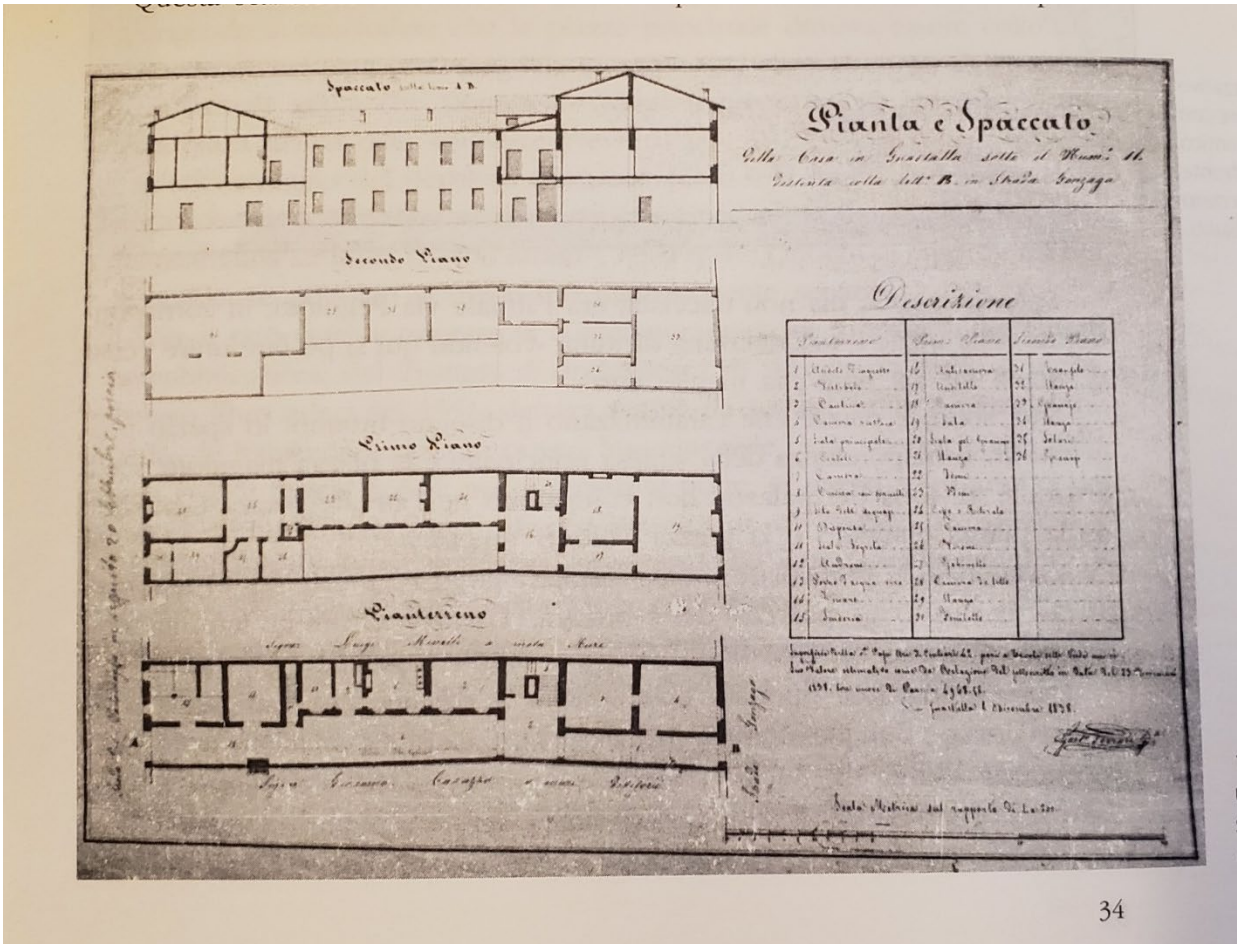

Fig. 1.15: Casa a Schiera[15]

[15] Storchi, *Guastalla*.

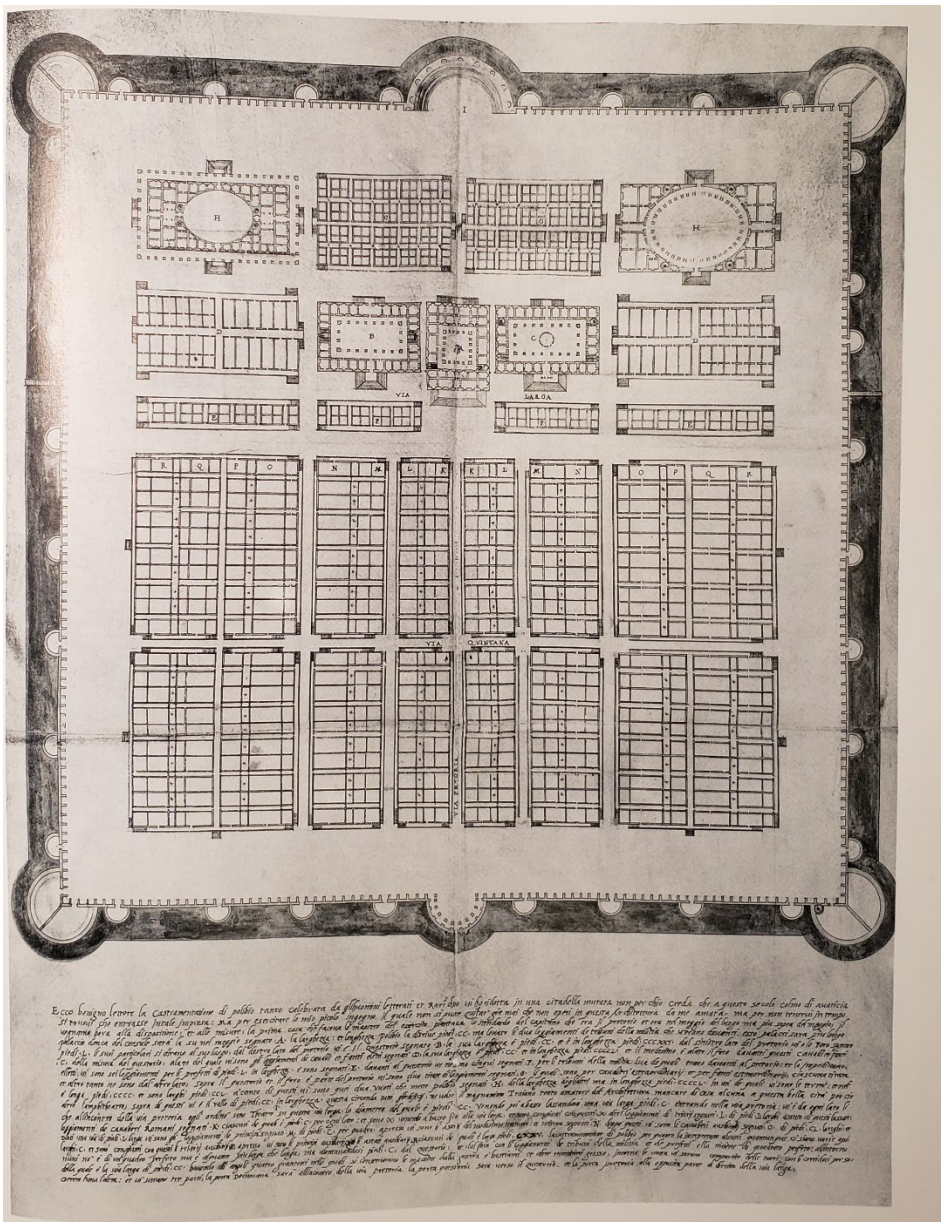

Fig. 1.16: Castrametation of the Romans[16]
Sebastiano Serlio

[16] Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture : Books I-V of Tutte l'opere d'architettura et Prospetiva'*.

Chapter 2 Images

Fig.2.1: Giuliano da Sangallo. Villa Medici Poggio a Caiano[17]

[17] "Villa-Medici-Poggia-a-Caiano-Panorama-Prato-Italien.Jpg (JPEG Image, 1050 × 700 Pixels)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://reise-zikaden.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/villa-medici-poggia-a-caiano-panorama-prato-italien.jpg.

Fig. 2.2: Braccio Pontelli. Rocca di Ostia[18]

[18] "Castello1-Img000431.Jpg (JPEG Image, 4256 × 2832 Pixels) — Scaled (33%)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://www.ostiaantica.beniculturali.it/ups/2019/01/07/castello1-img000431.jpg.

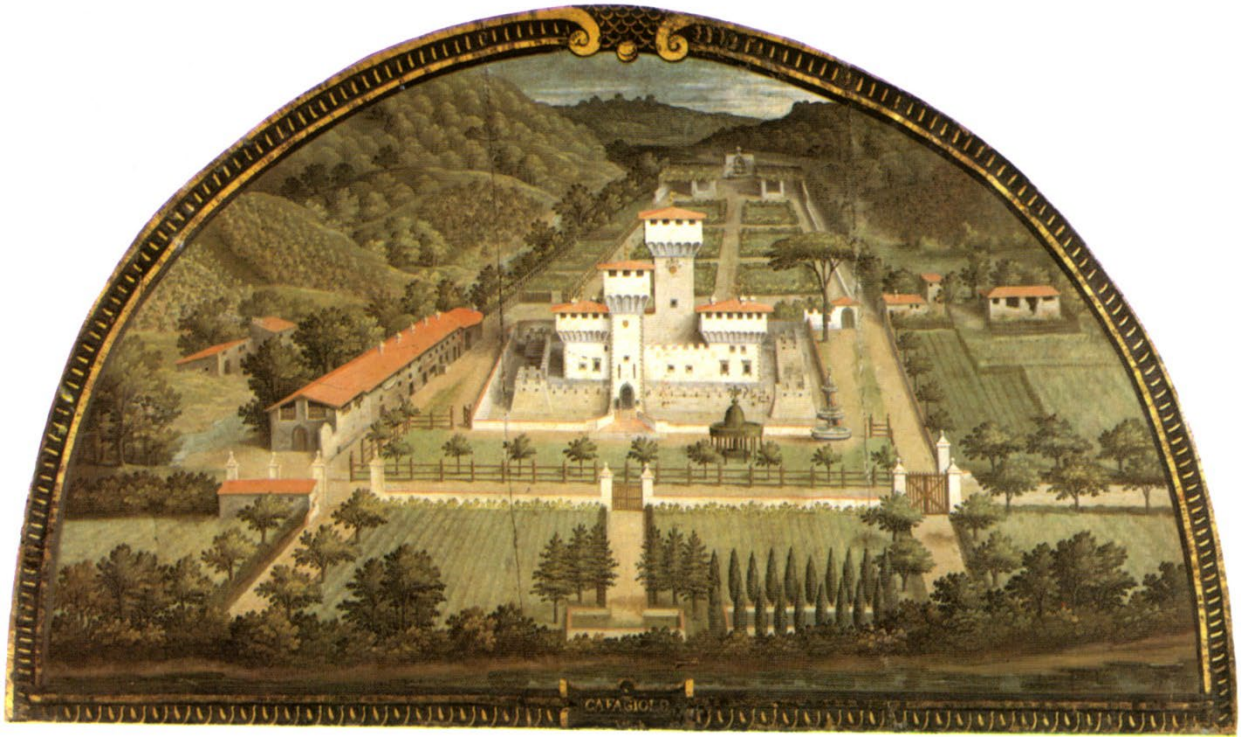

Fig. 2.3: Villa Medici at Cafaggiolo[19]

[19] "Villa Medici at Cafaggiolo," in *Wikipedia*, April 7, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Villa_Medici_at_Cafaggiolo&oldid=1016564683.

Fig. 2.4: Rocca Sinibalda[20]

[20] "Rocca Sinibalda," *Comune di Rocca Sinibalda* (blog), accessed July 9, 2021, http://www.comune.roccasinibalda.ri.it/rocca-sinibalda/.

Fig. 2.5: Castel Sant'Angelo[21]

[21] "2017_CASTEL_SANTANGELO_ROMA_DRONE_JMz_DJI_0038-1200x800.Jpg (JPEG Image, 1200 × 800 Pixels)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://www.dronestagr.am/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2017_CASTEL_SANTANGELO_ROMA_DRONE_JMz_DJI_0038-1200x800.jpg.

Fig. 2.6: Castello Odescalschi di Bracciano[22]

[22] "Castello-Odescalchi-Bracciano-1024x623.Jpg (JPEG Image, 1024 × 623 Pixels)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://www.dimorestoricheitaliane.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/castello-odescalchi-bracciano-1024x623.jpg.

Fig. 2.7: Exterior of Sistine Chapel[23]

[23] "10 Things You Did Not Know about The Sistine Chapel," *RTF | Rethinking The Future* (blog), July 16, 2020, https://www.re-thinkingthefuture.com/design-inspiration/a1291-the-sistine-chapel-10-things-you-did-not-know/.

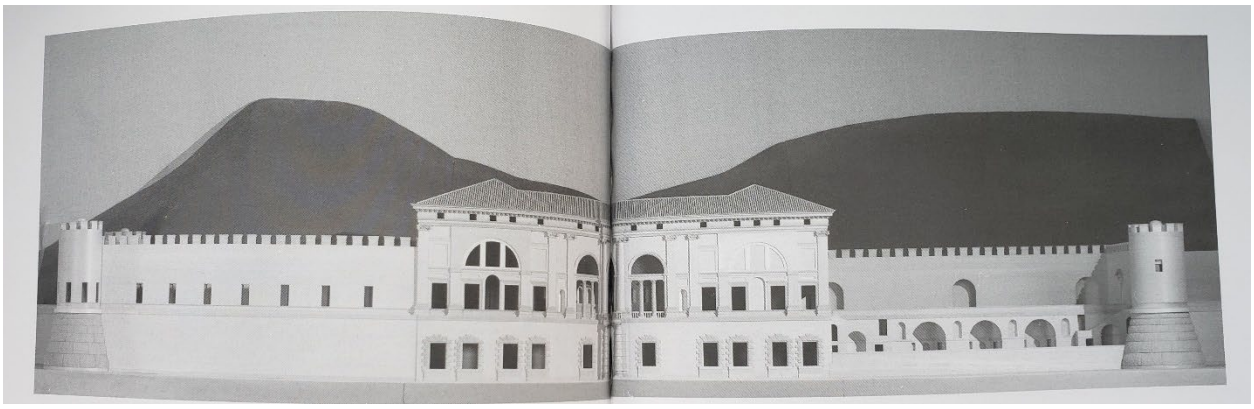

Fig. 2.8: Model of Villa Madama[24]
Eastern Elevation
Guy Dewez

[24] Elet, *Architectural Invention in Renaissance Rome*.

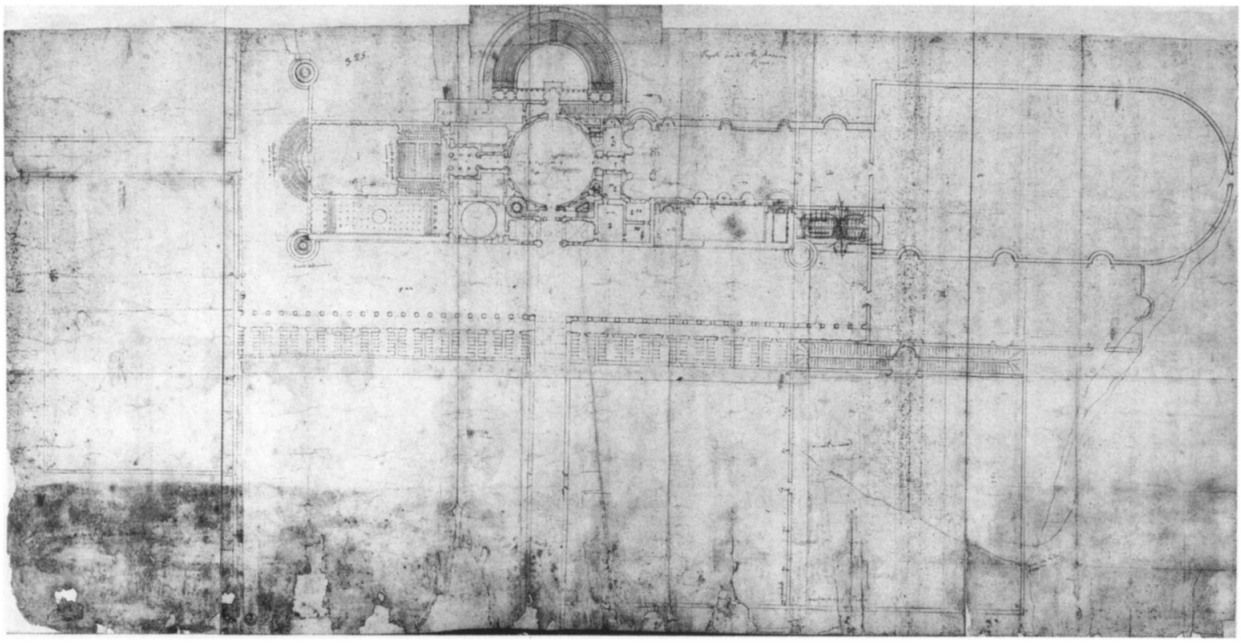

Fig. 2.9: Plan of Villa Madama[25]
Antonio da Sangallo

[25] Coffin, "The Plans of the Villa Madama."

Fig. 2.10: Palazzo Ducale, Urbino[26]

[26] "1200px-PalazzoDucaleUrbino.JPG (JPEG Image, 1200 × 900 Pixels) — Scaled (82%)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d2/PalazzoDucaleUrbino.JPG/1200px-PalazzoDucaleUrbino.JPG.

Fig. 2.11: Castel Nuovo, Naples[27]

[27] "Castello_Maschio_Angioino.Jpg (JPEG Image, 2017 × 1346 Pixels) — Scaled (54%)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a3/Castello_Maschio_Angioino.jpg.

Fig. 2.12: Villa Giovannia, Cento[28]

[28] "Villa Giovannina," *Cento città del Guercino* (blog), accessed October 6, 2021, https://centocittadelguercino.unibo.it/index.php/home/i-luoghi-del-guercino/nei-dintorni-di-cento/villa-della-giovannina/.

Fig. 2.13: Palladio.Villa Rotunda, Vicenza[29]

[29] "T75gtf42ike01.Jpg (JPEG Image, 2048 × 1361 Pixels) — Scaled (54%)," accessed August 2, 2021, https://i.redd.it/t75gtf42ike01.jpg.

Fig. 2.14: Palazzo Giustiniani-Odescalchi,[30]
(View from garden)

[30] "Palazzo Giustiniani Odescalchi," Mapio.net, accessed July 19, 2021, https://mapio.net/pic/p-98087362/.

Fig. 2.15: Palazzo Orsini, Pitiglano[31]

[31] trolvag, *Palazzo Orsini, Pitigliano, Grosseto, Italy*, June 4, 2013, June 4, 2013, https://web.archive.org/web/20161029232155/http://www.panoramio.com/photo/92096931, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Palazzo_Orsini,_Pitigliano,_Grosseto,_Italy_-_panoramio.jpg.

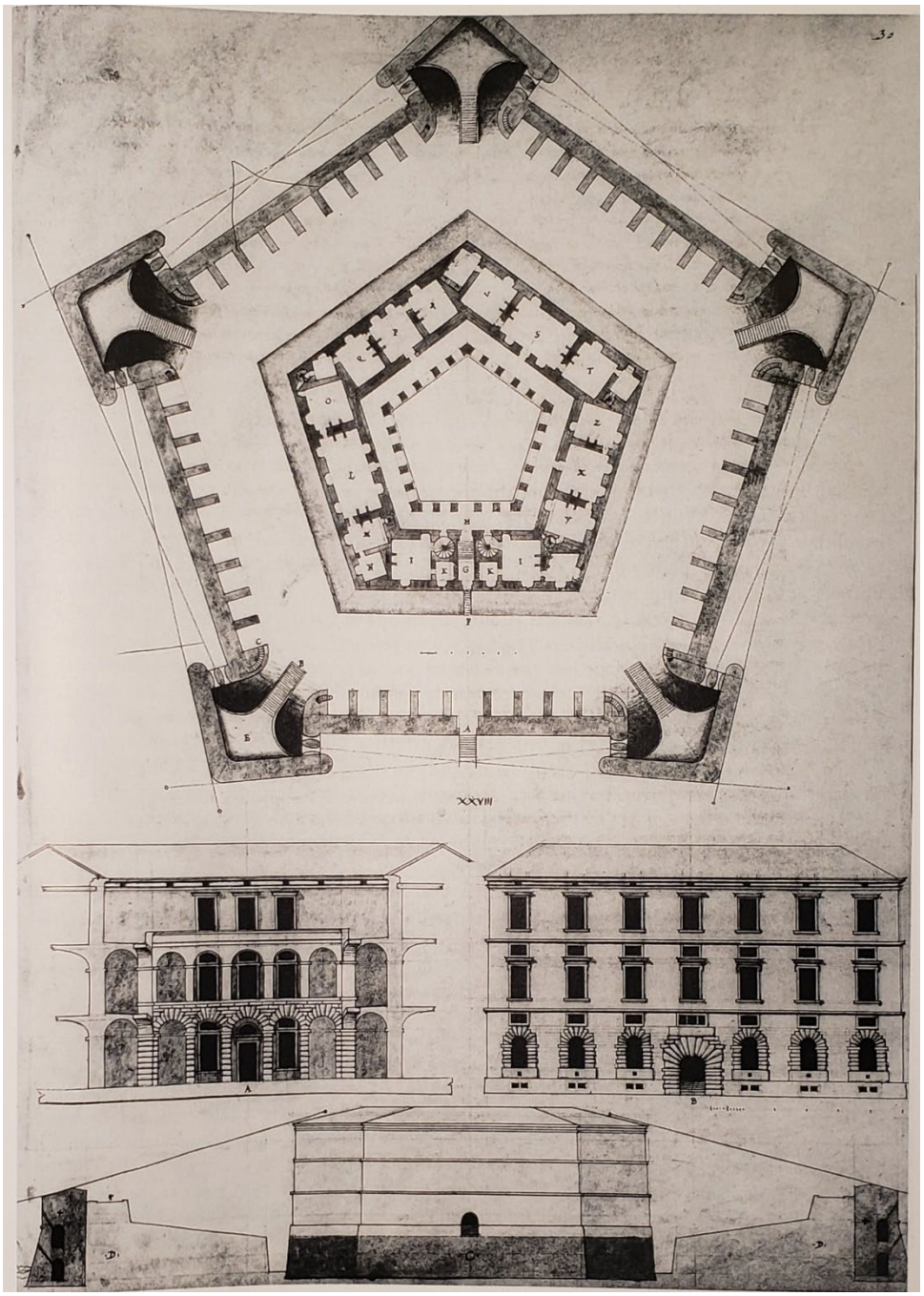

Fig. 2.16: “On another Form of the House of the Tyrant Prince”
Sebastiano Serlio[32]

[32] Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture : Books I-V of Tutte l’opere d’architettura et Prospetiva’*.

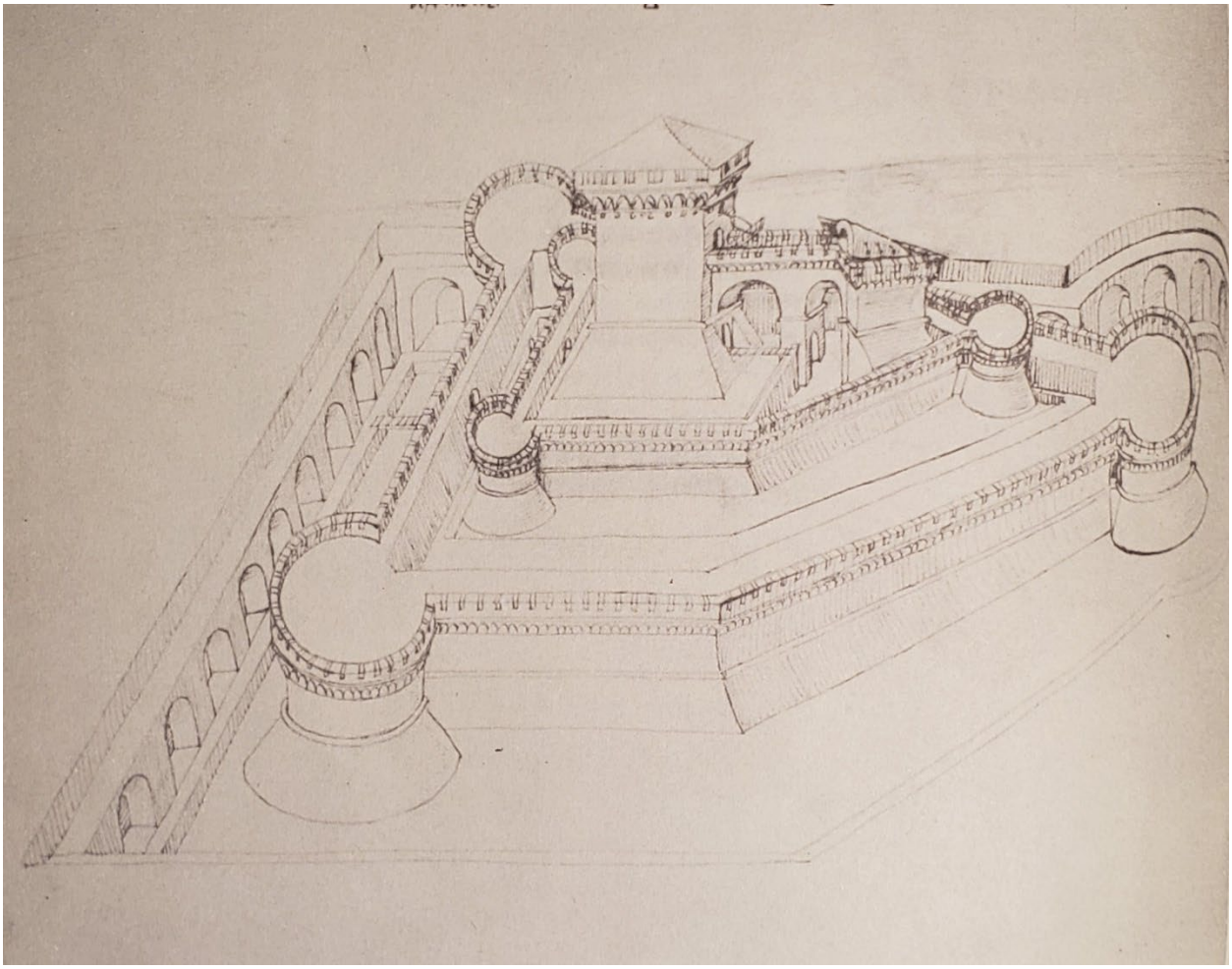

Fig. 2.17: Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Rocca Pentagona[33]

[33] Martini, *Trattati Di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare*, 1967.

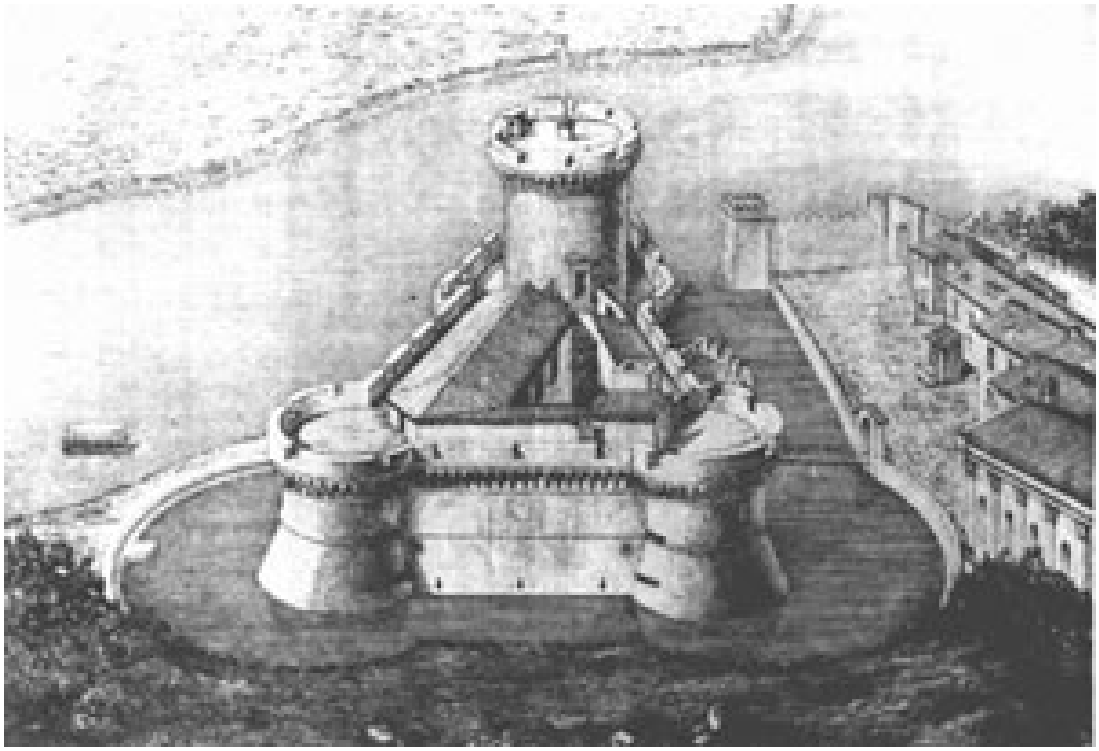

Fig. 2.18: Rocca di Ostia[34]

[34] "RoccaOstia2," accessed September 24, 2021, http://www.amirel.it/old_site/relazioni/roccaostia/roccaostia.htm.

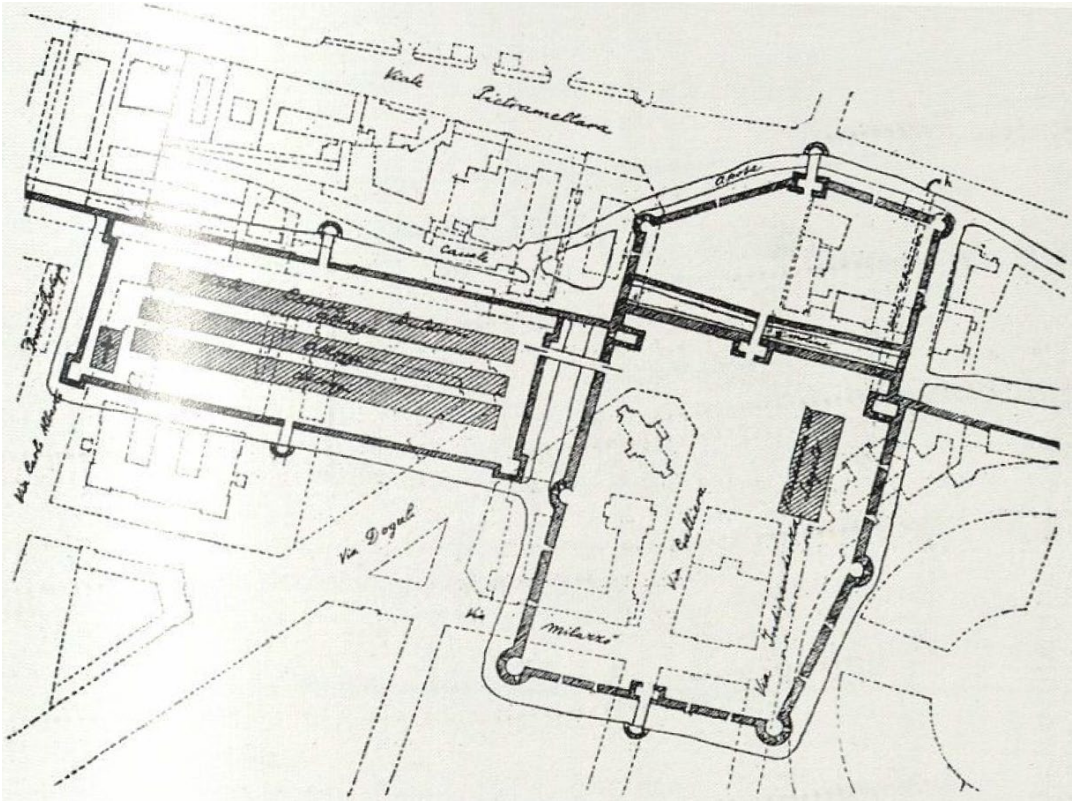

Fig. 2.19: Plan of Rocca Galliera[35]

[35] Benevolo, *Il Castello di Porta Galliera*.

Fig. 2.20: Bastioned Tower at Villa Medici a Poggio a Caiano[36]

[36] "Villa Medici Poggio a Caiano Tower," Google Maps, accessed October 4, 2021, https://www.google.com/maps/@43.816968,11.054669,3a,75y,98.66h,106.15t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s8Zp8O6IArNfnuMq-ezuXDg!2e0!7i16384!8i8192.

Fig. 2.21: Vicenzo Scamozzi. Rocca Pisana, Lonigo[37]

[37] "Rocca Pisana," accessed October 4, 2021, https://www.outdooractive.com/en/poi/vicenza/rocca-pisana/57228393/.

Fig. 2.22: Rocca di Civita Castellana[38]

[38] “LE FORRE DEL TREJA,” LE FORRE DEL TREJA, accessed October 4, 2021, https://agriturismoleforredeltreja.com/.

Fig. 2.23: Court of Honor; Rocca di Civita Castellana[39]

[39] "Discovering the Medieval Hill Towns of Central Italy," *Venturists* (blog), August 25, 2016, https://www.venturists.net/discovering-the-medieval-hill-towns-of-central-italy/.

Fig. 2.24: Courtyard, Palazzo Venezia, Rome[40]

[40] "The Spanish Steps Apartment on Via Della Mercede: Image," accessed October 25, 2021, https://spanishstepsapartment.files.wordpress.com/2016/11/img_6696.jpg.

Fig. 2.25: Plan of Rocca Paolina, Perugia[41]

[41] Camerieri, Sangallo, and Palombaro, *Progetto e realizzazione della Rocca Paolina di Perugia*.

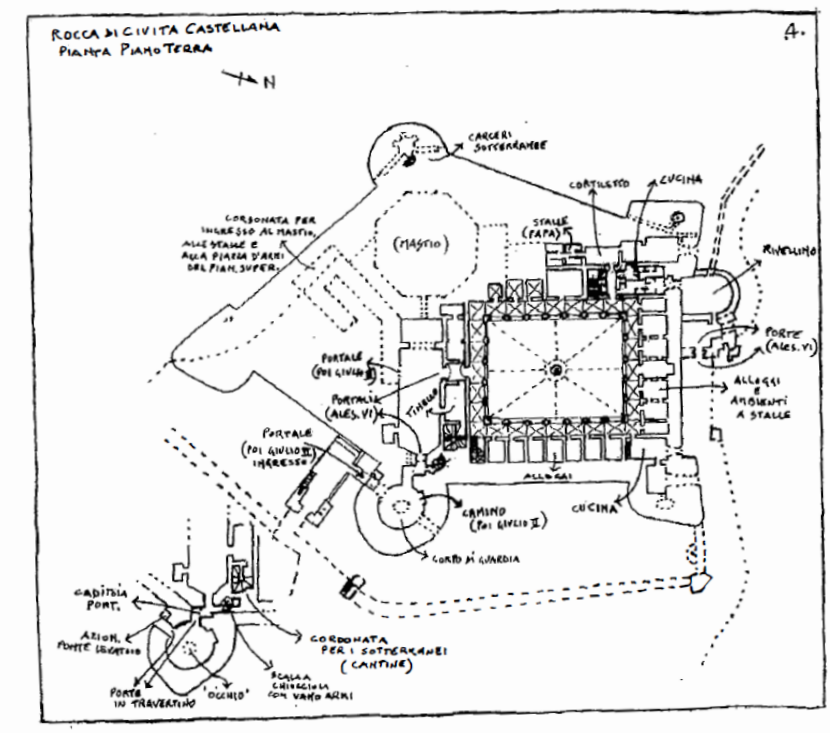

Fig. 2.26: Plan of Rocca di Civita Castellana[42]

[42] Maria Chiabò, M Gargano, and Comitato nazionale incontri di studio per il V centenario del pontificato di Alessandro VI (1492-1503), eds., *Le Rocche alessandrine e la Rocca di Civita Castellana: atti del convegno (Viterbo 19-20 marzo 2001)*, 2003.

Fig. 2.27: Reconstruction of the Rocca Paolina[43]

[43] "Perugia's Rocca Paolina: Papal Power Manifested," Annesitaly, January 21, 2021, https://www.annesitaly.com/blog/perugias-rocca-paolina-fortress-papal-power/.

Fig. 2.28: Forte dei Borgia, Nepi[44]

[44] "Borgia's Castle," accessed October 4, 2021, https://www.museociviconepi.it/en/monuments/borgia-castle.

Chapter 3 Images

Fig. 3.1 View of Piazza Maggiore from Palazzo Comunale, Bologna[45]

[45] Peter Bardwell, *Views around Piazza Maggiore*, May 14, 2019, photo, May 14, 2019, https://www.flickr.com/photos/132932913@N02/47936955343/.

Fig. 3.2 Sixteenth-Century Map of Bologna[46]
(North is to the bottom of the image)

[46] "Antique Map - Bird's-Eye View Plan of Bologna by Braun and Hogenberg. | Sanderus Website," accessed October 7, 2021, https://sanderusmaps.com/our-catalogue/antique-maps/europe/italy/antique-map-bird-s-eye-view-plan-of-bologna-by-braun-and-hogenberg-22292.

Fig. 3.3: Gaspar de Crayer (1600-1700). Couronnement de l'Empereur Charles Quint à Bologne[47]
(Coronation of Emperor Charles V in Bologna)
1.5m x 2.2m, Oil on Canvas

[47] After Gaspar de Crayer and Didier Descouens, *English: Coronation of Emperor Charles V in BolognaFrançais : Couronnement de l'empereur Charles Quint à BologneItaliano : Incoronazione Dell'imperatore Carlo V a Bologna*, February 1, 2020, oil on canvasmedium QS:P186,Q296955;P186,Q12321255,P518,Q861259, 164 × 220 cm (64.5 × 86.6 in), February 1, 2020, Musée Ingres, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mus%C3%A9e_Ingres-Bourdelle_-_Couronnement_de_l%27empereur_Charles_Quint_%C3%A0_Bologne_-_Gaspard_Crayer_-_Joconde06070000083.jpg.

Fig. 3.4: Palazzo Comunale, Bologna[48]

[48] Photo by Author

Fig. 3.5 Palazzo del Podestà, Bologna[49]

[49] Photo by Author

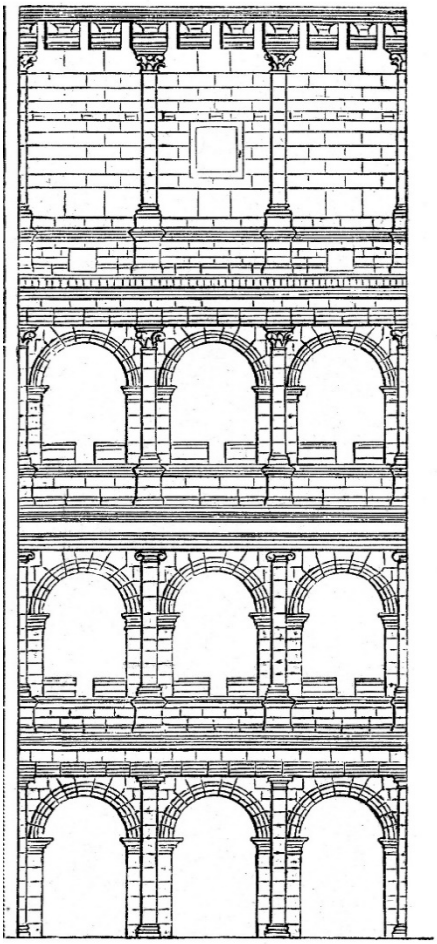

Fig. 3.6: Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater) [50]
Elevation

[50] 70-82 CE. Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater), [L] section; [R] elevation, Elevation (drawing), Section. arenas; amphitheaters (built works). https://library.artstor.org/asset/HSAHARA__1113_43331876.

Fig. 3.7: Ercole de' Roberti (1474/1477). Giovanni II Bentivoglio[51]
54cm x 38.1 cm, tempera on panel

[51] Ercole de' Roberti, Ferrarese. c. 1474/1477. Giovanni II Bentivoglio. Painting. Place: The National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.). https://library.artstor.org/asset/AKRESS_NGA_10312357194.

Fig. 3.8: Alexander Menganti. Statue of Pope Gregory XII[52]

[52] "The Statue of Pope Gregory XIII - Palazzo d'Accursio, Bologna, Emilia-Romagna, Italy - Www.Rossiwrites.Com - Rossi Writes," accessed November 4, 2021, https://rossiwrites.com/italy/day-trips-italy/bologna-italy-things-to-do/attachment/the-statue-of-pope-gregory-xiii-palazzo-daccursio-bologna-emilia-romagna-italy-www-rossiwrites-com-2/.

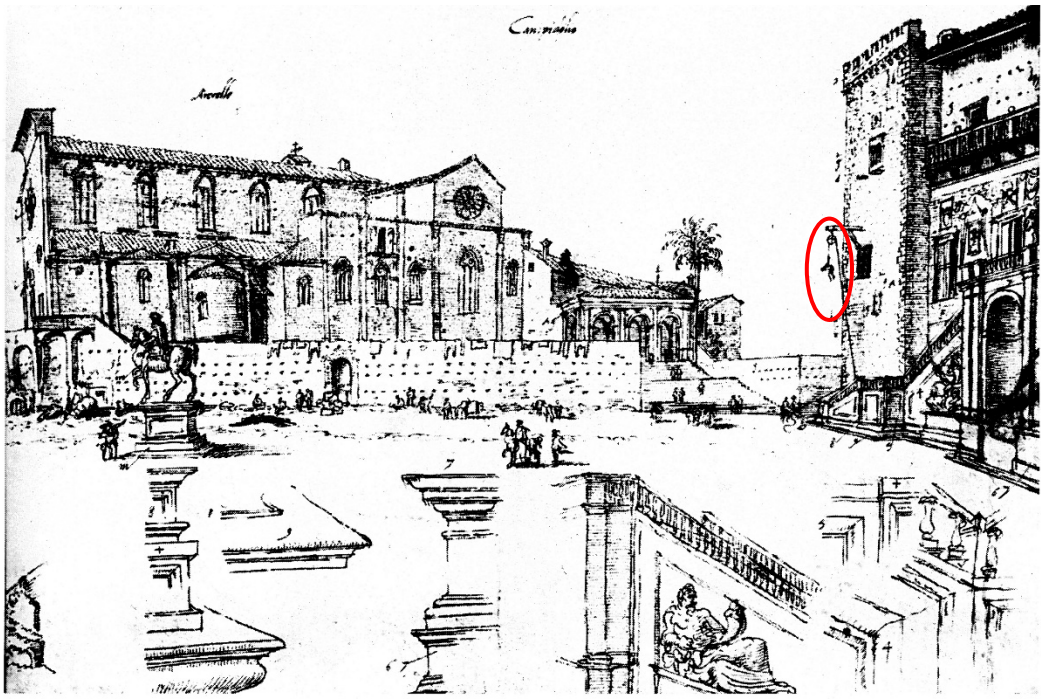

Fig. 3.9: Anyoymous. Piazza del Campidoglio, 1561[53]

[53] From Herman Egger *Römische Veduten: Handzeichnungen aus dem XV.-XVIII.*

Fig. 3.10: Palazzo Farnese[54]

[54] Peter1936F, *Deutsch: Palazzo Farnese (Rom), Fassade*, August 1, 2012, August 1, 2012, Own work, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Palazzo_Farnese_Fassade.jpg.

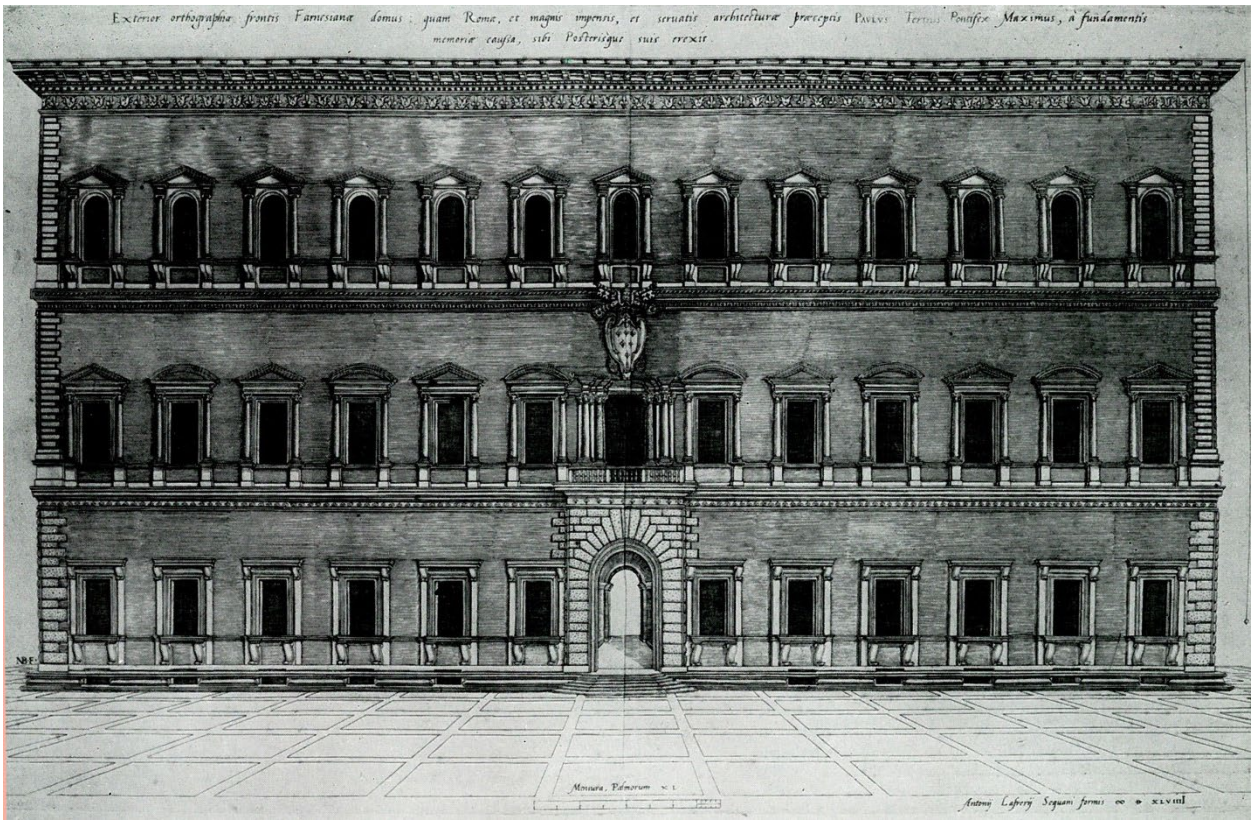

Fig. 3.11 Palazzo Farnese: facade and project for the square[55]
Engraved by N. Beatrizet, 1549

[55] James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo.*, [Rev. ed.], Studio Book (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

Fig. 3.12 Palazzo Cancelleria, Rome[56]

[56] Attributed to Andrea Bregno. 1489-1513. Palazzo della Cancelleria, exterior, facade. https://library.artstor.org/asset/AHLIEBERMANIG_10313146747.

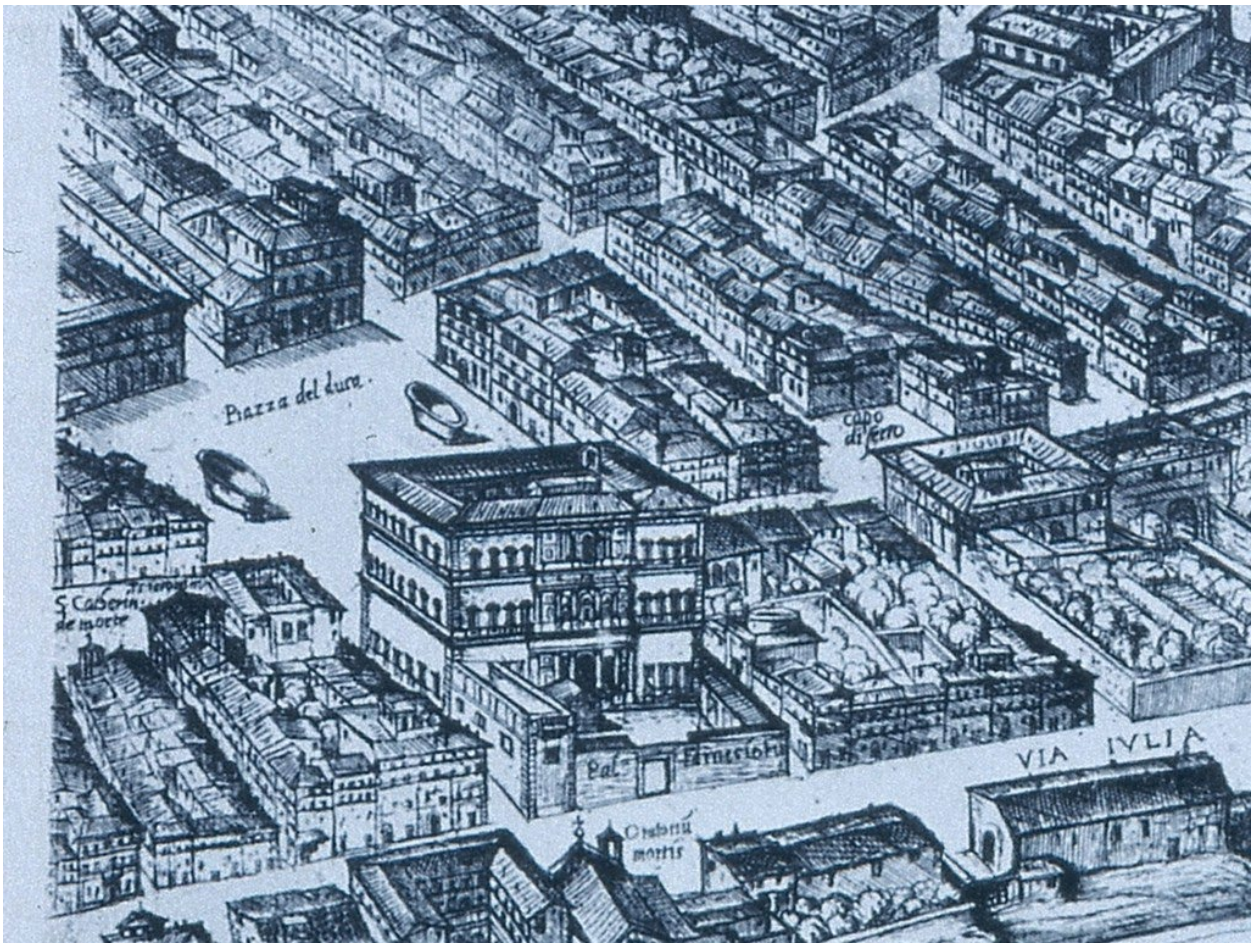

Fig. 3.13 Enlarged View: Map of Rome in 1593[57]
(area of Via della Lungara and Piazza Farnese)
Antonio Tempesta

[57] 1593. Rome: Map of Rome in 1593 by Antonio Tempesta: det.: area of Via della Lungara and Piazza Farnese. engraving. https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822003306758.

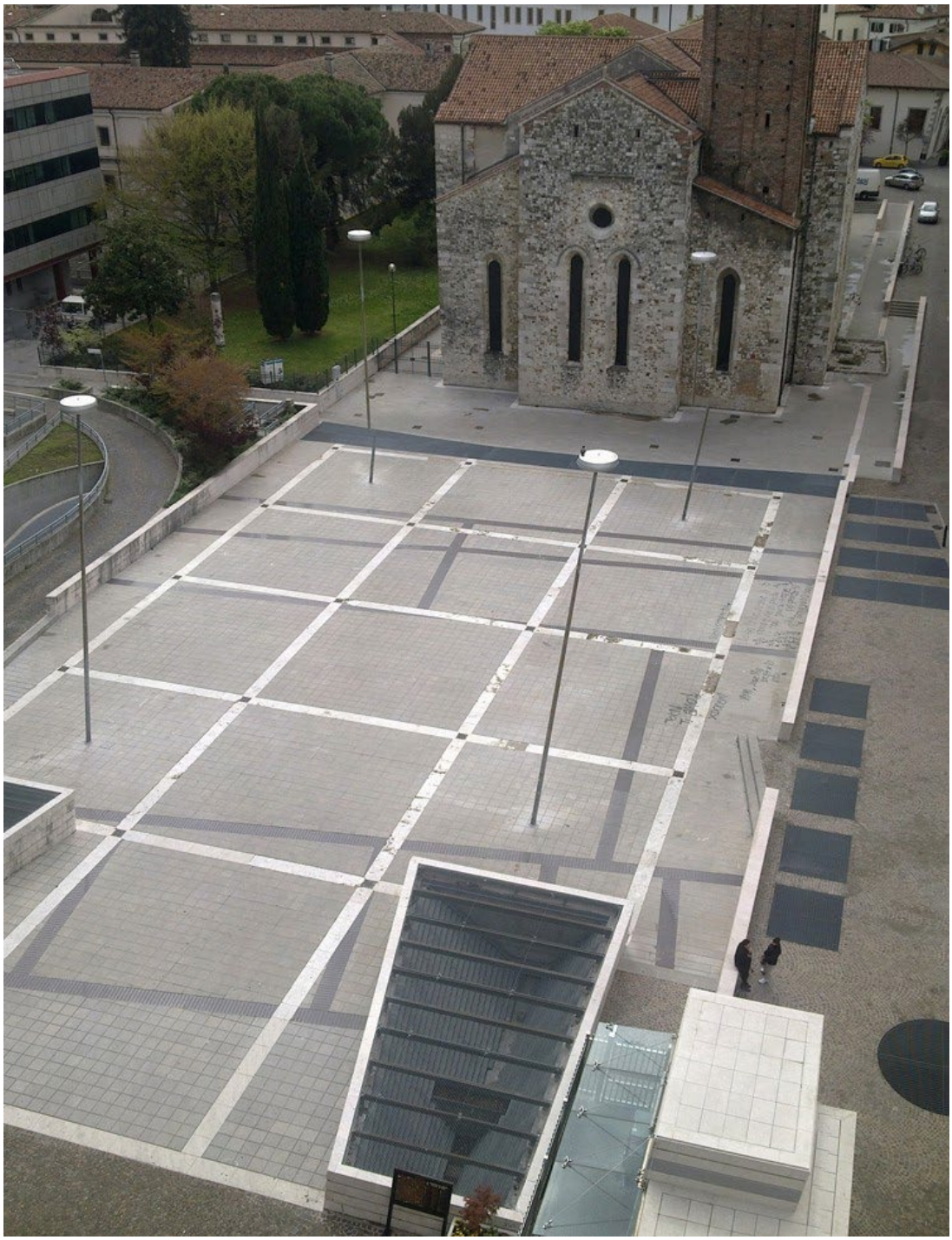

Fig. 4.1 View of Piazza Venerio, Udine[58]

[58] "Una Tartaruga in Piazza Venerio,Udine' Regeneration Competition First Prize : Alessandro Verona," accessed November 12, 2021, http://www.alessandroverona.it/spazi-pubblici/una-tartaruga-in-piazza-venerio/.