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INVESTIGATING AND WRITING ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY:  
SUBJECTS, METHODOLOGIES AND FRONTIERS

Papers from the Third EAHN International Meeting

Edited by Michela Rosso

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Michela Rosso (ed.)

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## INVESTIGATING AND WRITING ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY: SUBJECTS, METHODOLOGIES AND FRONTIERS



and ideas – have been fundamental in human culture, architecture included, and are crucial in understanding the relations between Europe and Americas. It is important for the first conference of the EAHN outside Europe to embrace such topics which constitute practically an illustration of one of its major goals: fostering inclusive, transnational, interdisciplinary and multicultural approaches to the history of the building environment'. <http://www.fau.usp.br/eahn2013/>

10 From the text of the project's mission statement published in the open access journal *Architecture Beyond Europe*, <http://www.architecturebeyond.eu.>: 'This Action aims to produce a broader understanding of the worldwide spread of European architecture across empires during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by focussing on its vectors, connections, semantics and materiality in a large range of geographic and linguistic contexts engaging both western and non-western environments.'

11 Among the most recent studies on this topic see: "Reception," ed. Naomi Stead and Cristina Garduño Freeman, special issue, *Architecture Theory Review* 18, n. 3

(2013); "La réception de l'architecture," ed. Richard Klein and Philippe Louquet, special issue *Cahiers thématiques. Architecture, histoire, conception*, n. 2 (2002), 43-6.

12 Nancy Stieber, "Architecture between Disciplines," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, n. 2 (2003), 176-7; Nancy Stieber et al. "Learning From Interdisciplinarity," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 64, n. 4 (2005), 417-40 and articles by Daniel M. Abramson, Dianne Harris, Carla Yanni, Mario Carpo, Arindam Dutta, John Archer, Hélène Lipstadt, Gwendolyn Wright. See also Dianne Harris, "That's Not Architectural History!" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, n. 2 (2011), 149-52

13 See the discussion on cross-disciplinarity among art historians, in 'Inter/disciplinarity', special issue *The Art Bulletin* 77, n. 4 (1995), with essays by Carlo Ginzburg, James D. Herbert, W. J. T. Mitchell, Thomas F. Reese and Ellen Handler Spitz. In particular Carlo Ginzburg, "Vetoos and Compatibilities," *ibidem*, 534-52;

14 *Fundamentals*, catalogue of the 14th International Architecture Exhibition (Venice: Marsilio, 2014).

# 1. EARLY MODERN

## 1.1 Fortified Palaces in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700

### SESSION CHAIRS:

PIETER MARTENS

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### SESSION DESCRIPTION

From the fifteenth century onwards the spread of firearms profoundly affected the medieval castle. Residential and defensive elements that were once united in a single structure now evolved into separate architectural entities. The *château* fort gradually developed into a residential palace surrounded by a fortified perimeter. In addition, the shift from vertical to horizontal defence meant that the main trait of a stronghold was no longer its profile but its plan. As the plan became dictated by firing lines, angular shapes took the place of round and square ones, and the overall geometry became regularized. Efforts to reconcile the often contradictory demands of residence and defence inspired a wide variety of architectural designs across Europe, many of which have received little scholarly attention.

This session focuses on the building typology of the *palazzo in fortezza* in its broadest sense. Besides fortified palaces that were planned as a whole, it will also consider instances where new fortifications were built around an older palace or, vice versa, where a new residence was erected within a pre-existing citadel. The aim is to explore the conjunction of palatial residence and military defence. Papers may discuss the architectural connection (or lack thereof) between the palace and its fortifications. How was the building's defensive role combined with residential comforts and ceremonial requirements? What happened to weak elements such as entrances, windows,

forecourts and gardens? Did its decorative programme reflect its martial component? Was the fortified perimeter truly functional or merely symbolic? Did its military features answer to the demands of full-scale warfare or only to limited security needs? Conversely, could a fortified palace really operate as a fully-fledged princely residence, or were there limitations to the extent of its court life? Relevant events such as an attack on a fortified palace or a courtly ceremony held within its confines may also be examined. Of particular interest are issues of cultural interchange, considering that fortification was an 'international style', whilst palatial architecture was firmly tied to local and dynastic traditions. We welcome cases from the whole of Europe (including its overseas colonies) and especially from less studied regions such as Central and Eastern Europe. We explicitly seek analytical papers that enable transnational comparison.

The session fits within the framework of the ESF Research Networking Programme 'PALATIUM. Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1400-1700)' ([www.courtresidences.eu](http://www.courtresidences.eu)).

### 1.1.1 Fortified Palaces in Early Modern Sicily: Models, Image Strategy, Functions

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#### ABSTRACT

In early modern Sicily the extra-urban fortified residence was a limited but important architectural phenomenon. Starting from the last decades of the fifteenth century, previous residential buildings, especially towers, were in some cases renewed by the introduction of a surrounding fortified perimeter with bastions (e.g. Donjon of Adrano; tower of Migaido, or villa S. Marco near Bagheria). Subsequently the genesis of new palaces with bastions, bulwarks, and pseudo-bulwarks is certainly linked to contemporary publications and specialized treaties, but local conditions played an equally important role. The position along the Mediterranean frontier with the Islamic world and the presence of numerous military engineers created an environment particularly open to fortified buildings, providing at the same time a wide range of experiences for confrontation and imitation. In this situation the symbolic meaning of fortified structures was particularly resonant with aristocratic clients. The representational aspect was evident also in buildings with a true defensive purpose. Medieval idioms and allusions to modern fortifications were used to legitimate social hierarchies. At the end of the seventeenth century, for example, the Rome-trained architect Giacomo Amato planned a magnificent palace for the Spaccaforno family with bastions and a double boundary wall. This paper will present a sequence of examples that are most representative of this architectural phenomenon. It will especially focus on the models in use and how they change along the centuries; on the intertwining between residential and military needs in the conformation of inside and outside spaces; and finally, on the relation between image strategy and practical function.

#### KEYWORDS

Fortification, tower, villa, bulwark, Sicily

The fortified residence has known an uninterrupted tradition in Sicily since the late Middle Ages. Constant renovation was dictated by the need to adapt defensive structures to new offensive techniques and weapons, and to prevailing historical and political conditions. This remodelling was necessary at the beginning of the Early Modern period, and was influenced by treatises on the subject. The renovation and *ex novo* construction of fortified residences in Early Modern Sicily was not a major phenomenon, but various aspects make it worthy of note. The island's strategic geographical position in the Mediterranean and the presence of a large group of military engineers played an important role, but other factors, in particular related to the image strategies pursued by the clients, cannot be overlooked. This paper examines a selection of cases and looks at the different inflections of the phenomenon from the second half of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

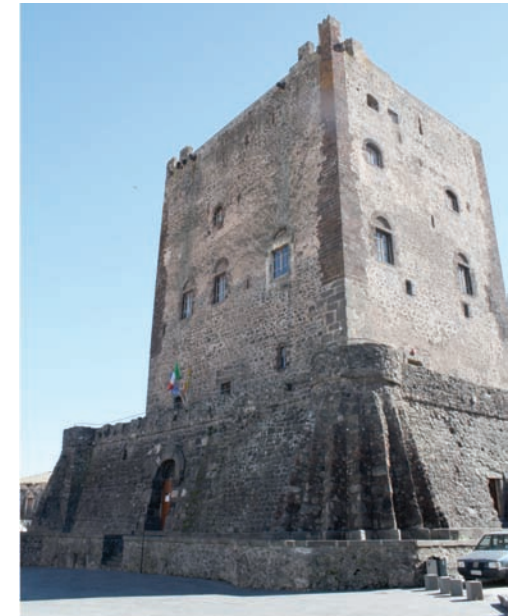
#### FORTIFYING PRE-EXISTING STRUCTURES: TOWER HOUSES AND FORTIFIED ENCEINTES

Since the Late Middle Ages, fortified buildings with both a residential and a defensive function dotted the Sicilian territory.<sup>2</sup> Between about 1450 and 1650, many of these buildings underwent renovations, using different procedures and answering to different requirements. The need to enlarge the building, to transform its interior, or to improve its defensive structures, was frequently accompanied by a desire to update the architectural image, as part of a more general self-promotion strategy pursued by the client.<sup>3</sup>

The addition of enceintes and bulwarks to pre-existing tower houses between the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century is a particularly significant phenomenon. There was no uniformity in intentions, planning approaches or solutions. Today at least ten examples in which a sixteenth-century reorganization is decipherable subsist, and they all differ in the consistency, layout and shape of the structures added to the original tower-shaped core. These range from a bailey-type structure, mainly for agricultural use, with low buildings surrounding a courtyard which includes or incorporates the tower,<sup>4</sup> to perimeters built for defensive purposes, characterized by the presence of cylindrical or quadrangular bulwarks at the corners of the enceinte.<sup>5</sup> Besides this type of structure, in which the tower remains detached from the new buildings that surround it, there are also some models in which the added buildings are attached to the pre-existing tower and can be accessed from it, making it an integral part of the new morphology.<sup>6</sup>

These varied cases include three buildings that are particularly significant on

account of the planning choices and intentions behind their renovation. First, the Castle of Adrano (Catania) is an interesting case in which a fortified wall was attached to the pre-existing tower (Figure 1). Its soaring bulk overlooks the main square of the town, located on a plateau on the south-west slopes of Mount Etna. The pre-existing structure is a rectangular donjon (20x16.70 m), with five floors inside. The final configuration of the tower was the result of interventions commissioned by Count Matteo Sciafani around the middle of the fourteenth century, possibly carried out on a former structure dating back to the Norman conquest of the island (second half of the eleventh century).<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the Early Modern age, the tower – which had passed over to the estate of the Moncada family towards the end of the fourteenth century<sup>8</sup> – was surrounded up to the level of the first floor by a sloping rampart with bulwarks at the corners. The serrated edges of the bulwarks leave no doubt as to the Neapolitan origin of the model,<sup>9</sup> and are indicative of the self-celebratory intentions of the client and his influence in the design choices. In fact, it recreates, on a smaller scale and with less refined workmanship, the ramparts around the towers of the Castel Nuovo in Naples, produced when Alfonso the Magnanimous (1443-58) commissioned restructuring works on the palace.<sup>10</sup> The design for Adrano seems to allude to the participation of Giovanni Moncada (1414-54) in the military campaigns to conquer Naples (1442) and, more generally, to the esteem he and his successors enjoyed at the court of Alfonso V and Giovanni I.<sup>11</sup> This interpretation is consistent with the identification of Giovanni Tommaso Moncada as the client (1461-1501)<sup>12</sup> and with the dating of the intervention to the last three decades of the fifteenth century. While image strategy appears to be a determining factor, from a functional point of view this enlargement of the building mainly tackles defensive issues, including the possibility to use part of the inside of the



**Figure 1.** The Castle of Adrano. *Source:* Photograph by Emanuela Garofalo

new rampart as a prison. The residential function, on the other hand, was left unchanged, apart from the creation of an annular terrace directly accessible from a room on the first floor of the tower through an ogival portal, probably coeval with the rampart.<sup>13</sup>

In the more articulate example of the Lanza di Trabia Castle, transformed between the first and second half of the sixteenth century, defensive requirements converge with the need to create a fitting residence for an ambitious client, with comfortable residential and ceremonial rooms. Once again, the original core of the group of buildings is a tower of uncertain date, perhaps surrounded by a defensive perimeter in the late Middle Ages. It occupied a strategic position on the northern coast of Sicily close to lucrative production activities.<sup>14</sup> In 1498, the tower was acquired through marriage by Blasco Lanza, a well-known jurist and representative of an important aristocratic family.<sup>15</sup> An initial phase of renovation work on the building, carried out between 1509 and 1535, has been attributed to this figure.<sup>16</sup> These works included the construction of battlemented walls with a protected walkway (*chemin de ronde*), the addition of a circular tower to defend the entrance on the sea front,<sup>17</sup> and the addition of the first wing of a new residential building with merlons, completing the fortified architectural enceinte on the sea side. This building de facto relegated the former tower-house, to which it was not physically connected, to a minor role. Between 1536 and 1575,<sup>18</sup> renovation continued under Cesare Lanza on two fronts, with the enlargement of the new residence and the construction of a defensive platform equipped with merlons and an angular little bastion<sup>19</sup> on the side facing the rocks. The inextricable link between defence and residence is also apparent in the crenelated terrace on the wing of the residence facing the sea, and in the construction of a small church serving the residence on the defensive platform.

The layout of the Castle of Brucoli (Siracusa), transformed during the reign of Charles V,<sup>20</sup> lies mid-way between the two examples mentioned above. In this case, the sixteenth-century addition consists of a fortified and inhabited quadrangular enceinte, with cylindrical turrets on the four corners and one polygonal bulwark in the middle of the south-east facade. Including storehouses and dormitories, this structure was built around the fifteenth-century Cabastida tower, the residence erected by the homonymous governor of the Queen's Chamber in the 1460s<sup>21</sup> to defend the Brucoli granary. The fortified enceinte forms a *chemin de ronde* with platforms for the artillery, protected by merlons. Compared to the Adrano example, we here see a modernization of the defensive solutions, with the tower unconnected to the added buildings, though only separated by a narrow open path. This is different from the isolation of the tower in the Castle of Trabia, as in Bru-

coli the tower maintains its function as a focal point of the main residential quarters.

The diverse nature of the solutions to remodel fortified residences in Sicily between the end of the fifteenth century and the 1570s is reflected in the three cases presented here – despite their similar points of departure. Likewise, it is clear that there were no dominant formal models. Although these conditions discourage us from attempting to provide a summary, we can however affirm that the question of defence was a real concern, which conditioned choices of design and layout, with the military engineers on the island definitely playing a prominent role in the planning. However, this is not incompatible with the image strategies that were pursued: the fortified appearance of the residence was still seen as alluding to the great age and might of the family name, and sometimes even to its political affiliation and military successes, like in the Castle of Adrano.

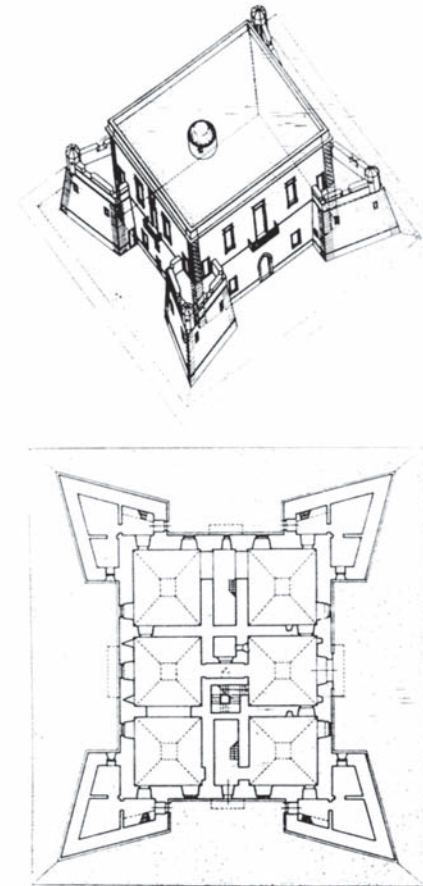
### 'BASTIONED' RESIDENCES: MODELS AND PROJECTS

In the late sixteenth century, the need to adapt extra-urban residential architecture to new problems related to defence against artillery was undoubtedly a contributing factor in the appearance of the modern angular bastion. Nevertheless, treatises on the subject certainly played an important role in the success of residences with bulwarks, bastions or angular pseudo-bastions in Sicily, as well as in nearby Malta. Of course, in addition to cases where pre-existing medieval structures were adapted and renovated, there were many constructions built from scratch, with a defensive appearance.<sup>22</sup> On Malta, we should mention the Verdala Palace,<sup>23</sup> built around 1586 as a fortress-villa for the Grand Master and Cardinal Hugues de Loubens de Verdalle, based on a project designed by the Maltese architect and engineer Girolamo Cassar. Intended for seasonal use, it is a compromise between a 'fortress' and a cardinal's residence. The martial character of the structure is stressed by the four sharp-cornered, towered and bastioned pavilions projecting from the corners, similar in plan to polygonal bulwarks, and by the use of other military devices such as the slightly sloping base within a large open ditch, the drawbridge and the merlons (perhaps these latter elements were introduced when a floor was added and the towers were erected).<sup>24</sup> The residential function appears pre-eminent, although the building also has a moderately defensive purpose, enabling it to oppose sudden attacks, and to withstand a 24-hour siege. Indeed, its isolated position on a hill, a few miles from Rabat, gave rise to a real need to strengthen its defensive capacity, and it was designed to allow firearms to be positioned on top of the building, as is revealed in the descriptions by Abela (1647) and a French traveller, Albert

Jouvin (1663).<sup>25</sup> The reason behind the choice of the 'bastioned' system, which served a symbolic rather than a practical function, lies not only in the technical skills of the designer,<sup>26</sup> but also in the cultural background and the client's desire for an architectural self-portrait. Moreover, considering its origins,<sup>27</sup> possible references to French models illustrated in the treatises of Philibert de l'Orme and Androuet du Cerceau<sup>28</sup> seem plausible. Various plans for the 'Casa del principe illustre in modo di fortezza' with modern pavilions in the form of bastions also appear in the manuscript of Serlio's *Book VI*.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that the use of these elements was already 'codified' in the second half of the sixteenth century, and they belonged to a wide range of possibilities to apply.<sup>30</sup> The Selmun Palace displays the enduring influence of this model in Malta in the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

The theme of the angular bastion continues throughout the seventeenth century, endorsed in Scamozzi's treatise (1615), which illustrates the project for a 'Palazzo in Fortezza, per resistere alle scorrerie'.<sup>32</sup> The proposed plan met with success, and the model was reproduced with several variations: the Villa Albergati in Zola (from around 1659) is thought to be one example.<sup>33</sup> In Sicily, this design can be found in the Spadafora Palace, on the San Martino landed estate, in a vulnerable position on the Spadafora seafront (Messina), exposed to pillaging and pirate raids (Figure 2). The structure retraces the model, with a uniform spatial arrangement, without an internal open courtyard, and with four crenelated bulwarks equipped with watchtowers, surrounded by a ditch and sloping rampart. There is some uncertainty as to when the bastioned 'castle' was constructed, perhaps in the first decades of the seventeenth century, although the bastions were probably added in an immediately subsequent phase, as some evidence suggests (perhaps they were originally unconnected to the building). Some interventions are documented between 1660 and 1670, probably to complete restructuring work, including the 'remodelling of the bastions',<sup>34</sup> but works which had also involved the rooms, doors, windows and (iron) balconies must have given the building its current configuration. On the outside, the 'fortified' appearance, which had to be a priority at the time of building (originally equipped with splayed loopholes), is at odds with the large openings which bear witness to its residential role and form four symmetrical palatial facades; once their defensive function was no longer a priority, the bastions assumed a mainly symbolic character, displaying the role of the landowners in the urban context.

Angular bastions (transformed in terraces) can also be observed on the mansion belonging to the Filangeri family, Counts of San Marco, in Santa Flavia. It was built on the Bagheria countryside as a holiday retreat, on the site of an ancient bailey, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>35</sup> Other defence-related structures accentuate its pseudo-fortified character:



**Figure 2.** Spadafora Palace. Plan and axonometric projection. *Source:* Pietro Cono Terranova, *I castelli peloritani del versante tirrenico* (Messina: Assessorato Regionale dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 1991), 18

perhaps started in the 1640s and continued until the eighteenth century.<sup>36</sup> It was an ambitious project which was never completed. If the reconstruction hypothesis is correct, the intention was to create a palace with a central courtyard surrounded by a system with four bastions, crenelated towers and prominent entrance avant-corps. The choice of the sloping rampart, which extends along the side of the building facing the city, has a symbolic function, as the presence of large windows indicates. The 'defensive' connotation is also reflected in the dimensions of the long bastioned facade (in exaggerated

the central crenelated turret with a belvedere covered roof-terrace and the drawbridge connecting the stairway, detached from the structure, to the main floor. This new iconography of the mansion, which alludes to updated themes, can be credited to the inclinations and culture of the client, Vincenzo Giuseppe Filangeri, the first Prince of Mirto;<sup>36</sup> however, the role of the designer, the Dominican architect Andrea Cirrincione, who was a tutor in the Palermo seminary, where a great interest in mathematical disciplines and their specific application in military architecture was cultivated, is another determining factor.<sup>37</sup>

One of the most interesting cases which can be attributed to criteria codified by Scamozzi, but also to suggestions handed down in earlier sixteenth-century architectural treatises (Androuet du Cerceau), is the 'castle' of the Princes of Biscari (present-day Acate), an imposing baronial residence on the ancient Paternò Castle estate. Its current form is the result of a vast programme of reconstruction, transformation and enlargement of a late fifteenth-century fortified residence,

proportion to the inhabited centre) and alludes to the family's political prestige and rising social status.

Other constructions attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century present sloping ramparts and, on a different level, play an intimidating urban role which is assuaged by decorative elements. This motif can be seen in the feudal Naselli Palace in Aragona, built from 1665, with angular pseudo-towers on a sloping base, though the military-like appearance is mitigated by open galleries on the main floor.<sup>39</sup> In the palace belonging to the Gravina family, Princes of Palagonia, in Francofonte, re-built around a pre-existing medieval core after the earthquake of 1693, the corner stones of the building which border the facade are 'reinforced' with a high socle, similar to an angled bastion, with a decorative function: the facing of diamond-studded ashlar conjures up an evocative image of military strength, attenuated by the inclusion of the much-prized corner balcony on sculptural corbels.<sup>40</sup> Another example worthy of mention is the bastioned palace of the Barons of Montaperto in Raffadali with its massive escarpment, which can perhaps be attributed to the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of the century, even an architect like Giacomo Amato, who had had ten years training in Rome, drew up a project for the Marquis Statella of Spaccaforno (present-day Ispica) – which was never followed through – to build a grand 'Palace and Castle' inspired by Scamozzi's model, with a large central courtyard, angular bulwarks, rampart and a low bastioned enclosure;<sup>42</sup> these latter elements were intended to indicate social standing<sup>43</sup> and were probably explicitly requested by the owner.

In the same period, even Carlo Fontana drafted a project (1696), which again was never carried out, for the Residential Palace ('Palazzo in Villa') of the Prince of Liechtenstein, which expressly requested the inclusion of a ditch and low sloping rampart. This last element was later constructed in the definitive project entrusted to Domenico Martinelli, in order to give the palace – on the prince's instructions – a pseudo-fortified character.<sup>44</sup> In short, on the threshold of the eighteenth century, the clients had not yet lost their desire to promote a military image and the theme of the sloping rampart was assimilated into baroque internationalism. The work of Amato takes us into contexts dominated by a more rhetorical language and roman citations. The 'spartan' creations of the seventeenth century at this point appear anachronistic, but the military-like component seems to re-emerge in a more subtle way in the magnificent residences in late Sicilian Baroque architecture, such as Villa Palagonia in Bagheria (from 1715) belonging to Prince Ferdinando Francesco Gravina (the same client for the feudal palace in Francofonte), constructed with four corner turrets on ramparts, according to a project designed by the learned mathematician Agatino Daidone and the Dominican

architect Tommaso Maria Napoli (a pupil of Cirrincione and formerly an apprentice in the Roman studio of Fontana), who both served with the Austrian government (Napoli as military engineer).<sup>45</sup> The legacy which the eighteenth century received from the previous century is lighter and more evocative. The military aspects are still prominent in some villas, but have no practical function; they stand as memories of a lost age.

1 The authors collaborated on the whole paper, but Emanuela Garofalo wrote the first section ('Fortifying pre-existing structures') and Fulvia Scaduto the second ("Bastioned residences").

2 For a general framework on the topic, see: Maria Giuffrè, *Castelli e luoghi forti di Sicilia XII-XVII secolo* (Palermo: Vito Cavalotto Editore, 1980); Ferdinando Maurici, *Castelli medievali in Sicilia. Dai bizantini ai normanni* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1992); *Castelli medievali di Sicilia. Guida agli itinerari castellani dell'isola* (Palermo: Regione Siciliana. Assessorato dei beni culturali, ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 2001).

3 Numerous cases of interventions on pre-existing castles, consisting of the addition of new surroundings or architectural elements such as portals and windows, fall outside the scope of this contribution. The most significant examples include the castles of Carini, Pietraperzia and Sperlinga.

4 Examples are: the Valenza Alta bailey in the Falsomiele district of Palermo; the Parisi bailey in Tommaso Natale near Palermo; the Albachiara and Bonura towers near Partinico; the group of buildings which incorporate the dell'Alto tower near Aragona (Agrigento).

5 This group includes, in particular: Lanza Branciforte Castle in Trabia (Palermo); Migaido Castle (Messina); Brucoli Castle (Siracusa).

6 The most important examples include: the Tower of Adrano (Catania) and the Cabrera Tower in Pozallo (Ragusa).

7 On the tower of Adrano in particular, see: Giuseppe Agnello, "Il castello di Adrano," *Castellum* 2 (1965), 5-22; Pietro Blanco, "Il castello di Adrano," *Quaderno dell'Istituto di Disegno dell'Università di Catania* 1 (1965), 125-41; Giuffrè, *Castelli*, 14-5; Maurici, *Castelli medievali*, 177-9; Simone Ronsisvalle, *Adrano nella storia. Vicende e monumenti* (Adrano: Amministrazione comunale - Assessorato alla cultura Adrano, 1995), 30-1, 35; *Castelli medievali di Sicilia*, 155-6.

8 *Castelli medievali di Sicilia*, 155.

9 The hypothesis has already been discussed by Maria Giuffrè, who also points out the analogy with 'Castelcivita' (Salerno) and with the more mature as well as ingenious proposals of Leonardo for Piombino (1504) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for Castro (1537). Giuffrè, *Castelli*, 15.

10 For stereotomy and masonry works commissioned by Alfonso the Magnanimous in Castelnuovo and the master builders involved, see: Joan Domenge y Mesquida, "Guillem Sagrera," in Emanuela Garofalo and Marco Rosario Nobile (eds.), *Gli ultimi indipendenti, architetti del gotico nel Mediterraneo tra XV e XVI secolo* (Palermo: Edizioni Caracol, 2007), 59-93; Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina, "Onofrio di Giordano," in Garofalo

and Nobile, *Gli ultimi indipendenti*, 45-57.

11 On the Counts of Adrano belonging to the Moncada family, see: Francesco San Martino de Spucches, *La storia dei feudi e dei titoli nobiliari di Sicilia* (Palermo: Scuola tipografica Boccone del povero, 1924), I, quadro 5, 12-15.

12 Ronsisvalle, *Adrano*, 35.

13 The shape of the portal, consistent with a dating to the second half of the fifteenth century, seems to us to confirm the dating of the rampart.

14 A mill and an oil mill were present in the area until the Late Middle Ages. On the history of Trabia and the castle in particular, see: Salvatore Lanza di Trabia, *Notizie storiche sul castello e sul territorio di Trabia* (Palermo: Stabilimento tipografico Virzi, 1878); Pasquale Sinesio, *Trabia e i Lanza* (Caltanissetta: Lussografica, 1995).

15 Francesco Maria Emanuele e Gaetani Marchese di Villabianca, *Della Sicilia nobile*, 5 Vols (Palermo: stamperia de' Santi Apostoli, 1754-1759), II, 531.

16 The two dates refer to the privilege granted to Blasco Lanza on 14 November 1509 by Ferdinand the Catholic, who decreed Trabia a noble fief, and to the death of Blasco Lanza, respectively. An intervening date which is significant for the interpretation of construction and fortification works on the castle is 1517, when the building was invaded and set on fire by the inhabitants of nearby Trabia in a politically motivated rebellion against the Moncada family. Lanza di Trabia, *Notizie storiche*.

17 There is some uncertainty about the dating of the other two towers added to protect the ensemble, one a square tower on the south-east corner of the perimeter, which no longer exists, and the other a polygonal tower added to the south-west corner.

18 Work had ended by 1575, according to a marble stone in memory of the client affixed there and bearing the inscription: *caesar lancea conjunctis copuli arcem hanc extruxit*. MDLXXV.

19 This last intervention shows some similarities with work carried out much earlier to modernize the defensive function of the Cas-

tle of Castellamare del Golfo around 1530, commissioned by Baron Giacomo Alliata. Maurizio Vesco, "Città nuove fortificate in Sicilia nel primo Cinquecento: Castellamare del Golfo, Capaci, Carlentini," *Il Tesoro delle Città VI* (2008-2010), 506-10.

20 Pietro Blanco "Il castello di Bruccoli," *Quaderno dell'Istituto di Disegno dell'Università di Catania 2* (1964-65), 23-48; Giuffrè, *Castelli*, 32; *Castelli medievali di Sicilia*, 388-91.

21 The Queen's Chamber was an endowment of the Queens of Aragon, and included extensive and wealthy territories in south-east Sicily. Giovanni Çabastida held the prestigious position of governor from 1452, and resided mainly in Sicily between 1462 and 1472; even after his death in the tower of Bruccoli, his wife Caterina Llull y Çabastida, a shrewd merchant, lived there periodically. The approximate dating of the tower can be seen on a memorial stone on the north-west face, and which bears the inscription: *turris çabastida vocor quotiam[ca]bastida ioannes me fieri fecit sumpsi quoque nomen regina sicutis diva regnante ioanna ab illo aedita sum bruculae frugum custodia*. On the Queen's Chamber and its governors, see Giuseppe Agnello, *Ufficiali e gentiluomini al servizio della Corona. Il governo di Siracusa dal Vespro all'abolizione della Camera reginale* (Siracusa: Barbara Micheli Editore, 2005); Giuseppe Agnello, "La Camera Reginale di Siracusa," in Giuseppe Pagnano (ed.), *L'architettura di età aragonese nell'Italia centro-meridionale. Architettura di età aragonese nel Val di Noto* (Siracusa: Dipartimento ASTRA, Università degli Studi di Catania-Facoltà di Architettura di Siracusa, 2007), 105-10. On Caterina Llull y Çabastida, see: Gemma Colesanti, *Caterina Llull y Çabastida. Una mercantessa catalana nella Sicilia del '400* (PhD diss., Università di Girone, 2005), 17, 51, 68, 73.

22 The cases examined are noble buildings linked to the feudal aristocracy involved in the construction or renovation of grand baronial mansions situated in the centre of their fiefs; other cases involve residences used as summer retreats which had a ceremonial

function and an internal spatial organization based on comfort and social requirements. See: Fulvia Scaduto, "Residenze fortificate in Sicilia in età moderna," *Lexicon. Storie e architettura in Sicilia 7* (2008) 37-44; Id., "La lunga tradizione delle residenze 'fortificate' in Sicilia [XVI-XVIII secolo]," in Marcello Fagiolo (ed.), *Residenze nobiliari. Italia Meridionale* (Roma: De Luca Editori, 2010), 343-50, with bibliography.

23 On the palace: Quentin Hughes, *The building of Malta during the period of the knight of St. John of Jerusalem 1530-1795* (Malta, 1986), 205-7; Leonard Mahoney, *5000 years of architecture in Malta* (Valletta: B.E.&A., C.Eng., M.I.C.E., A.&C.E., 1996), 86-8, 117-23; Quentin Hughes and Conrad Thake, *Malta the baroque island* (Malta: midseabooks Ltd, 2003), 77-9.

24 It is very likely that the first floor was built in the second half of the fifteenth century. Further interventions and decorative integrations (balustrades, windows, etc.) were carried out during the government of the Grand Master Antonio Manuel de Vilhena (1722-36) whose coat of arms is found on the coping of the main facade.

25 Giovan Francesco Abela, *Della descrizione di Malta...* (Malta: Paolo Bonacota, 1647), 61-5: 'vi si può nel piano del tetto far giocare alcun pezzetto d'artiglieria.' Denis De Lucca (ed.), *A description of Baroque Malta by Albert Jouvin de Rochefort* (Malta: Heritage Books, 2004), appendix: 'nous passames le pont-levis du château flanqué de quatre petites tour rondes, une desquelle fert de montée pour aller sur la plate-form qui le couvre, où il y a quelques arquébuses à croc; car ce chasteau est à la vérité basti de grosses pierres de taille que le canon auroit difficulté à percer; mais le dedans ne consiste qu'en une grande salle [...] où il y a quantité d'armes come dans quelque petit arsenal, qui tient le mileu des petites cabines dan les tourelles qui sont aux quatre coins de cette gran salle.'

26 Sources and chronicles indicate that Cassar had been in the service of the Knights in Gerba (1560) at the side of a mysterious French engineer, Carlo d'Amance; he

also worked on the fortifications of Valletta with the military engineer Francesco Laparelli. There is still some uncertainty about his training; his biographies mention a trip to Italy (1569) as architect of the Order. Giovanni Mangion, "Girolamo Cassar Architetto maltese del Cinquecento," *Melita Historica 6* (1973), 192-200; Marco Rosario Nobile, "Girolamo Cassar," in Nobile and Garofalo, *Gli ultimi indipendenti*, 227-41.

27 Verdalle was born in Toulouse in 1531 and held the position of Grand Master from 1582 to 1595. Alain Blondy, *Un prince de la Renaissance à l'aube de la contre-réforme: Hugues de Loubens de Verdalle (1531-1582-1595). Cardinal et Gran Maître de l'Ordre de Malte* (Saint Denise: Bouchene, 2005), 149.

28 Philibert de l'Orme, *Le premier tome de l'Architecture* (Paris: 1567), 18, 19. Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* (Paris, 1576-1579); Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Livre d'architecture. Troisième livre* (Paris, 1582). For these works, see the website *Architecture. Architecture, textes et images XVIe - XVIIe siècles* of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, <http://architecture.cesr.univ-tours.fr>. See also: David Thomson, "Les trois Livres d'architecture de Jacques ler Androuet Du Cerceau, à Paris en 1559, 1561 et 1582," in Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa (ed.), *Sebastiano Serlio à Lyon. Architecture et imprimerie* (Lyon: Mémoire Active, 2004), 449-50; Françoise Boudon, "Les plus excellents bastiments de France de de Jacques ler Androuet Du Cerceau, à Paris en 1576 et 1579", *Ibidem*, 451-3.

29 Sebastiano Serlio, *Libro sesto di tutte le habitationi...*, ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon. 189, in particular f. 18v and tav. XVIII ('*Della Casa del principe illustre in modo di fortezza*'), f. 27v and tav. XXVII, f. 28v and tav. XXVII. Serlio writes (f. 16v): 'Qua nella franza li gentiluomini massimamente li più nobili habitano fuori della città ... le loro habitationi siano in fortezza et circondati da acqua ... et almeno possino risistere à battagli da mano col suo ponto le-



vaturu et altre diffuse'. See the Architectura website, and Mario Rosci, *Il trattato di architettura di Sebastiano Serlio. Il Sesto libro delle habitazioni di tutti li gradi degli homini* (facsimile of the Munich manuscript of *Book VI*), (Milan: ITEC Editrice, 1966).

30 During the second half of the sixteenth century, modern towers or angular, bastion-like tower-pavilions appear in numerous pseudo-fortified residences in Italy, corresponding to types elaborated by Serlio and Androuet du Cerceau. For example, in the Villa Medicea in Artimio, realized (1596-1600) for the Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici after a design by Bernardo Buontalenti, four angular bastioned bodies appear. In general, see: Alain Erlande Brandenburg and Alberto Faliva (eds.), *Rinascimento franco-italiano. Serlio, Du Cerceau e i Dattaro* (Cremona: s.n., 2005); Alberto Faliva (ed.), *Ville del rinascimento padano. I Bastioni, il Portico e la Fattoria/The Bastions, the Portico and the Farmyard* (Milano: Electa, 2010).

31 The Selmum Palace in Mellieha is a more modern expression of the Verdala Palace model. Mahoney, *5000 years*, 88; Hughes and Thake, *Malta*, 186.

32 Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della Architettura Universale* [Venezia 1615], (reprint Verona: CISA, 1997), 252-3. The project 'd'un Palazzo in Fortezza, per resistere alle scorriere', illustrated in the *Terzo Libro* which is dedicated to the construction of private buildings, was intended for 'Eccellentissimo Signor Christoforo Duca di Sbaras e Cavalierizzo del Re di Polonia [...] per un suo sito [quasi in frontiera de' Tartari] [...] l'entrata si fa per via d'un ponte levatoio à traverso la fossa [...] su gli angoli del Palazzo sono quattro Bellouardetti, con i loro fianchi, e difese'.

33 In the Villa Albergati the bulwarks are used as wide terraces from which one can admire the park: Anna Maria Matteucci, "Villa Albergati. Originalità dell'architettura barocca emiliana," in Gabriele Mignardi and Marco Ravenna (eds.), *Le magnifiche stanze. Paesaggio, architettura, decorazione e vita nella villa palazzo degli Albergati a Zola* (Bergamo: Edizioni Bolis, 1995), 55-91.

Also noteworthy is the splendid project for a mansion belonging to Camillo Pamphili, with angular bulwarks with symbolic function attributed to Borromini, but credited by some scholars to Girolamo Rainaldi.

34 Documents and information on the palace in Pippo Pandolfo, *Spadafora San Martino. Storia di una comunità e del suo territorio* (Messina: Edizioni EDAS, 2010), 81-95. We know from a document dated 1660 that the 'fort' had a modest artillery outfit. In 1675, during the anti-Spanish revolts, the castle was besieged by French soldiers and within 24 hours was destroyed and plundered. The date 1687 on the internal portal possibly refers to the completion of renovation works following the damage it suffered on that occasion. In 1822 an Austrian contingent carried out a survey of the building, which is now in the *Kriegsarchiv* (Military Archives) in Vienna.

35 Documents on the grand stairway date from 1673, but the villa's foundation dates back to 1669. Scaduto, *La lunga tradizione*, 346 and notes 12, 13 with bibliography; Stefano Piazza, *Le Ville di Palermo. Le dimore extraurbane dei Baroni del Regno di Sicilia (1412-1812)* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2011), 38, 41-42.

36 Vincenzo Giuseppe Filangeri had some experience in the military field; during the anti-Spanish revolts (1674) he held the office of General Vicar in the war of Messina.

37 The comparison of the drawing of the villa with the sketch of a place fortified with bastions by the mathematician and engineer Carlo Maria Ventimiglia, 'Visitatore Generale delle Fortezze di Sicilia', is interesting; see: Erik H. Neil, "Architects and architecture in 17th & 18th century Palermo: new documents," *Annali di architettura* 7 (1995), 159-76. Moreover on the Villa: Erik H. Neil, *Architecture in Context: The Villas of Bagheria, Sicily* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995-96), 130-1.

38 Scaduto, *La lunga tradizione*, 347 and notes 15, 16 with bibliography. It is likely that an initial project to remodel the ancient medieval castle. New interventions after it was severely damaged during the 1693

earthquake were commissioned by Princes Ignazio and Vincenzo.

39 The palace, commissioned by Prince Baldassare IV Naselli, Count of Comiso, as stable and representative dwelling, reverts to former solutions; avant-corps with loggia had already appeared in the sixteenth-century Royal Palace of Messina and in the palace belonging to the same family in Comiso (1576), but here in Aragona (the city rebuilt at the beginning of the fifteenth century) they are inserted in a context full of symbolical values. Scaduto, *La lunga tradizione*, 347 and note 17, with bibliography; Stefano Piazza, *Dimore feudali in Sicilia fra Seicento e Settecento* (Palermo: Edizioni Caracol, 2005), 23-6.

40 Completion of the facade can be dated to 1705, but the works continued until 1718. For more information on the residence, remodeled according to the wishes of Ferdinando Francesco Gravina see: Neil, "Architecture in Context," 207-25, in particular 212-5; Piazza, *Dimore feudali*, 37-42; Scaduto, "Residenze fortificate," 40 and notes 17, 18.

41 Calogero Carità, *Castelli e torri della provincia di Agrigento* (Palermo: Banca Popolare Sant'Angelo, 1982).

42 The project was part of the reconstruction which took place after the 1693 earthquake destroyed the ancient city of Spaccaforno with its 'fortilium,' which later occupied a new site. Giacomo Amato's drawings of the plan and lateral facade of the palace are conserved in the Galleria Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia in Palazzo Abatellis, Fondo dei disegni di Giacomo Amato, Archivio fotografico G 2648, vol. IV, p. 52, n. 47 and G 2649, vol. IV, p. 53, n. 48. On the palace, see: Melchiorre Trigilia, *Storia e guida di Ispica* (Ragusa: So.Ge.Me. Editore, 1992), 15, 70-71; Scaduto, *La*

*lunga tradizione*, 347 and note 20.

43 Barbaric raids and pirate attacks on the south-east coast of Sicily were actually incessant and they continued until at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. The fief of the Statella family was also subjected to constant incursions. Melchiorre Trigilia, "I pirati nel litorale della Sicilia sud-orientale," *Pagine del Sud*, 23 (2008), 56-64; Melchiorre Trigilia, *Il litorale ispicese* (Ispica: Trigilia Cultura, 2014), 43-6. In general: Salvatore Bono, "La Sicilia e i barbareschi," in *Storia della Sicilia*, Vol. VII (Napoli: Società editrice Storia di Napoli del Mezzogiorno continentale e della Sicilia, 1978), 183-93.

44 On the Liechtenstein Palace in Landskron (Bohemia) and on the projects of Carlo Fontana, see: Allan Braham and Hellmut Lorenz (eds.), *Carlo Fontana. The Drawing at Windsor Castle* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1977), 125-9, with bibliography. For Martinielli's project (1700), which shows angular turreted pavilions and central reliefs on a single sloping rampart with horizontal ashlar, see: Hellmut Lorenz, *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 75-8.

45 Biographical notes in Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 316-29 and 384-5. The involvement of planners with solid experience in the field of military architecture (both Napoli and Daidone) is certainly not fortuitous in the design choices for the villa, which symbolically refers to the status of the Prince; these choices are influenced by the increasing social and political status of the client. On the villa, see: Neil, *Architecture in Context*, 205-244; Neil, *Architects and architecture*, 162; Rosario Scaduto, *Villa Palagonia. Storia e restauro* (Bagheria: Falcone Editore, 2007); Piazza, *Le Ville di Palermo*, 52-54.